

Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas

Edited by

Giorgos Papantoniou

Demetrios Michaelides

& Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou



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Edited by

Giorgos Papantoniou PhD
University of Cyprus

Demetrios Michaelides PhD
University of Cyprus

Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou PhD
University College London



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Cover illustration: (front) Terracotta figurine of an Eros with a lowered torch, from the House of Orpheus, Nea Paphos, Cyprus – PHH 1462 (photo: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus);
(back) Terracotta figurine of Dionysos, from the House of Orpheus, Nea Paphos, Cyprus – PHH 523 (photo: D. Michaelides).

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Contents

Preface and Acknowledgments	IX
Note from the Series Editor	X
List of Figures and Tables	XI
Notes on Contributors	XXIII

Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas: An Introduction	1
<i>Giorgos Papantoniou, Demetrios Michaelides and Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou</i>	

PART 1

Cyprus

1 Terracottas in a Domestic Context: The Case of the House of Orpheus in Nea Paphos, Cyprus	7
<i>Giorgos Papantoniou, Demetrios Michaelides and Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou</i>	
2 Hellenistic Terracottas and Limestone Sculptures in Cypriot Sanctuaries: On the Search for Types and Votive Habits	44
<i>Gabriele Koiner and Nicole Reitingner</i>	
3 The Terracottas from the Kitian Sanctuary of Artemis Paralia: A Snapshot	60
<i>Pauline Maillard</i>	
4 Terracotta Figurines of Hellenistic Arsinoe and Environs	71
<i>Eustathios Raptou</i>	
5 Hellenistic Terracottas: The Evidence from Ancient Arsinoe	88
<i>Nancy Serwint</i>	
6 About Aphrodite and Eros at Amathous: Terracotta and Sculpture	101
<i>Isabelle Tassignon</i>	
7 Underneath the Veil: Terracotta Figurines from the Amathous Eastern Necropolis	112
<i>Elisavet Stefani</i>	
8 Contemplating Issues of Historical Continuity: The Case of the Figurines from Erimi-Bamboula, Cyprus	131
<i>Polina Christofi</i>	

- 9 **Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas in the Cypriot Collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Contexts, Iconography, Meaning and Mediterranean Connections** 146
Anja Ulbrich

PART 2

Greece and Asia Minor

- 10 **Theriomorphic Figures in Hellenistic and Roman Arcadia: Nostalgia and Ritual** 165
Erin Walcek Averett
- 11 **Production of Terracotta Figurines in the Hellenistic Period at the Ancient City of Pherai, Thessaly** 180
Argyroula Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Polyxeni Arachoviti
- 12 **Some New Insights into the Materials Used for the Decoration of Hellenistic Terracotta Figurines in the Pherai Workshops, Greece** 191
Eleni Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti, Manos Dionyssiou, Argyroula Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Polyxeni Arachoviti
- 13 **A Group of Terracotta Ex-Voto Figurines from Amarynthos, Euboea: A Case Study in Sanctuary Deposition Practices** 203
Constantina Benissi
- 14 **Greek Terracotta Dolls: Between the Domestic and the Religious Sphere** 215
Frauke Gutschke
- 15 **Terracotta Veiled Women: A Symbol of Transition from *Nymphe* to *Gyne*** 223
Nathalie Martin
- 16 **The Soft Youth in Boeotian Coroplasty** 237
Angele Rosenberg-Dimitracopoulou
- 17 **“Visiting Gods” Revisited. Aphrodite Visiting Artemis, or Bride?** 251
Arthur Muller
- 18 **Aphrodite, Coming of Age and Marriage: Contextualisation and Reconsideration of the Nude Young Women Kneeling in a Shell** 259
Stéphanie Huysecom-Haxhi

- 19 Terracottas from Pergamon's Residential Area: Comments
regarding Chronology and Relations to Other Sites 272
Sven Kielau

PART 3

Italy

- 20 Production and Consumption of Terracottas: A Case Study at
Metapontion in Southern Italy 289
Rebecca Miller Ammerman
- 21 Coroplastics from the House of Marcus Fabius Rufus in Pompeii:
Archaeological Artefacts from a Sacred Place 305
Alessandro Russo
- 22 Clay *Togati* (Men Wearing a Tunic and Holding a Scroll) from
Harbour and River Towns: Some Hypotheses Regarding Their
Occurrence and Meaning 315
Elena Martelli

PART 4

North Africa

- 23 Sacred and Funeral Terracotta Figurines in Africa Proconsularis,
Numidia and Mauretania Caesariensis between the First and Third
Centuries CE 329
Solenn de Larminat
- 24 Female Figurines in Roman Karanis: An Agentive Approach 342
Lara Weiss

PART 5

The Levant and Mesopotamia

- 25 From Alexandria to Tyros: The Egyptian Character of the
Hellenistic Figurines from Kharayeb 359
Marianna Castiglione
- 26 Toward a Levantine *Koine*: Ties between Hellenistic Terracottas
from *Coele Syria* and Cyprus 371
Adi Erlich

- 27 **The Case of the Persian Riders at Seleucid Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates: The Survival of Syrian Tradition in a Greek Settlement** 383
Heather Jackson
- 28 **A Look from the Outside: Mediterranean Influences on the Terracotta Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris** 395
Roberta Menegazzi
- 29 **The Plaster Figurines of Khirbet es-Samrā Cemetery in Jordan** 402
Abdalla Nabulsi
- General Index** 413

Preface and Acknowledgments

The idea for the creation of the present volume sprang during an international conference held at the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus, during 3–5 June 2013. The meeting was organised as part of “Moulding Expressions of Culture: The Terracotta Figurines from the House of Orpheus, Nea Paphos” (MEC–HOT), a project funded by the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation via the University of Cyprus. Titled “Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas: Mediterranean Networks and Cyprus” and held under the auspices of the Association for Coroplastic Studies, the conference aimed at providing a broader context with regard to the typology, production and use of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas, against which those from the House of Orpheus at Nea Paphos could be studied and contextualised.

However, the present volume should not be seen as the overdue publication of the conference proceedings. In fact, the Nicosia meeting was intended as a first gathering for the discussion of material from a wide geographical spectrum, tackling, amongst other things, issues of cross-cultural importance, and using a variety of approaches and methodologies. The ultimate intention was the creation of a collection of peer-reviewed studies that could be used as a reference work for the study and analysis of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas; and, towards this goal, further studies were added to the volume, over and above those presented during the conference. We hope that we have succeeded in offering to our readers, and to Coroplastic Studies, and Classical Archaeology in general, a useful work-tool for the years to come.

This volume could not have materialised without the generosity of the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation that funded the project. We are grateful to Prof. Jaimee Uhlenbrock (State University of New York at New Paltz and the Association of Coroplastic Studies) for supporting the project in a variety of ways. We sincerely thank Dr Emma Saunders for taking on the onerous task of language editing and standardisation, before we edited the chapters, both before and after the peer-review process. We are particularly thankful to our authors who, with patience and enthusiasm, bore with us through this long but fascinating process. We are most grateful to the anonymous Brill reviewer, who made a number of important suggestions for improvement, both with regard to individual chapters and to the volume as a whole; and to Dr Christine E. Morris (The University of Dublin, Trinity College) who read the introduction to this volume and made several useful comments. Finally, we owe a debt of gratitude to the Brill personnel, who have been unfailingly helpful and supportive throughout the preparation of this volume.

The abbreviations used are those of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. In cases where such an abbreviation does not exist, the full name of the journal or the series is given.

Giorgos Papantoniou
Demetrios Michaelides
Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou

Note from the Series Editor

Many thanks are due to Beaudoin Caron who has been of great help with assessing this book and commenting on the concept as well as some important details in the work. Furthermore, the reader should be aware that in this publication there are some divergences from the house-style of the *MGR* series, especially the use of Latinate forms for place names instead of the strict transliteration of the Greek original into the Latin alphabet, which is what the series promotes and normally requires. This became obvious at too late a stage in production of the book to correct so many cases of departure from the norms of the series. The decision was accordingly made to go ahead with publication despite these deviations of the house-style. It should be noted that this is an exceptional situation and does not constitute a precedent for any future volumes.

Prof. John M. Fossey FRSC, FSA
Editor-in-Chief, *MGR*

Figures and Tables

Figures

- 1.1 Plan of Nea Paphos (after Dobosz, 2013: pl. 1.1) 9
- 1.2 Plan of the House of Orpheus (plan: M. Chamberlain and A. Agapiou) 10
- 1.3 PHH 169, 173 and 224; Aphrodite standing and fastening her *strophion* (photo: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus) 13
- 1.4 OΔ 3391; Aphrodite standing and fastening her *strophion* from the House of Dionysos (photo: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus) 14
- 1.5 PHH 1081; Thigh or arm of a large figurine, wearing a band in the shape of a coiled serpent (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 15
- 1.6 PHH 9; Aphrodite (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 15
- 1.7 PHH 118; Venus Pudica (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 17
- 1.8 PHH 41; Aphrodite with Eros (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 17
- 1.9 PHH 1462; Eros (photo: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus) 18
- 1.10 PHH 523; Dionysos (photo: D. Michaelides) 19
- 1.11 PHH 1639; Bust with Isiac features (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 19
- 1.12 PHH 54; Tyche of Alexandria; clear fingerprints are preserved on the inside surface of this terracotta (photo: D. Ioannou) 20
- 1.13 PHH 53; Mask (photo: D. Ioannou) 21
- 1.14 PHH 32; Male grotesque figure (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 21
- 1.15 a. PHH 1637, b. PHH 1638, c. PHH 1062; Deers (photos: S.A. Rusmigo) 22
- 1.16 a. PHH 1621, b. PHH 1624, c. PHH 1625, front, d. PHH 1625, back; Dogs of the so-called Maltese spitz or terrier type (photos: S.A. Rusmigo) 22
- 1.17 PHH 1688; Young man at the back of a chariot (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 23
- 1.18 PHH 39; Male bust (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 23
- 1.19 PHH 1772; Head of an African (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 24
- 1.20 Terracotta figurine fabrics were recorded using a USB digital microscope, field-of-view: 0.4 cm. a. PHH 120, b. PHH 118, c. PHH 1770 and d. PHH 1645 26
- 1.21 Scatter plot based on pXRF data, using two ratios: potassium (K) / silicon (Si) and calcium (Ca) / iron (Fe), the first being of mineralogical, and the second of chemical significance. Samples are labelled according to the colour group, to which they were allocated macroscopically 27
- 1.22 Principal component analysis plot using pXRF data. Samples labelled according to their thematic representation 28
- 1.23 Principal component analysis plot using NAA data. Samples labelled according to their thematic representation 29
- 1.24 Three-dimensional scatter plot based on pXRF measurements for chromium (Cr), manganese (Mn) and potassium (K). Samples labelled according to their thematic representation 29
- 1.25 PHH 10; Base with feet of standing figure. The back view shows, on the left-hand side, a small fragment of the back mould still adhering to the front one (photos: S.A. Rusmigo and V. Trigas) 32
- 1.26 PHH 52; Legs and drapery of a standing figure. The craftsman used his/her fingernail to shape particular elements, like drapery (photos: V. Trigas and M. Dikomitou-Eliadou) 33
- 1.27 PHH 1928; Cornucopia? (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 34
- 1.28 PHH 1936; Fragmentary base (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 34
- 1.29 PHH 64; Small terracotta altar (photo: S.A. Rusmigo) 36

- 2.1 Map of Cyprus showing all sites mentioned in the text 45
- 2.2 Nicosia, CM D 267. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities (photo: G. Koiner) 48
- 2.3 Nicosia, CM D 380. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities (photo: N. Reitingner) 49
- 2.4 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 348. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities (photo: G. Koiner) 49
- 2.5 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 239. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities (photo: N. Reitingner) 50
- 2.6 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 233. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities (photo: N. Reitingner) 50
- 2.7 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 419. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities (photo: N. Reitingner) 51
- 2.8 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 131. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities (photo: G. Koiner) 52
- 2.9 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 101. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities (photo: N. Reitingner) 54
- 2.10 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 104. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities (photo: N. Reitingner) 55
- 2.11 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 207. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities (photo: N. Reitingner) 56
- 3.1 Map of Larnaca showing the first presumed location of the sanctuary of Artemis Paralia. This is actually to be located far more to the South, as demonstrated in Maillard 2016. From Nicolaou, 1976: 8, fig. 1 61
- 3.2 Terracotta figurine wearing a *kalathos* in plated rush (Musée du Louvre, AM 327). H: 7.1 cm. From Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 547, no. 921 63
- 3.3 Terracotta figurine wearing a high *kalathos* decorated with sphinxes and griffins (Musée du Louvre, AO 22243). H: 11.5 cm. From Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 531, no. 869 64
- 3.4 Terracotta figurine wearing a large necklace (Musée du Louvre, AM 1726). H: 11 cm. From Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 511, no. 818 64
- 3.5 Terracotta group of a seated goddess, flanked by two acolytes (Musée du Louvre, AO 22238). H: 20.5 cm. From Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 500, no. 794 65
- 3.6 Fragment of a terracotta group representing a young girl holding a half-opened box, disclosing a crown (Musée du Louvre, AM 125). H: 17 cm. From Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 521, no. 843 65
- 3.7 Terracotta group of two women sharing a bench and a veil (Musée du Louvre, MNB 1302). H: 11.6 cm. From Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 512, no. 822 66
- 3.8 Reconstruction of the so-called Stackelberg group (drawing: C. Florimont) (Musée du Louvre, MNB 1723, AO 22864, N III 3325, AM 248). H (reconstructed): 17.5 cm. From Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 572, no. 957 67
- 4.1 Map of western Cyprus 72
- 4.2 Map of Polis Chrysochous 73
- 4.3 Arsinoe – Workshop Complex, Terracotta of Apollo *kitharodos* 75
- 4.4 Arsinoe – Workshop Complex, Terracotta of Eros holding *kithara* 76
- 4.5 Arsinoe – Workshop Complex, Terracotta of Artemis *dadophoros* 77
- 4.6 Arsinoe – Workshop Complex, Fragment from a Dioscuri Group 78
- 4.7 Arsinoe – Hellenistic sanctuary, Terracotta of Tanagra type 80
- 4.8 Arsinoe – Hellenistic sanctuary, Terracotta of Artemis Kynetis 80
- 4.9 Arsinoe – Hellenistic sanctuary, Terracotta of Apollo *kitharodos* 81
- 4.10 Yialia-Photies, Limestone statuette of enthroned female figure 83

- 4.11 a–b. Yialia-Photies, Terracotta figurines of dancers 84
- 4.12 Yialia-Photies, Terracotta figurine of a harp player 85
- 4.13 Yialia-Photies, Terracotta figurine of a harp player 85
- 5.1 Map of Cyprus with Marion and Arsinoe (Karageorghis, 1982: after fig. 89, 115) 89
- 5.2 Satellite view of Polis area with place names (Childs, Smith & Padgett, 2012: after Map 3) 90
- 5.3 Polis-Peristeries Sanctuary, left; Polis-Maratheri Sanctuary, right (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition) 91
- 5.4 Polis-Petrerades, Area E.G0, left; Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2, right (photo: Princeton Cyprus Expedition) 91
- 5.5 Hellenistic Sculpture from Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2 (photo: author) 92
- 5.6 R22694 + R22697 + R22969 – Figure, Cybele Throne, Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2 (photo: author) 93
- 5.7 Hellenistic Figurines from Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2 (photo: author) 93
- 5.8 Archaic and Classical Votives, Polis-Peristeries and Polis-Maratheri Sanctuaries (photo: author) 95
- 5.9 Late Fourth Century – Early Hellenistic Votives, Polis-Maratheri Sanctuary (photo: author) 95
- 5.10 R1547 – Terracotta Patrix, Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2 (photo: author) 97
- 5.11 Moulds and Mould Impressions, Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2 (photo: author) 98
- 6.1 The topography of the acropolis at Amathous. Copyright: École française d'Athènes, Manuela Wurch-Kozelj and T. Kozelj 102
- 6.2 Upper part of the terracotta group of Aphrodite and Eros (photo: I. Tassignon) 103
- 6.3 Upper part of a terracotta group (photo: I. Tassignon) 103
- 6.4 Terracotta bust with Eros (photo: I. Tassignon) 103
- 6.5 Side view of the group (photo: I. Tassignon) 103
- 6.6 Limestone group from the palace, front view (photo: I. Tassignon) 105
- 6.7 Limestone group from the palace, side view (photo: I. Tassignon) 105
- 6.8 Bust from the sanctuary © P. Collet, École française d'Athènes 107
- 6.9 Arm of a statue from the sanctuary (photo: I. Tassignon) 108
- 7.1 Tomb 916 plan 113
- 7.2 Terracotta figurines no. 16 (left) and no. 51 (right). Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 115
- 7.3 Terracotta figurine no. 51 (detail of the coloured decoration). Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 116
- 7.4 Terracotta figurine no. 67–14 (base and preserved lower part) 117
- 7.5 Terracotta female head no. 49 117
- 7.6 Seated terracotta figurine no. 50 117
- 7.7 Semi-nude terracotta figurine of Aphrodite type, no. 53. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 118
- 7.8 Torso and right arm of terracotta figurine, no. 67–18 119
- 7.9 Small group terracotta figurines: no. 10 (left), no. 11 (centre), no. 15 (right) 119
- 7.10 Terracotta of miniature theatrical mask (*hegemon therapon*), no. 9 120
- 7.11 Terracotta of (Dionysos?) herm, no. 67–15 121
- 8.1 Map of Cyprus with all the sites mentioned in the text 132
- 8.2 General view of trench AE31, with the hearth in the north-east corner and the sherds of the pithoid jar in the centre of the trench 133
- 8.3 Close-up of the cobblestones with the terracotta figurine E8 as it was discovered 134
- 8.4 Figurine E12 135
- 8.5 Figurine E10 135

- 8.6 Figurine E21 136
- 8.7 Figurine E8 137
- 8.8 Figurine E18 138
- 8.9 Figurine E20 138
- 8.10 Figurines E16–17, E19 139
- 8.11 Figurine E14 140
- 8.12 Figurine E4 141
- 8.13 Figurine E5–6 141
- 9.1 Map of Cyprus with all sites mentioned in the text 147
- 9.2 Heads of funerary terracottas from ancient Marion/Arsinoe. From left to right: a. AN1890.696 (H: 15.2 cm), b. AN1890.698 (H: 13.8 cm), c. AN1890.696x (H: 13.5). Copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford 147
- 9.3 Heads of funerary terracottas from ancient Marion/Arsinoe: a. AN1890.697, b. AN1890.699. Copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford 148
- 9.4 Animal figurines from Rizokarpaso-Tsambres, tomb 16. From left to right: a. AN1938.1340, horse (H: 10 cm), b. AN1938.44, goat (H: 6.4 cm), c. AN1938.46, bull (H: 10.6), d. AN1948.1341, ram (H: 11.4 cm). Copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford 151
- 9.5 Horse-and-rider figurines from Rizokarpaso-Tsambres. From left to right: a. AN1938.1335, tomb 16 (H: 13.6 cm), b. AN1938.1415.b, tomb 10 (H: 10.5 cm), c. AN1938.1334, tomb 16 (H: 14.3 cm). Copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford 151
- 9.6 *Kourotrophos* figurines from Rizokarpaso-Tsambres, tomb 16. From left to right: a. AN1938.1348 (H: 16.3 cm), b. AN1938.1347 (H: 18.9 cm), c. AN1962.41, head (H: 5.5 cm), d. AN1938.1349 (H: 12.3 cm). Copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford 152
- 9.7 Votive terracottas from the Apollo sanctuary at Amargetti. From left to right: a. AN1888.1504 (H: 17.3 cm), b. AN1888.1505 (H: 18.1 cm), c. AN1888.1511, male (H: 12.5 cm). Copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford 155
- 9.8 Rider-and-horse plaque from Salamis, AN1896–1908 C.559 (H: 7.2 cm). Copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford 156
- 9.9 Greek-style Hellenistic figurines from Cyprus. From left to right: a. AN1949.1032 (H: 20.8 cm), b. AN1989.568 (H: c. 15 cm), c. AN1946.112, from Salamis (H: c. 19 cm). Copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford 157
- 9.10 Plaque of Aphrodite or Apollo from Pyla-Vikla, AN1960.649 (H: 12 cm). Copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford 158
- 9.11 Eros and temple boy figures: a. AN1938.1431 (H: 31 cm), b. 1884.233, possibly from Kourion (H: 18.3 cm). Copyright: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford 159
- 10.1 Bronze animal-headed figurine group from Petrovouni (Hellner, D-DAI-ATH-NM 5782) 166
- 10.2 Plan of the sanctuary of Despoina, Lykosoura (plan: D.E. Coslett) 167
- 10.3 Animal-headed terracotta figurines from the Sanctuary of Despoina, Lykosoura (left two figures: drawing: K.A.P. Iselin after Jost 1985: pl. 4, nos. 3–4; right figure after Kourouniotes 1912: fig. 23) 168
- 10.4 The Damophon cult group, Sanctuary of Despoina, Lykosoura (Dickins 1906/1907: pl. XII) 169
- 10.5 a: Veil of Despoina, from the Damophon cult group, Lykosoura (J. Matthew Harrington, Nefasdicere at English Wikipedia [GFDL (<http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html>), CC-BY-SA-3.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>) or CC BY 2.5 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.5/>)], via Wikimedia

- Commons). b: Details of the figural relief from Despoina's veil (Dickins 1906/1907: pl. XIV) 170
- 10.6 Distribution map of figurines wearing masks from Iron Age Cyprus (map: D.E. Coslett) 172
- 10.7 Sixth-century zoomorphic masker statuettes from the sanctuary at Golgoi, Cyprus. Left: limestone figure with stag (?) mask, 26 cm high, 74.51.2538; right: limestone figure wearing bull mask, 21.4 cm high, 74.51.2515, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Cesnola Collection, purchased by subscription, 1874–76) 172
- 10.8 Cypro-Archaic bull masker terracotta figurines from the rural sanctuaries at Athienou-Malloura (left), inv. no. AM-1170, Athienou Kallinikeio Municipal Museum, and Ayia Irini (right), inv. no. 2170, Cyprus Museum (left: photo: Athienou Archaeological Project; right: photo: author, used by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus) 173
- 10.9 Cypro-Archaic terracotta masking group, Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, Kourion, inv. nos. T1674, T1774A, Episkopi Local Kourion Museum. (photo: author, used by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus) 174
- 10.10 Cypro-Archaic terracotta masked figurines, Amathous necropolis, inv. nos. T289, no. 6; T200, no. 1, Limassol District Archaeological Museum (photo: author, used by the permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus) 174
- 11.1 Topographic plan of the city of Pherai (Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia) 181
- 11.2 A small pottery kiln of a ceramic workshop at Pherai (Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia) 182
- 11.3 Hellenistic pottery workshops of Pherai in the exhibition at the New Wing of the "Athanasakeion" Archaeological Museum of Volos (Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia) 183
- 11.4 a. A mould for the production of terracotta figurines from a workshop of Pherai, and b. its positive cast (Archaeological Museum of Volos, inv. no. BE 12097) 184
- 11.5 a. A negative imprint from a workshop of Pherai, and b. its positive cast (Archaeological Museum of Volos, inv. no. BE 12095) 185
- 11.6 Modern terracotta figurines in Nicholas Rodios' pottery workshop on the island of Skopelos (photo: A. Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou) 186
- 11.7 Female bust (*protome*) from Pherai (Archaeological Museum of Volos, inv. no. BE 37141) 187
- 11.8 Female figurine from Pherai (Archaeological Museum of Volos, inv. no. M 4549, 004) 187
- 11.9 Heads of female figurines from Pherai (Archaeological Museum of Volos, inv. nos. BE 46028 and BE 48018) 188
- 11.10 Head of a figurine of an old satyr (Archaeological Museum of Volos, inv. nos. BE 37094, 002) 189
- 12.1 Figurine BE 4549,004. Tin foil has been detected on the ears 193
- 12.2 Tin foil is visible on the hair of figurine BE 29845, Tachoula site, Pherai 193
- 12.3 XRF spectrum showing the presence of tin on figurine BE 29845 193
- 12.4 SEM (BSE) photomicrograph of figurine ID 27093, Stamouli site 194
- 12.5 SEM (BSE) photomicrograph of figurine ID 27093. Measurement of the thickness of the tin foil. See also comment 35 194
- 12.6 SEM (BSE) photomicrograph of organic binding medium detected in figurine ID 27093 195
- 12.7 Spectrum of the organic binding medium detected in figurine ID 27093 195
- 12.8 Stamouli site. Ceramic sherd, ID 27152, with remains of Egyptian blue 197

- 12.9 SEM (BSE) photomicrograph of Eb anisotropic crystals on ceramic sherd, ID 27152 197
- 12.10 Apostolina site, BE 45948. Egyptian blue ball found in a lead workshop 197
- 12.11 SEM (BSE) photomicrograph of sample ID 32494, showing the presence of yellow cinnabar 198
- 12.12 XRF spectrum of sample ID 32494, showing the presence of yellow cinnabar 198
- 13.1 Map indicating the Eretria-Amarynthos area in Euboea, Greece 204
- 13.2 Student with diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. no. 15847. Imported from Athens or Boeotia. H: 0.097 m. Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports 205
- 13.3 Student with diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. no. 20321. Similar to inv. no. 15847. H: 0.088 m. Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports 205
- 13.4 Student with diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. no. 15886. H: 0.089 m. Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports 206
- 13.5 Female figure holding a diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. no. 15906. H: 0.097 m. Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports 206
- 13.6 Female figure holding a diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. no. 20322. H: 0.07 m. Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports 207
- 13.7 Two identical male figurines with diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. nos. 20305/A–B. H: a. 0.095 m; b. 0.097 m. Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports 208
- 14.1 Slight variation of the (digitised) drawing from Winter (1903) 3.1, fig. 169, 1 216
- 14.2 Slight variation of the (digitised) drawing from Winter (1903) 3.1, fig. 169, 4: own addition of jointed knees 216
- 14.3 Slight variation of the (digitised) drawing from Winter (1903) 3.1, fig. 168, 6 (supplementation on arms) 217
- 15.1 Distribution of representations according to medium 225
- 15.2 Distribution of the terracottas according to the contexts of their discovery 225
- 15.3 1. Head of clay figurine wearing a veil, 3.5 cm, Louvre Museum, inv. no. Cp5298, Cl. N. Martin (see also Jeammet, 2003: fig. 27, 124); 2. Profile of the same head; 3. Clay female dancers wearing a veil rolled-up on the forehead, 18 cm, Louvre Museum, inv. no. MNC535, Cl. N. Martin 226
- 15.4 Geographic distribution of representations of women wearing a kind of mask made of cloth 227
- 15.5 Women with a bulging peak of hair. 1. Dancer in terracotta, 22 cm, Boeotia (?) Louvre Museum, inv. no. CA2126; 2. Dancer in terracotta, profile. 24.3 cm, Boeotia (?), Louvre Museum, inv. no. MNC730; 3. Dancer in terracotta, 25 cm, Boeotia (?), Louvre Museum, inv. no. MNC731, Cl. N. Martin 230
- 15.6 Geographic distribution of representations of women wearing a bulging peak of hair 230
- 15.7 Hydria from Apollonia Pontica, detail, beginning of the 4th century BCE, Sozopol Museum (Hermay & Tsetsckhladze, 2012: fig. 9, 249). Cl. L. Damelet for CCJ 232
- 16.1 Map indicating approximate location of sites where Boeotian soft youths have been found 238
- 16.2 Soft youth with rooster. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 5612. Bought in Thebes, c. 450–420 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (photo: A. Rosenberg). Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund 239
- 16.3 Archaeological Museum, Thebes 20049. From Halai, Boeotia, c. 420–390 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (photo: A. Rosenberg). Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund 240

- 16.4 Archaeological Museum, Thebes 20060. From Halai, Boeotia, c. 450–420 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (photo: A. Rosenberg). Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund 241
- 16.5 Fragmentary soft youth with rooster. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 10271/79. From the Sanctuary of the Kabiroi, middle of the fourth century BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (photo: A. Rosenberg). Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund 242
- 16.6 Archaeological Museum, Thebes 20062. From Halai, Boeotia, c. 420–390 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (photo: A. Rosenberg). Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund 243
- 16.7 Soft youth with strigil and rooster. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 10287. From the Sanctuary of the Kabiroi, end of the fifth century / beginning of the fourth century BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (photo: A. Rosenberg). Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund 244
- 16.8 National Archaeological Museum, Athens 10271/76. From the Sanctuary of the Kabiroi, middle of the fourth century BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (photo: A. Rosenberg). Copyright: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund 245
- 17.1 Location of Thasos, Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion and other sites mentioned in the text 252
- 17.2 Artemision of Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion: shoulder busts with special headdress (Durrës, Archaeological Museum) (photo 1–5: G. Naessens/UMR 8164; drawing 6: N. Vasia/Durrës) 253
- 17.3 Examples of other representations of feminine figures with the same headdress: 1–2, *protomai* from Spina (after Araneo, 1987: 43, nos. 55–56); 3, *protome* from Rhodes (after Higgins, 1954: pl. 41, no. 240); 4, marble head from Asia Minor (after Reeder, 1995: 140, no. 9); 5, *protome* from Locri (after Higgins, 1954: pl. 166, no. 1208); 6–7, terracotta statue heads, from a rural sanctuary in Lucania (photo: M. Osanna); 8, Apulian red figured vase (after Todisco 2012: pl. 188, no. 2) 254
- 17.4 Brides binding the *mitra* in the iconography of red figured vases, details of bridal preparation scenes: 1–2, pyxides (after Sabetai, 1997: figs. 1 and 12); 3, *skyphos* (after Todisco, 2012: pl. 25, no. 2); 4, hydria (after Sabetai, 1997: fig. 13); 5, *pelike* (after Todisco, 2012: pl. 130, no. 1); 6, bell crater (after Todisco, 2012: pl. 10, no. 2) 255
- 17.5 Artemision of Thasos, female figurines (Thasos, Archaeological Museum) (photo: P. Collet/École française d'Athènes) 255
- 17.6 Preparation of the bride in the iconography of red figured vases: 1, pyxis (after Delivorrias, 1984: no. 212); 2, *lebes gamikos* (after Kaltsas & Shapiro, 2008: 318, no. 142); 3, *lekythos* (after Delivorrias, 1984: no. 210); 4, pyxis (after Delivorrias, 1984: no. 806); 5, *loutrophoros* (after Sabetai, 2008: 295, fig. 5) 256
- 17.7 Artemision in Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion: red figure *lekythoi* (Agrinion group) with representation of the seated bride (Durrës, Archaeological Museum) (photo: G. Naessens/UMR 8164) 257
- 18.1 Figurine fragments of kneeling women from the Artemision of Dyrrhachion, Albania. Copyright: G. Naessens Halma – UMR 8164 260
- 18.2 Figurine of seated nude female without seat, from the tomb L-XIIIIa of the Ladikas' Ground in Thasos. Copyright: G. Naessens Halma – UMR 8164 261
- 18.3 Figurine of nude woman in a shell, with mirror (from Winter, 1903: 202, no. 2) 262
- 18.4 Figurine of nude woman in a shell with *alabatron* (from Winter, 1903: 204, no. 2) 263

- 18.5 Figurine of nude woman in a shell with Eros and with a box (from Winter, 1903: 202, no. 5) 263
- 18.6 Figurine of nude woman in a shell with Eros and a mirror? (from Winter, 1903: 202, no. 3) 264
- 18.7 Figurine of nude woman with Eros and a mirror (from Winter, 1903: 202, no. 6) 264
- 18.8 Plastic vase with nude bust of woman (from Winter, 1903: 203, no. 3) 265
- 18.9 Plastic vase with nude bust of woman (from Winter, 1903: 203, no. 2) 266
- 19.1 Plan of the acropolis of Pergamon, the excavation area of the "Stadtgrabung" is in the lower part. Additional so-called "Gassensondagen" were undertaken halfway up the acropolis, above the "Stadtgrabung" section (not listed in the plan), Pergamon excavation (design: U. Wulf; drawing: U. Wulf. & A. Attila; additions: T. Zimmer) 273
- 19.2 Plan of the "Stadtgrabung" Pergamon excavation (design: U. Wulf; drawing: U. Wulf & A. Attila) 274
- 19.3 Eros, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: about 23.5 cm); photomontage, head in the Museum of Bergama. Head (photo: E. Steiner, Pergamon excavation) Body (photo: author) 276
- 19.4 Head of Aphrodite, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 5 cm) (photo: author) 277
- 19.5 Grieving old woman, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: about 18.5 cm); photomontage, head in the Museum of Bergama. Head (photo: E. Steiner, Pergamon excavation). Body (photo: author) 278
- 19.6 Mask, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 15.3 cm) (photo: author) 279
- 19.7 Actor, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 11.4 cm) (photo: author) 279
- 19.8 Head of a boy (Eros?), from Pergamon, Stadtgrabung (H: 2.8 cm) (photo: author) 281
- 19.9 Head of Ariadne, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 7 cm) (photo: E. Steiner, Pergamon excavation) 282
- 19.10 Head of a peasant or slave, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 3.2 cm) (photo: author) 283
- 19.11 Two female heads, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 6.9 cm; 4.8 cm) (photo: author) 283
- 20.1 Greek and Lucanian sites of southern Italy mentioned in text map: J. Trelogan) 290
- 20.2 Plan of excavation at production area at Sant'Angelo Vecchio (courtesy of J.C. Carter) 291
- 20.3 Distribution of main mould series produced at Sant'Angelo Vecchio within urban center of Metapontion map: J. Trelogan) 292
- 20.4 Distribution of main mould series produced at Sant'Angelo Vecchio within territory of Metapontion map: J. Trelogan) 293
- 20.5 Small-scale figurine of standing female holding cross-torch, basket of fruit, and oinochoe (inv. no. 319980, SA 79.0411.01) (photo: C. Raho) 294
- 20.6 Reconstruction of large-scale figurine of standing female holding cross-torch, basket of fruit, and oinochoe (drawing: M. Barretta) 295
- 20.7 Reconstruction of plaque of banqueter with seated female, child, and horse (drawing: M. Barretta) 296
- 20.8 Plaque of banqueter flanked by Ionic capital (SA 79.0510.01) (photo: C. Williams) 297
- 20.9 Plaque of Zeus holding scepter and lighting bolt (inv. no. 319913, SA 79.0509.01) (photo: C. Raho) 299
- 20.10 Plaque of dancing Nymph and Pan (inv. no. 320003, SA 80.0010.01) (photo: C. Raho) 299

- 20.11 Reconstruction of large-scale figurine of Artemis (drawing: M. Barretta) 301
- 21.1 General plan of Pompeii 306
- 21.2 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: the archaeological site, “saggio 3” 306
- 21.3 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: saggio 3, sector B, northern section 307
- 21.4 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: *louterion*, graphic reconstruction 307
- 21.5 Fragments of terracotta figurines from the house of Marcus Fabius Rufus in Pompeii (see also Table 21.1) 309
- 21.6 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: small clay head with a ‘melon’ hairstyle (Table 21.1, no. 1) 311
- 21.7 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: small veiled clay head with the middle-parting hairstyle 311
- 21.8 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: draped clay figurine 311
- 21.9 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: fragment of left side of a *pinax* depicting a Nereid riding a hippocampus 312
- 21.10 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: floral appliqués and a pomegranate 313
- 21.11 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: patera with plastic application 313
- 22.1 a.–b. Ostia, clay *togati* a. inv. no. 5888 and b. inv. no. 3507 (photos: author with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Parco Archeologico Ostia Antica) 316
- 22.2 The making of a *togatus* (project: E. Martelli; graphic realisation: A. García) 317
- 22.3 Ostia, distribution of clay *togati* in the funerary and domestic spheres (map: adapted from Heinzelmann 2000 and Pannuzi 2007; project: E. Martelli; graphic realisation: A. García) 317
- 22.4 Ostia, relief on a sarcophagus from the Isola Sacra necropolis (project: E. Martelli; graphic realisation: A. García; after Calza, 1940: 197, fig. 100) 318
- 22.5 Distribution of the clay *togati* along the Italian Peninsula (project: E. Martelli; graphic realisation: A. García) 319
- 22.6 a.–b. Comparison between a marble bust of Trajan in Munich, Glyptothek and the similar hairstyle on clay *togatus* inv. no. 5888 (Fig. 22.1a) from Ostia (drawings: A. García after Wünsche 2007: 136 and 137) 320
- 22.7 a. Ostia, funerary contexts. Necropolis along the via Calza – via dei Romagnoli, so-called “Tomba B”. Clay *togatus* inv. no. 5889 was placed in fragments on top of the tomb (modified from Floriani Squarciapino, 1961: 168, fig. 23; project: E. Martelli; drawing: A. García) 320
- 22.7 b. Ostia, funerary contexts. Necropolis along the via Calza – via dei Romagnoli, so-called “Tomba B”. Reconstruction of the niche containing a cinerary vessel with *togatus* inv. no. 5888 as a grave offering (project: Elena Martelli; graphic realisation: A. García) 321
- 22.7 c. Ostia, funerary contexts. Necropolis along the *via ostiensis*. Clay figurines recovered in a small enclosure (map adapted from Floriani Squarciapino, 1954; project: E. Martelli; graphic realisation: A. García) 321
- 22.8 a.–c. Pompeii. Clay *togati* inv. nos. 20741, 20744 and 20766 recovered at the intersection between via dell’Abbondanza and via della Sonatrice (courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per il Comune di Napoli) 323
- 22.9 a. Moregine (Campania), Building B. Clay figurine of a *vicomagister* inv. no. 85201 (drawing: A. García after Mastroberto, 2003: fig. v.59); b. Ostia, *Caseggiato dei Triclini* (I,XII,1). Clay *togatus* inv. no. 4621 (photo: the author, with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Parco Archeologico Ostia Antica) 323

- 23.1 Distribution map of cemeteries and sanctuaries where figurines have been found and number of figurines by site (map: S. de Larminat & S. Haroutunian) 330
- 23.2 Figurines found in the sanctuary of *Thysdrus*. From left to right: woman with a mirror and a small box, empty-handed woman with the inscription *P. Felix Octavius* on her back, Tanit, Apollo, dove (from Merlin, 1912: pl. LXXVII) 333
- 23.3 Figurines found in the sanctuary of *Pupput*. From left to right: dove, woman, woman with a cake and an *oenochoe*, Tanit, Apollo, dove (from Merlin, 1912: pl. LXXVI) 333
- 23.4 Drawing of a Venus with an Amor and a dolphin found in the necropolis of *Hadrumetum* (from de la Blanchère & Gauckler, 1897: pl. xxx.27) 334
- 23.5 Composition of the inventory of figurines discovered in Roman Africa (image: S. de Larminat) 335
- 23.6 Composition of the 42 closed and contextualised sets with figurines identified in Africa Proconsularis (image: S. de Larminat) 337
- 23.7 Figurine of Bes and Attis discovered in a necropolis of *Hadrumetum* (from Chopard & Hannezo, 1893: pl. XVII.2) 338
- 23.8 Figurine of an Amor leaning on a column discovered up-side down in the fill of a child's grave at *Pupput* (photo: M. Griesheimer) 338
- 24.1 Gingerbread-man type terracotta figurine from Karanis 343
- 24.2 Plan of excavated units at Karanis. ArcGis map compiled by Drew Wilburn and Ryan Reynolds after original plans of the Michigan University Excavation at Karanis (Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor, Michigan) 348
- 24.3 Plan of excavated units at Karanis. ArcGis map compiled by Drew Wilburn and Ryan Reynolds after original plans of the Michigan University Excavation at Karanis (Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor, Michigan) 349
- 25.1 Distribution map with Central and Eastern Mediterranean sites 361
- 25.2 Isis *lactans*, from Kharayeb (after Chéhab, 1953–1954: pl. XXXII 3) 363
- 25.3 “Baubo”, from Kharayeb (after Chéhab, 1953–1954: pl. xxx 4) 364
- 25.4 Bes, from Kharayeb (after Chéhab, 1953–1954: pl. VI) 364
- 25.5 Harpocrates with cornucopia, from Kharayeb (after Chéhab, 1953–1954: pl. III 3) 365
- 25.6 Harpocrates riding a goose, from Kharayeb (after Chéhab, 1953–1954: pl. V 4) 365
- 25.7 Harpocrates riding a horse, Museum of the American University of Beirut, inv. no. 623 (after Sartre, 1998: 163) 365
- 25.8 Tambourine player, from Kharayeb (after Chéhab, 1953–1954: pl. XLIV 2) 366
- 25.9 “Mantle dancer”, from Kharayeb (after Chéhab, 1953–1954: pl. XCVIII 2) 366
- 25.10 Isiac attendant, from Kharayeb (after Chéhab, 1953–1954: pl. LXVIII 2) 367
- 25.11 Grotesque figurine, from Kharayeb (after Chéhab, 1953–1954: pl. XI 4) 367
- 26.1 Map of the southern Levant with main sites cited (prepared by A. Regev-Gisis) 372
- 26.2 Apis Bull from Tel Anafa in northern Israel, late second century BCE. Courtesy of Sharon Herbert and the Tel Anafa Excavations (photo: Y. Yulovitz) 374
- 26.3 Isiac figure, probably of the type called “Isis Aphrodite”, from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE. Courtesy of A. Kloner and the Israel Antiquities Authority (photo: P. Jacobs) 374
- 26.4 Nude old woman (“Baubo”) riding on a boar, from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE. Courtesy of A. Kloner and the Israel Antiquities Authority (photo: C. Amit) 375

- 26.5 Boy wearing a *kausia*, from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE. Courtesy of A. Kloner and the Israel Antiquities Authority (photo: P. Jacobs) 376
- 26.6 Cybele from Tel Dor on the Israeli coast, third century BCE. Courtesy of E. Stern and the Tel Dor project (photo: Z. Radovan) 377
- 26.7 Cybele from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE. Courtesy of I. Stern and the Archaeological Seminars (photo: A. Stern) 377
- 26.8 *Kourotrophos* from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE. Courtesy of A. Kloner and the Israel Antiquities Authority (photo: C. Amit) 378
- 26.9 Dioscuri from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE. Courtesy of A. Kloner and the Israel Antiquities Authority (photo: P. Jacobs) 378
- 26.10 Man wearing a pointed cap from Tel Anafa in northern Israel, late second century BCE. Courtesy of S. Herbert and the Tel Anafa Excavations (photo: J. B. Wilcox) 379
- 27.1 Map of Syria in the Hellenistic period, showing sites mentioned in the text. (adapted from a map drawn by P. Walker) 384
- 27.2 a. Rider's head from Kourion (Young & Young, mould 39), and b. Persian rider head from Jebel Khalid JK 93.176 384
- 27.3 Contour map of site of Jebel Khalid (drawing: B Rowney) 385
- 27.4 Persian rider from Jebel Khalid, JK 90.638 386
- 27.5 Horse's head from Persian rider, JK 95.245 387
- 27.6 Head of Persian rider, JK 10.949 387
- 27.7 Heads of Persian riders (drawing: J. Sellers) 388
- 27.8 Head of moulded horse-and-rider JK 05.366 (drawing: J. Sellers) 389
- 27.9 Graph showing distribution of Persian rider fragments over the Jebel Khalid site 389
- 27.10 Head and torso of Persian rider carrying object, JK 87.254 391
- 27.11 Persian rider carrying child, JK 87.206 (drawing J. Sellers) 392
- 28.1 Map of Mesopotamia. Courtesy of the Archive Centro Scavi Torino 396
- 28.2 Seleucia on the Tigris, schematic plan of the city. Courtesy of the Archive Centro Scavi Torino 396
- 28.3 Seleucia on the Tigris, resting Herakles (H: 11.3 cm. inv. no. S11, 434), terracotta. Courtesy of the Archive Centro Scavi Torino 397
- 28.4 Seleucia on the Tigris, incense burner (H: 20 cm. inv. no. S11, 301), terracotta. Courtesy of the Archive Centro Scavi Torino 398
- 28.5 Seleucia on the Tigris, nude woman (H: 9 cm. inv. no. S9, 739), terracotta. Courtesy of the Archive Centro Scavi Torino 399
- 28.6 Seleucia on the Tigris, semi-nude reclining woman (H: 8.4 cm. inv. no. S9, 737), terracotta. Courtesy of the Archive Centro Scavi Torino 399
- 28.7 Seleucia on the Tigris, seated child (H: 11.2 cm. inv. no. S6, 107), terracotta. Courtesy of the Archive Centro Scavi Torino 400
- 29.1 Khirbet es-Samrā site map. The ancient cemetery and the excavated Site-A to Site-E 403
- 29.2 The different types of plaster objects (scaled in cm units) 404
- 29.3 Examples of plaster objects found in situ inside and outside the burial chamber (cist) 409
- 29.4 The lamenting woman figurines 410

Tables

21.1	A catalogue of the terracotta figurines (see also Fig. 21.5)	308
23.1	Table of figurines present in each sanctuary (table: S. de Larminat)	330
23.2	Table of the different categories and types of figurines discovered in necropoleis and sanctuaries (table: S. de Larminat)	331
24.1	Group of terracotta figurines from Roman Karanis	343
24.2	Finds recovered in Area A262, Karanis	345
24.3	Finds recovered in Building A228, Karanis	347
24.4	Finds recovered in Building A136, Karanis	350

Notes on Contributors

Rebecca Miller Ammerman

Ph.D. (1983) in Classical Art and Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, is Professor of Classics at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. Her research focuses on the votive terracottas and cults of southern Italy. Her publications include *The Sanctuary of Santa Venera at Paestum II. The Votive Terracottas* (University of Michigan Press, 2002) and most recently, "Terracottas" in J.C. Carter and K. Swift (eds.), *The Chora of Metaponto 7. The Greek Sanctuary at Pantanello* (University of Texas Press, 2018).

Polyxeni Arachoviti

is an archaeologist at the Ephorate of Antiquities in Magnesia of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports based in Volos. Her interests focus on the Aegean Bronze Age and Iron Age. She has published on the ancient city of Pherai and the prehistoric and historic settlement of Aerino in Magnesia.

Eleni Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti

is an archaeological conservator, now Director Emerita of the Department of Conservation of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia in Volos. She holds an M.A. in Principles in Conservation, University College London. Her main research interests include the understanding of the manufacture of ancient artefacts and materials, and more specifically of metals, pigments and glass.

Erin Walcek Averett

Ph.D. (2007) in Art History and Archaeology, University of Missouri, USA, is Associate Professor of Archaeology at Creighton University, and Assistant Director of the Athienou Archaeological Project, Cyprus. She has published on ancient Cypriot masks, the Malloura sanctuary and Cypriot ritual, Iron Age terracotta figurines, and on digital archaeology.

Constantina Benissi

is an archaeologist at the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports. She holds a B.A. in Archaeology from the University of Athens, an M.Sc. in Archaeometry from the Université de Bordeaux III, France, and an M.Sc. in Cultural Management from the Hellenic Open University. She has published articles on cultural heritage management, international organisations and cultural conventions. She currently studies the coroplastic material from the deposit of Amarynthos, Euboea.

Marianna Castiglione

Ph.D. (2013) in Art History and Archaeology, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa. She was awarded a Postdoctoral Fellowship in Naples (Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici) and she is currently a Junior Research Fellow at the University of Calabria. Her research has focused on the Roman necropoleis of Pompeii, Campania and Calabria, but her interests also include more extensively Greek, Phoenician, Punic, Italic and Roman art and material culture.

Polina Christofi

Ph.D. candidate in Medieval Archaeology, The Cyprus Institute, is currently an Archaeological Officer at the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus. She has led a number of excavations in Cyprus including those at Erimi-Bamboula, Nicosia-Paphos Gate and ancient Kition. She has published on Medieval Cyprus, landscape and symbolism.

Solenn de Larminat

Ph.D. (2011) in Archaeology, Aix-Marseille Université, is currently associate researcher of the Centre Camille Jullian (Unité mixte de Recherche 7299). Her latest book is a co-edition on new approaches to funerary archaeology (Publications du Gaaf 6, 2017). She has also published numerous articles on funerary practices in North Africa Pompeii and Croatia.

Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou

Ph.D. (2012) University College London, is currently a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Postdoctoral Researcher at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. Her research, interdisciplinary in nature, focuses on ceramic technology and production, its differing modes of organisation, ceramic distribution, as well as technological and cultural change, and how these can be identified, recorded and explained by modern archaeology.

Manos Dionysiou

is an archaeological conservator at the Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia based in Volos. He holds a B.A. in Archaeological Conservation from Cardiff University. His main interest is the manufacturing techniques of ancient ceramics.

Argyroula Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou

Ph.D. (2000) in History and Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, is Director Emerita of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia based in Volos. She has published extensively on Hellenistic pottery workshops and their production at the ancient city of Pherai in Thessaly, as well as on local amphorae and wine trade of the Sporades Islands, and generally on the archaeology, topography, monuments and inscriptions of these regions.

Adi Erlich

Ph.D. (2005) in Archaeology, Bar Ilan University, is currently a Senior Lecturer at the University of Haifa, the Zinman Institute of Archaeology and the Departments of Archaeology and Art History; and a member of the Association of Coroplastic Studies governance. Her fields of specialisation include terracotta figurines of the Levant from the Late Bronze Age to the Byzantine period, with an emphasis on the Hellenistic period, on which she has published two monographs (Israel Antiquities Authority Reports 2008; Archaeopress 2009); and the archaeology of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Israel.

Frauke Gutschke

M.A. (2005) in Classical Archaeology, Ancient History and Italian Studies, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Her research focusses on Greek terracotta figurines and their religious and cultural contexts.

Stéphanie Huysecom-Haxhi

Ph.D. in Greek Archaeology, is a researcher at CNRS (Unité mixte de Recherche 8164) at the University of Lille. Her most significant publications include *Les terres cuites figurées de l'Artémision de Thasos* (De Boccard, 2009) and *Figurines grecques en contexte* (Septentrion, 2015). She publishes regularly on Archaic and Classical Greek terracottas, especially on manufacturing processes and the interpretation of objects in their context.

Heather Jackson

Ph.D., FSA, FAHA is currently an Honorary Senior Fellow at the University of Melbourne in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies. As co-Director of the Jebel Khalid excavations in Syria, she has published extensively on the Hellenistic figurines, lamps, housing and other aspects of that site in the *Jebel Khalid-on-the-Euphrates* volumes of *Meditarch*.

Sven Kielau

Ph.D. (2008) in Classical Archaeology, Universität Münster, is currently a Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter at the Roemer- und Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim. He has published the monograph *Terrakotten aus Pergamon, Tonfiguren und -objekte aus der Wohnstadt am Südhang der Akropolis und von weiteren Fundorten*, *Pergamenische Forschungen* 17 (De Gruyter, 2018), as well as studies on Hellenistic and Roman imperial mosaics and on Late Antique rock-cut churches in Asia Minor.

Gabriele Koiner

Mag. phil. (1991), Dr. phil. (1995) in Classical Archaeology, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, is a Research and Teaching Assistant at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Graz. She has published widely on Cypriot sculpture and portraits. She is the co-editor (with P. Scherrer and A. Ulbrich) of *Hellenistic Cyprus*, (Zentrum Antike, Universität Graz, 2012); and with G. Ambros and M. Christidis of *Antikes Zypern – Kulturen im Dialog* (Holzhausen, 2017).

Pauline Maillard

Ph.D. candidate in Classical Archaeology, Université de Lausanne. Her thesis is dedicated to the study of the sanctuary of the female goddess by the Salt Lake of Larnaca, Cyprus. She is also a member of the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (ESAG), working on the study of the terracotta figurines excavated in Eretria and Amaranthos.

Elena Martelli

M.A. in Archaeology (2009) and Ph.D. (2013) in Roman Archaeology, University of Reading, is currently an independent scholar. She is the author of the monograph *Sulle spalle dei saccarii. Le rappresentazioni di facchini e il trasporto di derrate nel porto di Ostia in epoca imperiale* (Archaeopress, 2013). She specialises in the production and circulation of portable objects, particularly in the Rome-Ostia region. Her research highlights the function and value of these overlooked artefacts for the understanding of Roman life, through a reassessment of contextual data and analyses of the latest archaeological theories.

Nathalie Martin

Ph.D. (2013) in Greek Archaeology, Aix-Marseille Université, is winner of the 2013 'Prix d'Hippone'. Her interests concern the history of women and religion, as well as themes related to classical iconography. Her recently published work (with P. Banon) *Propos sur le voile* (L'Art-Dit, 2017) discusses the question of the veil within the context of both ancient and contemporary societies.

Roberta Menegazzi

Ph.D. in Near Eastern Archaeology, Università degli Studi di Torino, is a member of the scientific board of CRAFT. She has written extensively on the coroplastic production of Seleucia on the Tigris. She is currently leading a project of public archaeology in Kharkhorin (Mongolia).

Demetrios Michaelides

Ph.D. (1981) Institute of Archaeology, University of London, is currently Professor Emeritus, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Cyprus. He has published widely on Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus, as well as on Mediterranean mosaics, their iconography and technique. He is Vice President of the Association Internationale pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque Antique (AIEMA) and President Emeritus of the International Committee for the Conservation of Mosaics (ICCM).

Arthur Muller

Professor Emeritus, University of Lille (France), specialises in Greek archaeology. He has published widely on Greek figurative terracottas, as well on his excavations in Thasos and in northern France. He has also organised or co-organised international conferences dedicated to craft production in general, and of figurative terracottas in particular.

Abdalla J. Nabulsi

Dr. rer. nat. (1990) in Anthropology (Human Biology), Universität Hamburg. His research interests focus on population genetics and the bioarchaeology of Jordan.

Giorgos Papantoniou

Ph.D. (2008), The University of Dublin, Trinity College, is currently a Senior Research Fellow in the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Cyprus. He has published extensively on ancient Cypriot material culture history, landscape archaeology, ritual, cult, and iconography including *Religion and Social Transformations in Cyprus. From the Cypriot Basileis to the Hellenistic Strategos* (Brill, 2012). He is the coordinator of the international network 'Unlocking Sacred Landscapes' (<http://www.ucy.ac.cy/unsala/>).

Eustathios Raptou

Ph.D. in Archaeology, Université Lumière-Lyon II, is currently Archaeological Officer in the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus. He has published extensively on Late Bronze and Iron Age tombs and sanctuaries from Cyprus, including the monograph (with V. Karageorghis) *Palaepaphos-Skales: Tombs of the Late Cypriote IIIB and Cypro-Geometric Periods (Excavations of 2008 and 2011)* (The Cyprus Institute, 2016).

Nicole Reitinger

Mag. Dr. phil. in Classical Archaeology and Research, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, has published on Cypriot sculpture and portraits.

Angele Rosenberg-Dimitracopoulou

Ph.D. (2015) in Art History, University of Chicago, is currently an independent scholar based in Amsterdam. Her dissertation offers a revised understanding of stylistic change in the visual arts that is documented by specific artworks.

Alessandro Russo

Ph.D. (2014) in Classics, IULM, Milan, has published on Pompeian Archaeology and Greek Art History.

Nancy Serwint

Ph.D. (1987) in Classical Archaeology, Princeton University, is currently an Associate Professor of Art History at Arizona State University. Her co-edited book *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus* (American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002) focuses on gender issues manifest in the art and archaeology of Cyprus over a

diachronic breadth. She is engaged in research and publication of the coroplastic art of ancient Cyprus with particular focus on the terracotta material from Marion and Arsinoe.

Elisavet Stefani

Ph.D. candidate in Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Cyprus. Her research focuses on the burial typology and the topography of Amathous. She has participated in numerous excavations of funerary sites in Cyprus, and published articles related to the newly emerged data.

Isabelle Tassignon

Ph.D. (1998) in Archaeology, University of Liège, a former member of the French School at Athens, is Lecturer in Ancient Iconology at the University of Namur, and Curator at the Fondation Gandur pour l'Art of Genève. She has published on Cypriot sculpture, including *Le Seigneur aux lions d'Amathonte. Étude d'iconographie et d'histoire des religions des statues trouvées sur l'agora* (De Boccard, 2013). With Th. Petit and B. Blandin, she is in charge of the publication of the royal palace of Amathous in Cyprus.

Anja Ulbrich

Dr. phil. (2004) in Classical Archaeology, Ancient History and History of European Art, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, has been the A.G. Leventis Curator of the Cypriot collection at the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, since 2009. After her first monograph on sanctuaries and cults of female deities in Archaic and Classical Cyprus (Ugarit-Verlag, 2008), she has published extensively on Cypriot sanctuaries, religion, votive-sculptures and terracottas in Archaic to Hellenistic Cyprus.

Lara Weiss

Ph.D. (2012) in Egyptology, Georg-August Universität Göttingen, is the Curator of the Egyptian collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. She is also Project Leader of 'The Walking Dead at Saqqara: The Making of a Cultural Geography', funded within the Vidi talent scheme of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research and hosted at the Leiden Institute for Area Studies (LIAS). She has previously held a Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Max Weber Centre for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies at the University of Erfurt and has published extensively on ancient Egyptian religion.

Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas: An Introduction

Giorgos Papantoniou, Demetrios Michaelides and Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou

Terracotta figurines embody ancient tangible and intangible cultural evidence and meanings. In addition to the artistic, technological and economic aspects involved in their study, they also embody socio-cultural (i.e. religious and ideological) expressions; they become invaluable testimonies to everyday life, encoding important cognitive elements, expressing human self-awareness and reflecting meanings and ideas of the societies that produced and used them.

The present volume has two major aims: the presentation of some new material and preliminary results, alongside the introduction of new methodological approaches to the study of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas. It includes material from the wider Mediterranean region and the Near East, dating from the transition from the late Classical to the Hellenistic period down to Late Antiquity. Building on recent developments in coroplastic studies, the volume gathers reliable evidence from well-known archaeological contexts (e.g. sanctuaries, burials, houses) as well as unprovenanced museum material, shedding light on the function of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas and their associated technology and iconography.

The over-investment in the areas of dating, provenance and style, to the relative neglect of questions of production, consumption, distribution and function, has led research on terracottas to be viewed as at 'a dead end' (Naerebout, 2017). The evidence for Hellenistic and Roman terracottas has traditionally relied almost entirely upon early programmed and illicit excavations, often without certain contexts or any information on provenance of the objects (cf. Bailey, 1983: 193). Following the era of antiquarian approaches of the 18th and 19th centuries, many terracottas were unearthed during scientific archaeological explorations of the 20th and 21st centuries. However, even in these cases, it is only now that the concept and significance of the terracottas' depositional contexts are being asserted and further explored (Papantoniou, Michaelides & Dikomitou-Eliadou, this volume).

During the last decade, and especially following the establishment of the Association for Coroplastic Studies (<https://coroplasticstudies.univ-lille3.fr>, accessed 1 June 2018), significant attempts have been made to rectify this situation through the integration of new and revised methodologies into the study of ancient terracottas (cf. Erlich, 2015). In this regard, we selectively mention three recently published collective volumes resulting from two conferences (Izmir 2007 and Lille 2013) and one workshop

(Philadelphia 2012): Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, 2015; Muller & Lafli, 2015; Muller & Lafli, 2016, respectively. In addition, the geographic and thematic span of recent synthetic studies in various parts of the Mediterranean and the Near East have shown that we can now document and comprehend better than ever before the manifold role played by terracottas in the religious, social, domestic, economic and political spheres of life in antiquity (cf. Uhlenbrock, 2009; Erlich, 2015).

Because of their 'artistic' dimension and their relationship with 'classical' sculpture, Hellenistic and Roman terracottas remained even more trapped within traditional art-historical approaches to style than terracottas belonging to earlier chronological phases of the Mediterranean and the Near East. For example, Bronze Age Cypriot, Minoan or Mycenaean figurines have often been approached more contextually, through other methodological lenses related, for instance, to gender, fragmentation, depositional context, and digital humanities (e.g. Bolger, 1992; 2009; Morris, 2001, 2009; Schallin & Pakkanen, 2009; Morris & Peatfield, 2014; Morris, Peatfield & O'Neill, 2017; Insoll, 2017). As the aforementioned volumes showcase, this wider range of approaches is beginning to emerge and to be applied to the terracottas from later periods, alongside the more traditional methods of stylistic analysis and dating.

It is in this context that this volume on 'Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas' emerges. While comparative approaches with earlier periods are fruitful and research-provoking, because of their more 'globalised' nature, Hellenistic and Roman terracottas from the wider Mediterranean and the Near East need to be viewed comprehensively in a specialised volume. As the volume demonstrates, the time is ripe for a better, more enhanced and all-encompassing understanding of the production, distribution and consumption of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas, applying new theoretical and scientific methods to their study. As an abstract precedes each chapter we find it unnecessary to summarise, one by one, the contents of the volume in this short introduction. Instead we would like to point out some of its main features.

1 Geographic Span and a Comparative Approach

While there are many interlinked themes, the volume covers a broad geographic spectrum spanning across Mesopotamia, the Levant, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Greece,

Italy and North Africa. Thus, by collecting material from such a wide geographic context, a better comparative approach can be achieved in the future. Focusing directly or indirectly a) on similarities and differences between the deposition of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas in different contexts (i.e. public, sacred, funerary and domestic), b) on the meanings and function(s) of the objects according to the geographic context they are found in and/or the period to which they belong, and c) on the relationship between Hellenistic/Roman technological and iconographic traditions with the earlier (Archaic and Classical) local traditions, we can better understand the impact of local traditions and the levels of cultural transmissions and transformations. The typological references made in this volume reveal a commonality of cultural expression that includes cultural, social and religious concerns, but at the same time they bring into higher relief the specific coroplastic language used by the individual centres.

The chapters by Castiglione, Menegazzi, Erlich and Jackson (chapters 25–28), for example, show the transmission and transformations of culture and iconography in differing geographic contexts. Certain terracotta types found in different geographic contexts may express specific choices related to specific needs within a local context. This is illustrated by a number of chapters which deal with similar topics or iconographic types found in other sites within the same or different geographic area: for example, the chapters by Raptou, Serwint and Ulbrich (chapters 4–5 and 9) deal with the city of Arsinoe in Cyprus, while those of Serwint and Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti *et al.* (chapters 5 and 12) discuss polychromy in Cyprus and Greece. The chapters by Gutschke and Martin (chapters 14–15) deal with rites of passage in various areas of Greece and Asia Minor, while those by Muller and Huysecom-Haxhi (chapters 17–18) discuss the merging of the iconography of the bride and that of Aphrodite in, once again, Greece and Asia Minor. The chapters by Martin and Castiglione (chapters 15 and 25) focus on mantle dancers and their different interpretations in Greece and the Levant, while the chapters by Castiglione and Erlich (chapters 25–26) engage with the iconography of Baubo in different parts of the Levant.

2 Contextuality

The contextualisation of terracottas within their individual depositional intra- and extra-site contexts (public, domestic, funerary or sacred) is of particular importance. Moving away from mere stylistic analyses, as with any kind of artefacts, when studying Hellenistic and Roman

terracottas one needs to ask basic questions, such as who made these objects, for whom, how and why (Muller, 1997; Muller & Lafli, 2015; 2016; Hugot, Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, 2016). In this regard, the discussion of context is a very important one. The concept emerges as a multi-layer issue beyond the idea of find-spot, including viewing political, socio-economic, cultural, and ideological contexts, and allowing for novel approaches, moving beyond traditional stylistic and/or stratigraphic analyses (Rodriguez Perez, 2017). The chapters of the present volume consider both archaeological (i.e. stratigraphic) and/or socio-cultural contexts, when possible, in order to achieve the best interpretative framework for each object.

The contextualisation of objects acquired by museums, chance discoveries or deriving from excavations of the past, is an avenue of research demanding further attention in the future. The chapters by Koiner & Reitingier, Maillard, and Ulbrich (chapters 2–3, 9) for example, represent a growing trend in coroplastic research that attempts to recontextualise material that lacks appropriate archaeological documentation. The contextual studies of Papantoniou, Michaelides & Dikomitou-Eliadou, Raptou, Stefani, Christofi, Kielau, Russo, and Nabulsi (chapters 1, 4, 7–8, 19, 21 and 29) present new, unpublished archaeological material and evidence that reveal the importance of depositional contexts for understanding social meanings and/or possible re-uses, changes or permanencies of the function(s) of figurines when we move from one historical period to another. The contextual work of Miller Ammerman (chapter 20) also traces the biography of terracotta objects from their creation to their eventual discarding, while the contextual/synthetic spatial approach taken by Martelli and de Larminat (chapters 22–23), for example, offer a better understanding of the role and meaning of previously or only partly published terracottas in differing depositional contexts.

3 Interdisciplinarity

Some chapters in this volume focus on the typological and iconographic analysis of terracottas and on issues of chronology. Some rare types, based on the current state of research, are also presented. The contextual approach emphasised above allows the disciplines of art history and archaeology to come closer; in fact, coroplastic studies (when it comes to Hellenistic and Roman material at least) show that the disciplinary divides are artificial (Rodriguez Perez, 2017). Other chapters focus on function and meaning while some focus on or include technological studies related to fabrics, slips and pigments,

technology of manufacture, provenance and distribution. A major contribution of this volume is the manifestation of the ways in which other disciplines, such as anthropology, natural and computer sciences (i.e. archaeometry and digital humanities) may help in the better understanding of both the function and the manufacture/distribution of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas. Nowadays, more accessible non-destructive analyses of clays and pigments are gradually becoming a routine aspect of coroplastic research (Erlich, 2015 with references), while digitisation projects are becoming of great importance not only for a more general audience and cultural heritage purposes, but also for understanding technology and function (Papantoniou *et al.*, 2012; forthcoming; cf. Averett *et al.*, 2016; Counts *et al.*, 2016; Morris *et al.*, 2018).

The chapters by Papantoniou, Michaelides & Dikomitou-Eliadou and Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti *et al.* (chapters 1 and 12) illustrate how such interdisciplinary approaches in the field of coroplastic studies can alter the picture, suggesting production centres, technological advances of the coroplasts, and even provide evidence for trade, since these analyses indicate the use of imported colouring agents. Some production centres have also been identified by the authors of other chapters in the volume, such as Serwint and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou & Arachoviti (chapters 5 and 11), showing the importance of maintaining traditional cultural-historical approaches, above all other, when studying Hellenistic and Roman terracottas. The chapters by Tassignon, Averett, Benissi, Martin, Rosenberg-Dimitracopoulou, Muller, and Huysecom-Haxhi (chapters 6, 10, 13, 15–18) reveal the importance and the multi-varied nature that iconographic approaches can take within the field of coroplastic studies. Similarly, the studies of Gutschke and Weiss (chapters 14 and 24) reflect the growing influence of anthropological studies and theoretically informed frameworks when approaching the assemblages from a socio-cultural perspective.

4 Conclusions and Future Directions of Research

This volume is largely oriented towards the presentation of new data: newly excavated or previously unpublished material and core museum collections which, prior to the publication of this volume, had not received due attention. As a whole, the volume updates our information on Hellenistic and Roman terracottas in the broader Mediterranean and the Near East, not only by presenting new material, but also by offering some new and innovative interpretations.

The large number of studies and the wide range of approaches one finds in this volume illustrate the increasing interest of scholars in moving Hellenistic and Roman terracotta studies beyond the narrowness of art-historical approaches. While editing this volume we enjoyed working with such a variety and multiplicity of methodologies and approaches, which show that 21st century scholarship is moving Hellenistic and Roman terracotta studies decisively forward, towards contextuality and interdisciplinarity.

Together with the joy of working with such a varied range of methods and approaches, we also encountered several challenges related mostly to the standardisation of a consistent terminology. One major such challenge was the vocabulary used for the technology and techniques related to the different phases of mass production of moulded terracottas. In this regard, the excellent lexicon, published in the proceedings of the *XVIII^e Colloque du Centre de recherches archéologiques* (Muller, 1997) and widely accepted as providing an international vocabulary, proved indispensable.

We hope that this book will serve both as a focused collection of essays on Hellenistic and Roman terracottas from a wide geographic range, and as a reference work for future research. Continued study of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas, utilising and enhancing the all-encompassing holistic methods adopted by scholars in this volume, offers a good opportunity to understand socio-cultural variability amongst Hellenistic and Roman public, domestic, religious and funerary contexts of the Mediterranean and the Near East. We hope that future research will pull Hellenistic and Roman terracottas further into current interpretative frameworks (such as globalisation theory, localism, networks and connectivities) appreciating the full potential of these artefacts in understanding ancient societies. Finally, we hope that public engagement and cultural heritage practice will further enhance education and public interest in this type of artefacts and their associated cultures.

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PART 1

Cyprus

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Terracottas in a Domestic Context: The Case of the House of Orpheus in Nea Paphos, Cyprus

Giorgos Papantoniou, Demetrios Michaelides and Maria Dikomitou-Eliadou

Abstract

The terracottas from the House of Orpheus in Nea Paphos, Cyprus, form part of a significant assemblage that spans from the Hellenistic to the Roman periods. The present study is a first attempt at presenting the archaeological and social contexts to which the terracotta assemblage of the Roman period belongs. It also provides an overview of our on-going project, which involves a systematic assessment of the assemblage, combining stylistic, compositional, experimental, computational and theoretical methods of study.¹

1 Introduction

Cyprus has a well-rooted and wide-ranging coroplastic tradition that unceasingly develops in time from the Chalcolithic period (c. 3900–2400 BCE) onwards, as illustrated by a large corpus of published data. Among the many and varied publications on – mainly pre-Hellenistic – Cypriot terracottas, special reference should be made to the corpora of *Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus* published by V. Karageorghis (1991–1998) and J. Karageorghis (1999), the proceedings of the first and only international conference on *Cypriote Terracottas*, edited by F. Vandenabeele

and R. Laffineur (1991), and the more recent provenance studies on terracotta statues and figurines of Cypriot type found in the Aegean, by V. Karageorghis and his collaborators (Kilikoglou *et al.*, 2008; V. Karageorghis, Kourou & Glascock, 2009). All these works have provided important information about the morphological attributes of the terracottas in each prehistoric or historic period, the associated themes and ideas represented, and the corresponding ritual and burial contexts; or, they have explored alternative analytical ways for approaching the ancient terracottas and their provenance.

Despite the plethora and variety of publications dedicated to Cypriot terracottas, there are still significant issues to be challenged in research, and consequently in ancient terracotta figurine literature. While theoretical models of archaeological perception and inference, as well as the methods of compositional and technological characterisation of ancient material culture are constantly developed and reformed, these are not always convergent with studies of ancient terracottas. This observation applies particularly to the study of Cypriot Hellenistic (c. 310–31 BCE) and Roman (c. 31 BCE–330 CE) terracottas that remain little studied and detached from recent theoretical and scientific developments (cf. Koiner & Reittinger, this volume).

Another important drawback in research is the fact that more often than not, ancient terracottas are the products of looting or derive from older antiquarian expeditions deprived of the necessary scientific archaeological control. As a result, Hellenistic and Roman terracottas often appear in museum catalogues lacking any contextual information (e.g. Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998). There are also those cases where, due to their humble nature and perceived ‘inferiority’ by comparison, for example, to sculpture (e.g. Westholm, 1936), ancient terracottas are only partly documented and published in archaeological excavation reports.

A handful of scholars (e.g. Michaelides, 1992b; 2015; Daszewski, 2001) have attempted to discuss specific terracotta figurines with references to their depositional contexts; these studies have not yet reached their full potential as the stratigraphic calibration of the respective

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domestic compounds, and the subsequent correlations between terracotta figurines and depositional contexts are still in progress. Queyrel's (1988) comprehensive study of the totality of Cypriot Hellenistic and early Roman terracottas from Amathous, in their specific contexts, is a positive exception. While Queyrel's study follows a 'traditional' approach to terracotta figurine style, chronology and iconography, it documents and considers the particular archaeological contexts in which the terracotta figurines at Amathous were recovered.

In this contribution, we wish to underline the importance of the documentation and comprehension of the archaeological context in which the terracottas were found. As in the case of any other category of ancient artefact, contextual information is vital in documenting the chronological spectrum of a terracotta figurine type, theme or idea, its practical, cultural and social function, and any technological, functional, ideological or cultural changes that may have occurred in time.

In the case of Amathous, the terracottas belong to contexts related to a sanctuary. It may be necessary to note an important change in the dedication of terracottas in sanctuaries: based on the published evidence, we rarely find terracotta figurines in Cypriot sanctuaries following the late Hellenistic/early Roman period (cf. Papantoniou, 2013: 37). As from the late Hellenistic period onwards, however, it seems that the majority of terracottas come from domestic or funerary contexts. All the same, while a few Hellenistic or Roman funerary assemblages have been fully published (e.g. Dray & du Plat Taylor, 1937–1939; du Plat Taylor, 1940–1948; Raptou, Stylianou & Vassiliou, 2002; cf. A. Christodoulou, 1970), in these cases the presence of terracotta figurines is either limited or non-existent. The work of Stephani (this volume) sheds more light on the funerary significance of terracotta figurines placed in burials, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. To the present, however, no terracotta assemblage from a Cypriot Hellenistic or Roman house or villa has been adequately published.

The underlined drawbacks in research are not confined to the ancient terracotta figurines of Cyprus. Even in recent broad, interregional studies on Roman art, terracotta figurines are either totally neglected or misrepresented (e.g. Ramage & Ramage, 2015). Already in 1983, Bailey (1983: 193) argued that the general picture of terracotta production in the Roman Empire remained unclear. As he states, the evidence relies almost wholly upon early finds and illicit excavations, often without any information about provenance and certainly, as in the case of Cyprus, with no means of providing any secure dating.

From a more general perspective and considering, more broadly, the eastern Mediterranean, the significant

attempts at rectifying this situation and integrating new and revised methodologies in the study of ancient terracottas cannot be ignored (cf. Erlich, 2015; Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, 2015; Muller & Lafli, 2015; Muller & Lafli, 2016). It is acknowledged that the time is ripe for a better, more enhanced and comprehensive understanding of the production, distribution and consumption of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas, applying new theoretical and scientific methods for their study. Recent coroplastic research in various parts of the Mediterranean has shown that we can document and comprehend the manifold role played by Hellenistic and Roman terracotta figurines in the ancient religious, social, domestic, economic and political spheres of life (cf. Uhlenbrock, 2009; Erlich, 2015).

In this study, we present a preliminary but comprehensive account of the terracottas from a Cypriot domestic context of the Roman period, namely the House of Orpheus in Nea Paphos. The private house occupied a central place in the organisation of Hellenistic and Roman societies serving the private life of its inhabitants, but also the demands of public life and the display of prestige (cf. Tuori, 2015). The material (including the terracottas) found in the House of Orpheus is currently under study by an interdisciplinary team, with the ultimate purpose of preparing the final publication of the whole excavation. The present study is a first attempt to present and discuss in a holistic way some of the terracottas recovered in the house, in the hope that this will provide a stimulus for the study and documentation of similar material, and form the groundwork for future comparative studies of Cypriot Hellenistic and Roman terracotta figurines. We focus on the chronological, typological and stylistic attributes of the figurines from the house, as well as on their possible function in a Cypriot domestic context. In the framework of this project, our priority was to identify, associate and document all the terracotta fragments, and explore their morphological, compositional and technological characteristics. This is a first attempt to integrate archaeological and archaeometric information in order to assess at a first stage the archaeological and technological profile of the terracotta figurines and their cultural identity.

2 The House of Orpheus

The Roman House of Orpheus is a wealthy residence situated in one of the most prestigious neighbourhoods of Nea Paphos, the Hellenistic and Roman capital of the island (Fig. 1.1). Although some of its mosaic floors had already been located (for the first time in 1942) and

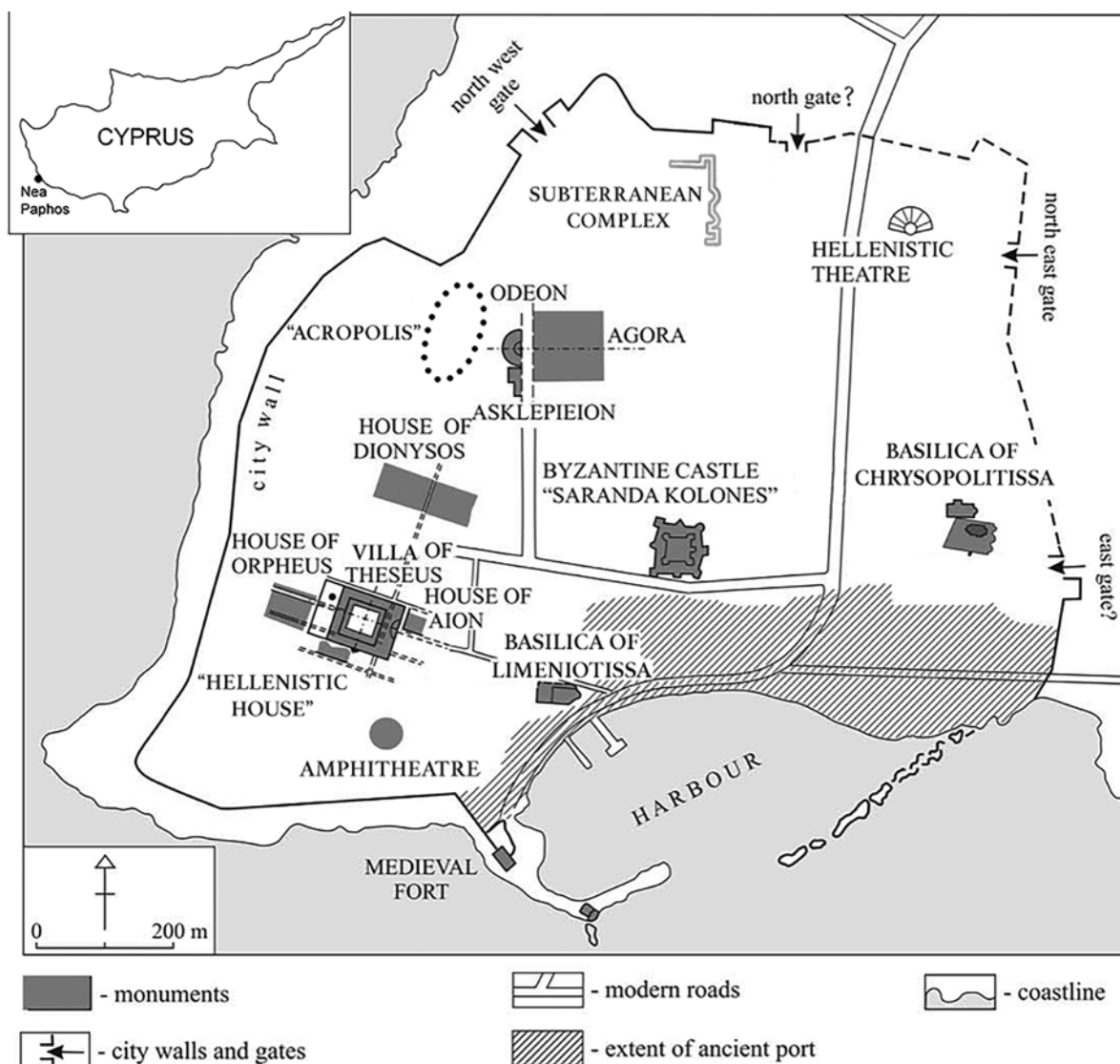


FIGURE 1.1 Plan of Nea Paphos

AFTER DOBOSZ, 2013: PL. 1.1

reburied, the systematic excavation of the house by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities, under the direction of D. Michaelides, began only in 1982 (see Michaelides, 1985: 475; 1991: 3). The investigation continued up to 1992 (Michaelides, 1983–1998; 1991), and after an interval of seven years, it was resumed, always under Michaelides but now on behalf of the University of Cyprus. The latest main phase of the building dates to the late second/early third century CE, and owes its name to a fine mosaic depicting Orpheus charming the Beasts. Deeper trenches and sondages have revealed remains of a series of buildings going back to early Hellenistic times. Only a few walls and floors belonging to these earlier structures have come to light so the architecture of the buildings to which they belong is unknown. Given that the excavations under the nearby Villa of Theseus and the House of

Dionysos have revealed earlier habitations, we can suppose that we have a similar situation here too.

The importance of the House of Orpheus is inferred not only by its prestigious situation, adjacent as it is to the wealthy houses that were destroyed for the building of the later Villa of Theseus, which is certainly the largest and most sumptuous residence in the city, but also by the fact that it was provided with private heated baths, and was richly decorated and equipped. As hardly any pottery sherds of the fourth century CE have been found during the excavation, we can assume that the house was abandoned in the third century CE. Although a lot of work needs to be done with regard to the dating of the pottery and other finds from the house, the evidence so far indicates a pattern of events not dissimilar to that of the House of Dionysos, with which the House of Orpheus shares many similarities.



FIGURE 1.2

Plan of the House of Orpheus

PLAN: M. CHAMBERLAIN AND A. AGAPIOU

A full account of the excavations of the House of Dionysos is still to come. There is, however, a most valuable report on the pottery by Hayes (1991: 200–201, 205 and *passim*), according to whom, the finds from the layers under the mosaics provide an early second century CE *terminus post quem* for the building of the house. According to the same report, the wine amphoras found stocked in the north and east sides of the peristyle, give a *terminus ante quem* later in the same century for the mosaics, and determine the date of the last phase of use of the house, which was probably destroyed by an earthquake in the late second century CE (Hayes, 1991: 212). It has to be pointed out, however, that the late second century CE date that the pottery report indicates is not generally accepted, since the mosaics have close iconographic and stylistic similarities with floors of the third and even later centuries CE (see summary discussion of the issue in Kondoleon, 1994:

6–9, 316–318). Something similar seems to be happening in the House of Orpheus, which was also used for stocking wine amphoras during its last phase, before its final destruction. As in the case of the House of Dionysos, it is legitimate to ascribe the destruction of the house to an earthquake, although, given that most architectural material has been removed in the past, this is not possible to prove for the moment.

The already mentioned on-going preparation of the full publication of the site, which will include the findings from the early Hellenistic period to the abandonment of the site, will be crucial for our understanding of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus. More specifically, the part dealing with the House of Orpheus itself, by far the most important section, will help positioning this Cypriot habitation in its broader Mediterranean socio-political and socio-economic contexts of the second/third centuries CE.

Unfortunately, as it has already been implied, the remains of the house have been badly disturbed both in antiquity and in modern times. In the first case by stone robbers and in the second by the British Royal Air Force that, in the 1940s and '50s had its installations in this part of the ancient site and used everything that could be recycled. It is, therefore, rather difficult to identify the function and use of many rooms and spaces.

The architecture of the house is extremely poorly preserved (Fig. 1.2). Originally two-storeyed (as evidenced by staircases), the building is articulated around a squarish colonnaded atrium, with rectangular rooms on all four sides, several of them of more or less equal dimensions. They have no special decoration and appear to have had a private nature. Some of them were probably *cubicula*. Before the final abandonment of the building, the intercolumniations of the atrium colonnade were blocked with roughly built walls, while some of the rooms on the south of the atrium were converted into storage spaces equipped with gigantic pithoi. Other, nearby rooms were used for storing large quantities of amphoras. To the north of the northern set of these rooms, one finds the baths and two rooms decorated with figural mosaics. The baths, heated with a hypocaust (Christodoulou, 2014: 116–118, 176–168) are located in the NE corner of the house, with a road running to their north and probably another to their east. Unfortunately, the present site-conditions prevent an investigation that would establish (or disprove) its existence. The mosaic-decorated rooms are found to the west of the baths but it is not possible to know if they marked the western end of the house, all archaeological material in this area having been ploughed away long ago. To the south of the above-mentioned storage rooms, there are a number of rooms of undefined character but also a large space, most probably open-air, which was used for some kind of domestic industrial activity.

The NW mosaic floor includes depictions of Herakles fighting the Lion of Nemea, and of an Amazon with her horse (Michaelides, 1988: 47–51; 1992a: 18–19); and the room with the Orpheus mosaic, that gave its name to the house, is found to its south (Michaelides, 1986; 1988, 51; 1992a, 6–7). A third floor, much further to the south, belongs to the very rare type of monochrome (in this case dark grey) geometric mosaics (Michaelides, 1988: 51–52). There is a vast number of portable objects, but the absence of sculpture in marble or limestone (save one finger of a marble statue) is remarkable – although it can probably be explained by the large-scale burning of marble in lime kilns during Late Antiquity, evidenced in many parts of the ancient site. There is, however, a large number of terracottas (amounting to over 400 fragments) and,

although not all of these belong to the main phase of the building, a large portion of them clearly played an important role in the life of the household. It is essential to point out that many of the important pieces were found in the area around the courtyard and the baths, which, unfortunately, are the parts of the house that suffered most from the despoiling of the building of its architectural material. This explains the mostly fragmentary survival of the terracotta figurines (see below).

3 The Project

Our particular project, dealing with the recording and morphological study of the terracottas, addresses a series of interlinked issues. These relate to: a) the typological, stylistic and chronological classification of the terracottas, as well as their role as cultural artefacts in differing social contexts; b) their provenance and the scale of their distribution; c) the technology and techniques employed in their manufacture; and d) their digital restoration and the development of dedicated applications for visualising and exploring the digitised specimens. For the implementation of this project and for a truly interdisciplinary study of the terracotta figurines, a collaboration network composed of specialists with differing scientific backgrounds was formed. All the information collected, be it typological, stylistic, morphological, technological or compositional, was put together and integrated, ensuring that subsequent discussions were theoretically, culturally and contextually informed.

One of the primary goals of this project was to raise public awareness and interest in ancient terracottas, as a distinct category of past societies' material culture. This was achieved with the creation of digital and physical replicas of the terracotta figurines from the House of Orpheus, which allowed their study and handling by school children, university students and other interested individuals in dedicated workshops, educational programmes and science fairs, something that would otherwise be impossible due to the figurines' fragile nature. The resulting three-dimensional models were used for the creation of moulds for the experimental reproduction of selected figurines. In addition to the actual reconstruction of processes associated with the technology of terracotta figurine manufacture, at an experimental level, we have also attempted to develop dedicated tools suitable for processing the resulting 3D models. These tools are divided into those involving the use of computational methods for processing the 3D models, and those involving the development of interactive tools that aim to engage

museum visitors in exploring terracotta figurines (for further information and examples see Papantoniou *et al.*, 2012; forthcoming; cf. Averett, Gordon and Counts, 2016; Counts, Averett & Garstki, 2016; Morris, Peatfield & O'Neill, 2018).

4 The Terracottas

4.1 *State of Research: Nature of the Material and Dating*

So far, the House of Orpheus has yielded more than 400 terracotta fragments. All fragments have been documented with detailed descriptions of their type, style and morphological attributes. They have also been drawn freehand and photographed, and, when possible, joining fragments have been reassembled. All the information collected is presently being entered in an electronic database designed specifically for the case of the House of Orpheus, which will allow for a more practical processing of the material leading to the production of more controlled stratigraphic, spatial and statistical results and correlations. In this way, we can ensure that all arguments take into account the chronological, spatial and cultural parameters of the site.

Most of the terracottas survive in small fragments and only a limited number is preserved almost intact, while none survives complete. The fragmentation of the terracottas, like that of the pottery and most other finds from the house, is due to a number of factors but, above all, stone robbing, which must have started soon after the collapse of the building. Since a) the inhabitants do not appear to have been killed by the collapse of the house; and b) no truly costly objects like jewellery of gold and precious stones (assuming the inhabitants possessed some) have been found during the excavations, it is very likely that the owners returned to the ruins to recuperate what they could. What certainly followed the collapse and abandonment of the house was stone robbing, which may also be responsible for the absence of precious objects. The site must have been an open quarry for ready dressed architectural blocks and columns, and not only, for a very long time and, as we have seen, was used as such even in the 20th century. The spoliation of the house must have been quite intensive and thorough: hardly any well-built wall survives, only fragments of the atrium columns have been found, while, more surprisingly, the floors supported by the colonnettes of the hypocaust have disappeared leaving hardly any trace. Whatever terracottas were not broken during the collapse of the house, they were certainly broken during the removal of the building material,

which also contributed to the wide dispersal of the fragments. All the same, as it has already been mentioned, there is a noticeable concentration of figurines in the area and rooms around the atrium and the baths.

Most of the identifiable fragments belong to anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines that, when whole, would range from about 10 to 25 cm in height. Where possible, the iconographic type and possible date of a given figurine have been established – the latter a very difficult matter given the disturbance mentioned above. The terracotta assemblage includes material typical of other Hellenistic and Roman domestic contexts in the wider Mediterranean (see, for example, Rumscheid, 2006; Kosma, 2015; Rathmayr, 2015) and in Cyprus (K. Nicolaou, 1967: 123–125; Daszewski, 1968: 56; 1970: 135; 1972: 229–230). Thus, even if the context is mostly disturbed and problematic in our case, and even if stratigraphic calibration is still in progress, comparative analogies are helping us approach the meaning and functions of these figurines. Therefore, we are still highly dependent on stylistic analysis for the reconstruction of the chronology of the objects under study, which, when involving sculpture, is often just as problematic, since Roman sculptors often copied or imitated Hellenistic styles (cf. Rotroff, 1990). With these research drawbacks in mind, considering both the problems encountered in stylistically classifying the terracotta figurines and the current absence of full stratigraphic correlations, we cannot always be confident about their dating.

All the same, contextual evidence, associated finds, typological and stylistic parallels, as well as the, admittedly meagre, epigraphic evidence provided by the inscriptions on the back of some of the terracottas, support the dating of most of our material to the Roman period, and more specifically to the period of occupation of the mosaic-decorated house.

4.2 *The Terracotta Figurines from the House of Orpheus: Types, Styles and Iconography*

The terracotta figurines from the House of Orpheus present a striking variability in iconography. The same applies for the terracotta figurine assemblages recovered from the neighbouring habitations (K. Nicolaou, 1967: 123–125; Daszewski, 1968: 56; 1970: 135; 1972: 229–230) but, even there, one cannot be certain if this thematic variability is associated with a particular and wealthy occupational phase of the houses, since contextual and stratigraphic information is rarely provided in the published reports. What follows is a concise presentation of the main themes encountered in the House of Orpheus terracotta figurine assemblage. This is intended as a preliminary account, very likely to be modified when the contextualisation of



FIGURE 1.3
PHH 169, 173 and 224; Aphrodite standing and
fastening her *strophion*

PHOTO: DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES,
CYPRUS

the figurines and their stratigraphic associations, as well as the study of their iconography, are completed for the final publication of the site. Above all, we need to underline that with regard to iconography, similarly to chronology, one has no alternative but to resort to sculptural types, something particularly risky in that the iconography of certain deities, like that of Aphrodite, abounds in variants and is riddled with ambiguities.

Aphrodite is the deity that features most prominently amongst the House of Orpheus figurines (Michaelides, 2015). The same has already been observed for the finds from Amathous, although there, the terracottas come from deposits associated with sacred spaces dedicated to the goddess (Queyrel, 1988: 35–38; see also Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 560) – and, of course, the situation is common to other regions in the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean (cf. Illife, 1945; Erlich, 2015).

Among the Paphian assemblage, a nearly complete example, represents Aphrodite standing and fastening her *strophion* (breast band) (PHH 169, 173 & 224; Fig. 1.3). The figurine is c. 22 cm high, a large part of its back is missing and the feet and base are modern reconstructions. The naked goddess, her hair drawn back under a wide *stephane*, wears a pair of large rounded earrings and, around her left

thigh, a *periskelis* in the shape of a coiled serpent with its head pointing upwards. On her left, there is a colonnette topped by what appears to be a lidded pyxis. The entire body is coated with a white slip, while remnants of red, pink and yellow paint show that the terracotta was once polychrome. At the back, there is a circular hole and remnants of an inscription incised before firing. (Michaelides, 2015: 330–331, figs. 1–2; J. Karageorghis, forthcoming).

This is certainly one of the finest examples of Aphrodite with a *strophion*, a type that was particularly popular with the minor arts (some marble statues forming the exception) of the Hellenistic period, its popularity diminishing somewhat during imperial times (Melly, 1842; Delivorrias, Berger-Doer & Kossatz-Deissmann, 1984: I, 61–62, nos. 505–513, II, 49, no. 505; Jentel, 1984: I, 162, nos. 170–181, II, 166, nos. 172, 180, 181). The iconographic type, which comes in many variants, is already known in Cyprus through a Roman copper alloy figurine found in Paphos in the 19th century and now in the Louvre (Br 443: de Ridder, 1913: no. 443, pl. 35; similar to Delivorrias, Berger-Doer & Kossatz-Deissmann, 1984: I, 62, no. 508). The general appearance and in particular the gesture of the Paphos terracotta is similar to a figurine from Myrina, also in the Louvre (MYR23), dated to the second half of



FIGURE 1.4 OΔ 3391; Aphrodite standing and fastening her *strophion* from the House of Dionysos

PHOTO: DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, CYPRUS

the first century BCE (Delivorias, Berger-Doer & Kossatz-Deissmann, 1984: I, 62, no. 513, II, 50 no. 513). Two bronze figurines in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens are also fairly close (Sharpe, 2006: 277–278, nos. 112–113, figs. 94–97). Not surprisingly, the closest parallel is a terracotta from the nearby House of Dionysos. The figurine (OΔ 3391; Fig. 1.4), in the Paphos Museum, is unpublished but judging from the photographs (kindly provided by colleagues in the Department of Antiquities)

it seems to derive from the same original mould. There are some secondary differences like, for example, the absence of the *periskelis*, but the figure is essentially the same. What is more interesting is that the inscription at the back, ΕΠΙΑΦΡΑC / ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, survives complete, naming Epaphras as the maker of the statuette. Given that the surviving letters at the back of the House of Orpheus example are ---]ΦΡΑC / ----]Ι, and that the letter shape is well nigh the same, there is little doubt that Epaphras is



FIGURE 1.5
PHH 1081; thigh or arm of
a large figurine, wearing a
band in the shape of a coiled
serpent
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO

the maker of this statuette too. Epaphras is already known as he signs, in the same hand-writing, a figurine representing a mother and holding a child, which also comes from Paphos (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1982). In this case he also defines his specialisation: Ἐπαφρᾶς θεοποιὸς ἐποί[ει] or ἐποί[ησε]. Thus, there are, so far, three figurines found in Paphos signed by the same maker. Interestingly the House of Dionysos figurine shows that the reconstructed base of the House of Orpheus example although not entirely correct is not far off the mark. The ‘correct’ base, in fact, is identical to that of the Eros figurine that will be discussed below. Although the House of Orpheus figurine had been previously attributed to the late Hellenistic/early Roman period (Zachariou-Kaila, 2010; 2012; Michaelides, 2015: 331), a date around the second century CE cannot be excluded.

In the present context, mention should be made of a fragment (PHH 1081; 4.4 cm) of a thigh or arm of what must have been a large figurine, wearing a similar band in the shape of a coiled serpent (Fig. 1.5). It could belong to a figure of one of several iconographic types of Aphrodite; although, on occasion, Harpocrates also wears this kind of jewellery (e.g. a bronze statuette from Pompeii: Tran Tam Tinh, Jaeger & Poulin: 1988: I, 424 no. 118c, II, 245, no. 118c).

The iconographic type of another very fine terracotta statuette of Aphrodite is difficult to define given its fragmentary nature (PHH 9; surviving H [without head and legs] c. 23 cm; Fig. 1.6). The surviving fragments were found dispersed in the NW corner of the portico, and show the goddess standing, with the right arm folded and raised, the hand arriving above the shoulder. The exact pose of the gently folded left arm is unknown. The surviving parts,



FIGURE 1.6 PHH 9; Aphrodite
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO

all preserving traces of white slip, show the goddess naked, save a bracelet above each wrist.

Unfortunately, the object the goddess held in her right hand does not survive, nor are there traces of a garment or any attribute that would help with the secure understanding of the iconography. Even more crucial to identifying the type of Aphrodite represented would be the position of the left arm, which, unfortunately, cannot be joined to the torso. Given the body posture, and with the left arm placed in a downward position, the figure has been identified as a type of armed Aphrodite (Michaelides, 2015: 332–333, fig. 3; followed by J. Karageorghis, forthcoming): not the sword brandishing goddess of the marble statue found in the nearby Villa of Theseus, but the spear carrying goddess, as represented on a mosaic floor in a nearby Roman house of the second/third century BCE (Daszewski, 1999; J. Karageorghis, 2005: 65, fig. 58; San Nicolás Pedraz, 2006: esp. 133–134, fig. 1). However, a recent close examination

of the right arm has revealed that there is a thin stump of the object that the goddess was holding in her right hand. This could easily be the handle of a mirror, and, if we place the left arm in a raised position, this would give us another iconographic type of the naked Aphrodite, most likely that of Aphrodite at her toilet (Delivorrias, Berger-Doer & Kossatz-Deissmann, 1984: I, 60–61; II, 48, nos. 495–496 – but with the mirror-holding hand reversed). It should be pointed out that the photographs in the earlier publications show a lowered left arm, unlike the one published here.

There is also a statuette of Venus Pudica, a variant of Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite (PHH 118: Michaelides, 2015: 334, fig. 4; J. Karageorghis forthcoming) (Fig. 1.7). The surviving height of the figurine is 14.9 cm. It is missing head and feet but the representation is clear. The goddess is depicted completely naked covering her pudenda with her right hand. The billowing folds of the rich drapery of her discarded clothing forms the background to the lower half of the body but covers none of it other than parts of the arms. A large vessel on the ground to her left probably suggests that the goddess is preparing for a bath. Although the gesture of the right hand is common to many a representation, we have failed to find a parallel for this particular rendering of the theme. A similar billowing mantle is represented on a terracotta of Aphrodite fastening her *strophion* from Alexandria (Jentel, 1984: I, 162; II, 166, no. 180).

Of several fragmentarily surviving representations of Aphrodite, the best preserved is PHH 41 (Michaelides, 2015: 334, fig. 5; J. Karageorghis forthcoming; Fig. 1.8). Only the legs of the goddess are preserved but the drapery falling down between them, and, above all, the little winged Eros on her left leave little doubt as to the scene represented. Eros stands on a pedestal and with his outstretched right hand holds a mirror up to the goddess. The representation certainly belongs to the general Toilet of Venus category and, probably, to the Venus Felix type (Delivorrias, Berger-Doer & Kossatz-Deissmann, 1984: I, 78–79, II, 9–70, nos. 696–706). The figurine, missing its base and its upper part, stands to a maximum height of 12.4 cm. It preserves traces of yellow and pink colour and has a large circular hole high up at the back, below which there is an angular 'A' incised before firing. As mentioned already, the composition is reminiscent of the Venus Felix iconography, where, however, Eros can be much larger and does not hold a mirror, as in the case of a marble statue in Istanbul Museum (Delivorrias, Berger-Doer & Kossatz-Deissmann, 1984: I, 79, no. 699, II, 70, no. 699). A representation of the Toilet of Venus, with Eros holding a mirror towards the naked goddess in one hand, and a pyxis in the other, is found in a mosaic from a countryside villa at Alassa, now

in the Limassol District Museum (Michaelides, 1992a: 93, fig. 51; J. Karageorghis, 2005: 65).

A figurine of Eros himself comes from the general area where Aphrodite with the *strophion* and the *Pudica* were found. It was smashed in one place but is complete save for the wings, which must have been missing already at the time of its abandonment (PHH 1462; Fig. 1.9). The figurine stands 17.4 cm high, and represents the naked young god holding a lowered, burning torch in his slightly extended right hand. His left arm is bent behind his back, with some drapery wrapped round it and hanging down beside the body. Remnants of red colour are found on several parts of the figure itself, and of light blue on the base. There is a large circular hole at the back of the figure, and an incised inscription at the back of the base. The inscription is very faint and remains illegible. This must be the result of a very worn mould because if it were incised after it came out of the mould, the coroplast would have made sure the letters were readable. Interestingly, the moulded drum-like base is practically identical to that of Aphrodite with the *strophion* from the House of Dionysos, which, as mentioned already, appears to have come out of the same mould as our baseless Aphrodite, found in the same area as the Eros. The often disputed funerary associations of Eros holding a lowered torch have already been discussed (Michaelides, 2015: 334–335, with further references and iconographic comparisons; see also J. Karageorghis forthcoming), but the role of this figurine in a domestic context cannot be fully explained yet.

Other gods represented amongst the terracottas of the House of Orpheus include Hermes, Pan and Dionysos, the latter by one of the finest terracottas recovered from the site (PHH 523; Fig. 1.10). Unfortunately, only the head survives. The rather effeminate face of the god (c. 6.5 cm high), is set against a crown of vine-leaves and bunches of grapes. The rich locks of hair are tied above the forehead with the characteristic diadem. We date this figurine to the mid-Roman period, as similar depictions are found on second/early third century CE mosaics of the Roman East, such as those of Byblos and Antioch (Augé & Linant de Bellefonds, 1986: I: 519–522; II: 411–413, nos. 52, 54, 81–82; and, most importantly, the nearby House of Dionysos (Michaelides, 1988: fig. 31; Kondoleon, 1994: fig. 111).

Among a number of Egyptianising items, we mention several fragments of an extremely fine bust with Isiac locks (PHH 1639; max. pres. H 4.7 cm; Fig. 1.11). Isiac characteristics, such as the Tyche and the Maltese dog figurines discussed below, fall within the stream of Egyptianising iconography, present in various Mediterranean contexts (eg. Barrett, 2015a; Podvin, 2015; Castiglione, this volume).



FIGURE 1.7 PHH 118; Venus Pudica
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO



FIGURE 1.8 PHH 41; Aphrodite with Eros
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO





FIGURE 1.9 PHH 1462; Eros

PHOTO: DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, CYPRUS

It is indeed valid that – next to Aphrodite – Isis and other Egyptian gods were very popular in household cults (Sofroniew, 2005); as discussed below, however, it remains unresolved whether the House of Orpheus terracottas had any ritual or cultic values.

Of Egyptianising character is a figurine of rare iconography, found shattered in many fragments near the atrium of the house (PHH 54; W: 18.6 cm; max. pres. H 18.4 cm; Fig. 1.12), in the area where several more terracottas discussed in this contribution were found. It represents a female figure reclining on a well-padded *kline* with turned legs. She is frontally represented supporting her body on her left arm. The head as well as several other crucial parts are not preserved but several details

and, above all, the cornucopia held in the crook of the left arm and the rudder held in the right have prompted Michaelides (1992b) to identify the figure as the Tyche of Alexandria. Fig. 1.12 shows the terracotta after its recent re-assembly, and differs from those published previously. Clear tool marks show that, after removal from the mould, extra detail was added to the relief with the use of a sharp instrument. At the back there is a largish circular hole, while clear fingerprints are preserved on the inside surface of the terracotta.

Theatrical terracottas constitute another interesting group, especially the large, life-size masks, of which there are several fragments and one nearly complete example (PHH 53; max. pres. W 16.7; max. pres. H 17.5 cm; Fig. 1.13).



FIGURE 1.10 PHH 523; Dionysos

PHOTO: D. MICHAELIDES



FIGURE 1.11 PHH 1639; Bust with Isiac features

PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO



The eyes consist of strongly outlined oval, near circular holes. The straight, ridge-like eyebrows are drawn together above a well-modelled, straight nose provided with nostrils. The partially surviving lips are also well modelled around a wide gaping mouth. The chin appears to have been small and rounded. The hair consists of small and tight cork-screw locks forming a heavy coil around the head. Circular holes, probably for suspension as we will see below, were pierced on either side of the face, at the level of the lower ear (not represented). The mask, too, was found in the west sector of the atrium, which yielded a fair number of terracottas, and it recalls the masks found both outside and within Cyprus. Similar, large masks have been found in the nearby House of Dionysos (mostly unpublished but see three in K. Nicolaou, 1967: 123–124, pl. xxii:1–2; and K. Nicolaou in V. Karageorghis, 1974: 893, fig. 78) and elsewhere on the island (for a marble theatrical mask from the Villa of Theseus, see Meyza, 2011). Numerous examples have been found outside Cyprus, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean (see, among others: Iliffe, 1945: 16, nos. 70–81; Vafopoulou-Richardson, 1991: 37; Török, 1995: 161, pls. CXXIII–CXXIV; Zemer, 1999: 26–27, nos. 98–2152, 98–2153; Rumscheid, 2006: 528–532, pl. 156–159; Erlich, 2009a: 56, fig. 78; 2009b; Zografou, 2015: 246. See also Bernabo Brea & Cavalier, 2001, for Lipari; and Krogulska, 2005, for the Black Sea area).

Only the left-hand half of the head of a male grotesque figure survives (PHH 32; H 7 cm; Fig. 1.14), it too found near the atrium. The head is misshapen and bald, with only a ridge of hair along the top. The face has an exaggeratedly long nose, bulging eyes and thick lips. The

fist of a small hand is pressed against the cheek. Similar grotesques are widely documented in the Hellenistic and Roman world (Richter, 1913; Uhlenbrock, 1990c: 149; Aġtürk & Arslan, 2015: 49–50); and recent scholarship has shown that ‘grotesques’ cover a broad range of categories and have different functions: actor figurines, caricatures, and pathological grotesques (Mitchell, 2013). Our figurine seems to fall within the caricature type (see discussion below). Once again, we tend to date the figurine to after the mid-second century CE.

Zoomorphic figurines form another significant group amongst the material under study. There is one possible representation of a bull (or cow?) (PHH 693), and several of deer (PHH 1062, 1636[?], 1637, 1638; Fig. 1.15) and dogs of the so-called Maltese spitz or terrier type (PHH 1621, 1624, 1625 [Fig. 1.16], 1694 and several fragments). Similar dog figurines are found in different sizes in many parts of the Mediterranean (Egypt, Delos, Asia Minor, etc.), in every context: domestic, funerary and religious (Besques, 1992; Barrett, 2011: 187–189; Boutantin, 2014: 217–250; Kozanli, 2015; Castiglione, this volume). The best parallels in Cyprus, for both the deer and the dogs, come from the nearby House of Dionysos (K. Nicolaou, 1967: 123, 125, no. 14, pl. xxiii:8), the Villa of Theseus (Daszewski, 2001: 76; more shown at the exhibition *Nea Paphos 1965–2015. 50 years of Polish Excavations*, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, 2015–2018) and Kourion (Young & Young, 1955: 52–52, pl. 17, nos. 1029, 1035–1036, 1039–1040). Those from the House of Dionysos, found in the street south of the house, were ascribed by K. Nicolaou to the late third century CE; the same date that he gave, at the time, to the mosaics of



FIGURE 1.12 PHH 54; Tyche of Alexandria; clear fingerprints are preserved on the inside surface of this terracotta.
PHOTO: D. IOANNOU

the house, which, as we have seen above, is untenable. There is no reason to date the examples from the House of Orpheus differently from the other terracottas we have already discussed. Of particular interest is the fact that some of the dog figurines seem to have come from the same moulds as a number of those of the House of Dionysos. Furthermore, some come from crisp, new moulds, while

others are the product of worn moulds (or copied prototypes) and have lost most detail. It is hoped that the in-depth study of these dog figurines in the future will lead to important technological observations.

We end this brief overview of the House of Orpheus terracottas with a mention of some types preserved in a very fragmentary condition, such as a multicolour



0 1 5 cm

FIGURE 1.13 PHH 53; Mask

PHOTO: D. IOANNOU



0 1 3 cm

FIGURE 1.14
PHH 32; Male grotesque figure
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO



FIGURE 1.15 a. PHH 1637, b. PHH 1638, c. PHH 1062; Deers
PHOTOS: S.A. RUSMIGO

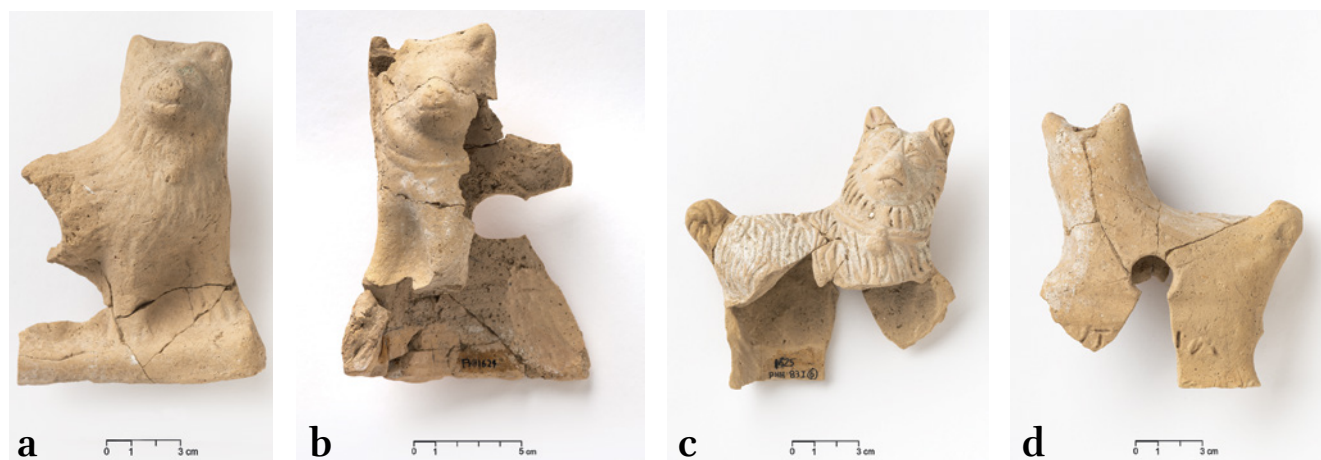


FIGURE 1.16 a. PHH 1621, b. PHH 1624, c. PHH 1625, front, d. PHH 1625, back; Dogs of the so-called Maltese spitz or terrier type
PHOTOS: S.A. RUSMIGO



FIGURE 1.17 PHH 1688; Young man at the back of a chariot
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO



FIGURE 1.18 PHH 39; Male bust
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO



FIGURE 1.19
PHH 1772; Head of an
African
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO

fragment (PHH 1688; Fig. 1.17) depicting a young man at the back of a chariot (the main figure does not survive). Amongst several examples of busts, we mention one of a male (PHH 39; Fig. 1.18), the very fragmentary condition of which cannot diminish its exquisite quality. Such busts are commonly found in many parts of the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean (e.g. Illiffe, 1945: 15, nos. 60–65; Caillou, 2015: 615, fig. 3). Finally, of equal interest is a fragmentary head of an African (PHH 1772; Fig. 1.19) preserving remnants of red and yellow colour. As Lenski (2013) has discussed, figurines of Africans were very common in Roman domestic contexts (Lenski, 2013; cf. Rumscheid, 2006: 500–501).

4.3 Inscriptions

So far, eleven definite and two possible cases of figurines bearing inscriptions have been catalogued. Only three inscriptions are at the back of recognisable representations: the Aphrodite wearing the *strophion*, the Eros with a lowered torch, and one of the dog figurines described above. Unfortunately, all the inscriptions are either very fragmentary or too faint and have thus far defied reading. Future plans include the detailed study of these inscriptions, not only in order to establish (where possible) their texts and thus understand their function (signatures? dedications? other?), but also in an attempt to determine whether they were inscribed freehand on the leather-hard figurine or were moulded and reproduce an inscription engraved on the prototype or the figurine of the previous generation. All the same, we can already make two general observations: a) all inscriptions were placed low down on the back of the figurines, or, more commonly, at the back of the base; and b) the inscriptions examined so far were either impressed by the mould or inscribed before

firing. These two are the methods commonly employed in Cyprus, with one possible exception of a terracotta coming from Kourion, where, according to Young & Young (1955, 169 no. 3083, pl. 54; followed by Mitford [1971, 310–311, no. 165]), the inscription was incised after firing. The published photograph, however, does not seem to support such an interpretation.

Studies of inscriptions found on terracotta figurines in other parts of the Mediterranean (Uhlenbrock, 1990a: 15, fig. 1; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 18; Rumscheid, 2006: pl. 110, 144; Barrett, 2011: 107; Muller, 2014: 75–76; Erlich, 2015; Japp & Schwarzer, 2015: 257, fig. 35; Kozanli, 2015: 393–394), as well as Cyprus (K. Nicolaou, 1967: 125; Michaelidou-Nicolaou, 1982, with discussion of other Cypriot examples of possible signatures) suggest that such inscriptions represent the signatures of the coroplasts. In any case and generally speaking, the examples bearing possible signatures are very few in number, something which confirms the argument that it was atypical for coroplasts to sign their work (Barrett, 2011: 107, 364 no. 1483; Muller, 2014: 74).

4.4 Technological and Compositional Characterisation of the Terracotta Figurines

Given the problems one usually faces when dealing with stylistic and stratigraphic analyses, we realised that an alternative route in the study of ancient terracottas is their technological and compositional characterisation. In coroplastic studies, as in any study of ceramic artefacts, the typological, stylistic and technological attributes of the figurines should be seen as the sum total of all the choices that the craftspeople made during manufacturing (Barrett, 2011). In particular, when attempting to address the origin and chronology of the figurines (and indeed that of their makers) we should keep in mind that typology, iconography and external decoration can be poor indicators of provenance, since, as discussed above, these can be copied or adapted easily. Thus, a more thorough, combined examination of the technology of production and composition of these terracottas becomes even more imperative.

The technological and compositional characterisation of the terracotta figurines from the House of Orpheus aimed at a) the identification of the raw materials used, b) the determination of various stages in their production, c) the testing of the correspondence between stylistic or thematic and compositional groupings, as well as d) a better understanding of the mode of organisation of the workshops that produced and distributed them. With these aims in mind, portable X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (hereafter pXRF) was used for the chemical analysis

of the entire terracotta figurine assemblage from the site, while neutron activation analysis (hereafter NAA) was used for the chemical characterisation of a sub-set of the figurines. While the first method provided a broad qualitative, compositional screening of all the specimens, the second, being a more reliable method of elemental analysis, provided the means to characterise them quantitatively and investigate more confidently the degree of compositional variability (or uniformity) within the assemblage. These methods, even though, at the end, they could not provide solid information for pinpointing the provenance of the raw material resources or the location of the respective workshops, allowed at least the compositional grouping of the analysed samples and provided some first useful information about fabric variability in the dataset.

The chemical analyses complemented a detailed macroscopic, morphological study of the entire figurine assemblage that was conducted for the collection of information that relates to the technology of their production. The morphological study was carried out with the naked eye and the use of hand-lenses (x20 magnification). Finally, in those cases, where fractures allowed the study of the ceramic fabric, a USB microscope was used for the study and recording of the terracotta figurine fabrics.

The macroscopic study showed that the terracotta figurine assemblage from the House of Orpheus forms technologically a very homogeneous group, with only a handful of exceptions characterised as outliers, mostly due to their differing fabrics, as these were distinguished with the naked eye. The grand majority of the terracotta figurines are made with the same type of ceramic fabric, which ranges from fine to semi-fine (Fig. 1.20). Most of the observed inclusions are spherical, sub-rounded and sub-angular in shape, their sorting is fair to moderately poor and they do not exceed 5% in percentage within the fabric clay matrix. All the above-mentioned observations were conducted using visual charts as reference indices (Orton *et al.*, 2003: 238–239, fig. A.4–6). Almost all the figurines were made with a fabric of soft to medium hardness and a smooth surface feeling.

Where fractures and breaks allowed us to have a better look at the ceramic fabric, we were able to describe it macroscopically, with more detail. For most of the figurines, the ceramic fabric is very pale brown (Munsell, 1994: 10YR 6/3 to 8/3). A smaller percentage, approximately 30%, ranges from 7.5YR 7/3 to 8/3 in colour, and only a few figurines are redder, having a 2.5YR or 5YR hue. From a macroscopic standpoint, ceramic fabrics were divided into at least these broad groups, i.e. red clays of 2.5YR and 5YR in Munsell coding, and pale brown clays of 7.5YR and

10YR. The compositional overlap among these groups, when two particular ratios, potassium/silicon and calcium/iron, were used (the first being of mineralogical, and the second of chemical significance [cf. Aloupi & Kourou, 2007: 296]) (Fig. 1.21), suggests that there is a combination of factors affecting ceramic fabric, other than differing raw materials. In addition to fabric composition, firing conditions also play a significant role in the final ceramic colour of the figurines.

The prevailing ceramic fabric within the assemblage is characterised by the presence of brown and reddish brown inclusions (identified with the naked eye to be mudstone fragments), as well as white and beige inclusions, and a smaller percentage of grey inclusions (Fig. 1.20). The inconsistent distribution of the inclusions in the ceramic matrix and their unsystematic presence strongly support the argument that they were not deliberately added to the clay by the craftsperson as temper material, but they were natural constituents of the clay which were not removed during clay refinement. The presence of mudstone fragments in the terracotta figurines came as no surprise as mudstone is frequently and cross-culturally recorded in other ceramic types of Paphian origin (cf. Xenophontos *et al.*, 2000; Dikomitou-Eliadou *et al.*, 2016; Makarona *et al.*, 2016; Nodarou, 2017), mudstone being present among the sedimentary rocks of the Agios Photios Group, within the Mamonía complex (Constantinou *et al.*, 1997; Geological Survey Department, 2018).

Moreover, in some cases (as for example PHH 118 – the Venus Pudica type – Fig. 1.20b) the presence of clay veins or nodules of different colour than the surrounding clay suggests the intentional mixing of clays for the production of these figurines. The difference in clay colour is related to differences in composition between the two types of clay used, such as differences in the concentration of iron in each of the two intermixed clay types (Albero Santacreu, 2014: 75, with references). Tiny voids are visible across the ceramic sections. These pores resulted from the burning of organic matter during firing or air captured in the clay during fabric processing and artefact forming. Most of the elongated voids recorded are almost always aligned parallel to the ceramic margins, indicating that pressure was applied during moulding.

The fineness of the clays is closely associated with the use of moulds for the production of the figurines, and the resulting depiction of fine details. Subsequent experimental work has shown that fine, plastic clays are more effective in conforming to the shape of the containing moulds and imprinting the fine details (such as drapery, architectural details, facial features) (for clay plasticity cf. Rice, 1987: 58–62). The recording of clear and detailed fingertip

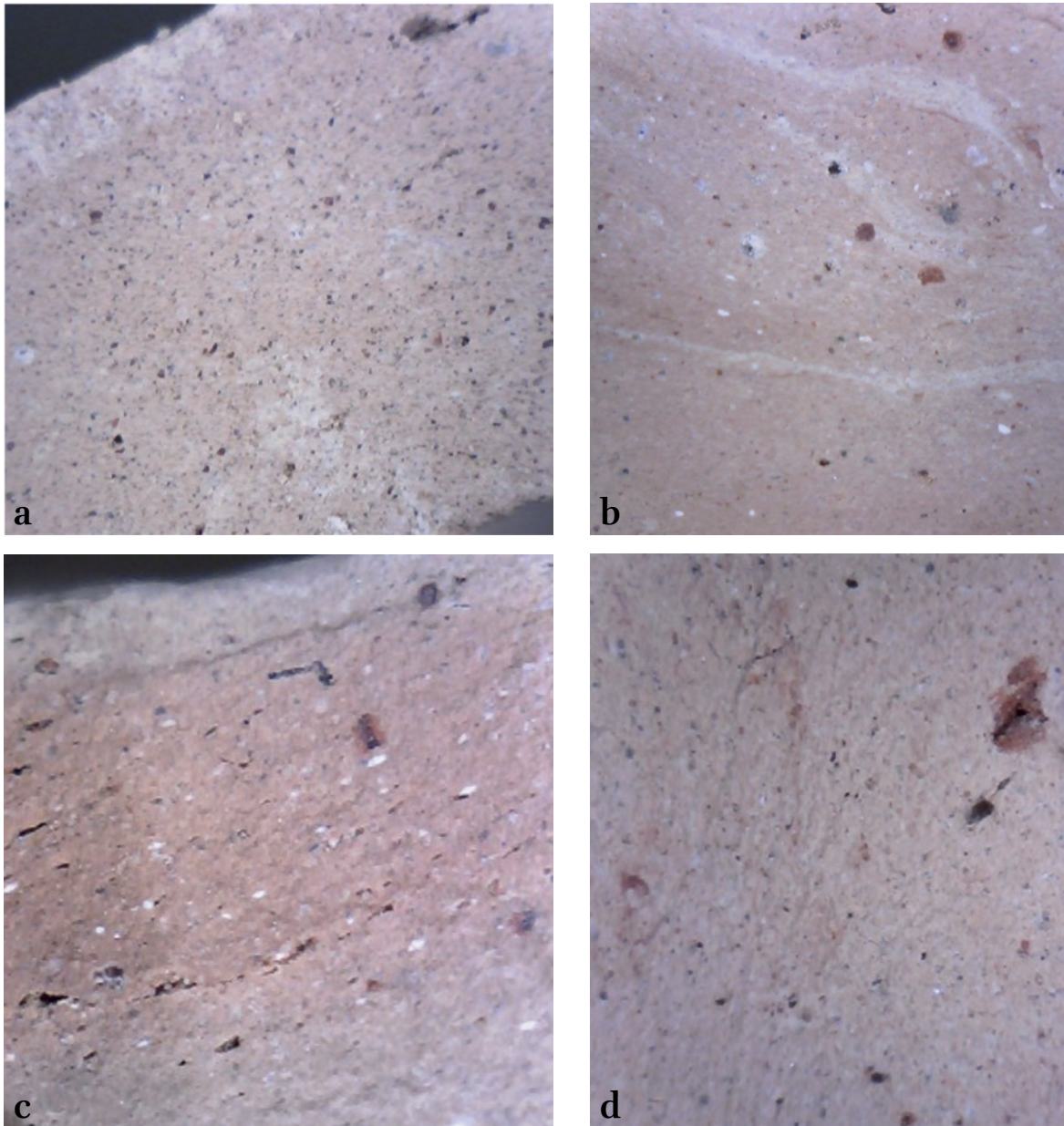


FIGURE 1.20 Terracotta figurine fabrics were recorded using a USB digital microscope, field-of-view: 0.4 cm. a. PHH 120, b. PHH 118, c. PHH 1770 and d. PHH 1645

imprints on many of the figurines further strengthens the argument that the employed fine clays were viscous. However, we should underline that we are not referring to casting (or slip casting), in which a thin suspension of fine clay is poured in the mould. In the case of the terracotta figurines from the House of Orpheus, the clay was wetted and plastic enough to capture the fine details of the mould and to imprint the craftsman's fingertips, who applied some pressure to make sure that the clay covered all cavities across the mould's inner surface (Fig. 1.12).

In those cases, where it was possible to see the terracotta figurine walls in section, most of them did not have a core, and only 10% had a grey or light red, or brown

core. It is also worth mentioning that, where visible, cores were recorded only in the thickest ceramic walls. This observation can be used as the ground for arguing that the achieved firing temperatures and atmospheres permitted the full oxidation of the figurines' thin ceramic walls, leaving no internal core in the ceramic walls. The absence or limited presence of organic matter in the clays employed also contributed to this effect (Orton *et al.*, 2003: 134).

Overall, at least macroscopically, the terracotta figurine assemblage from the House of Orpheus is technologically and compositionally homogeneous, with only a few exceptions catching the eye for being different to the

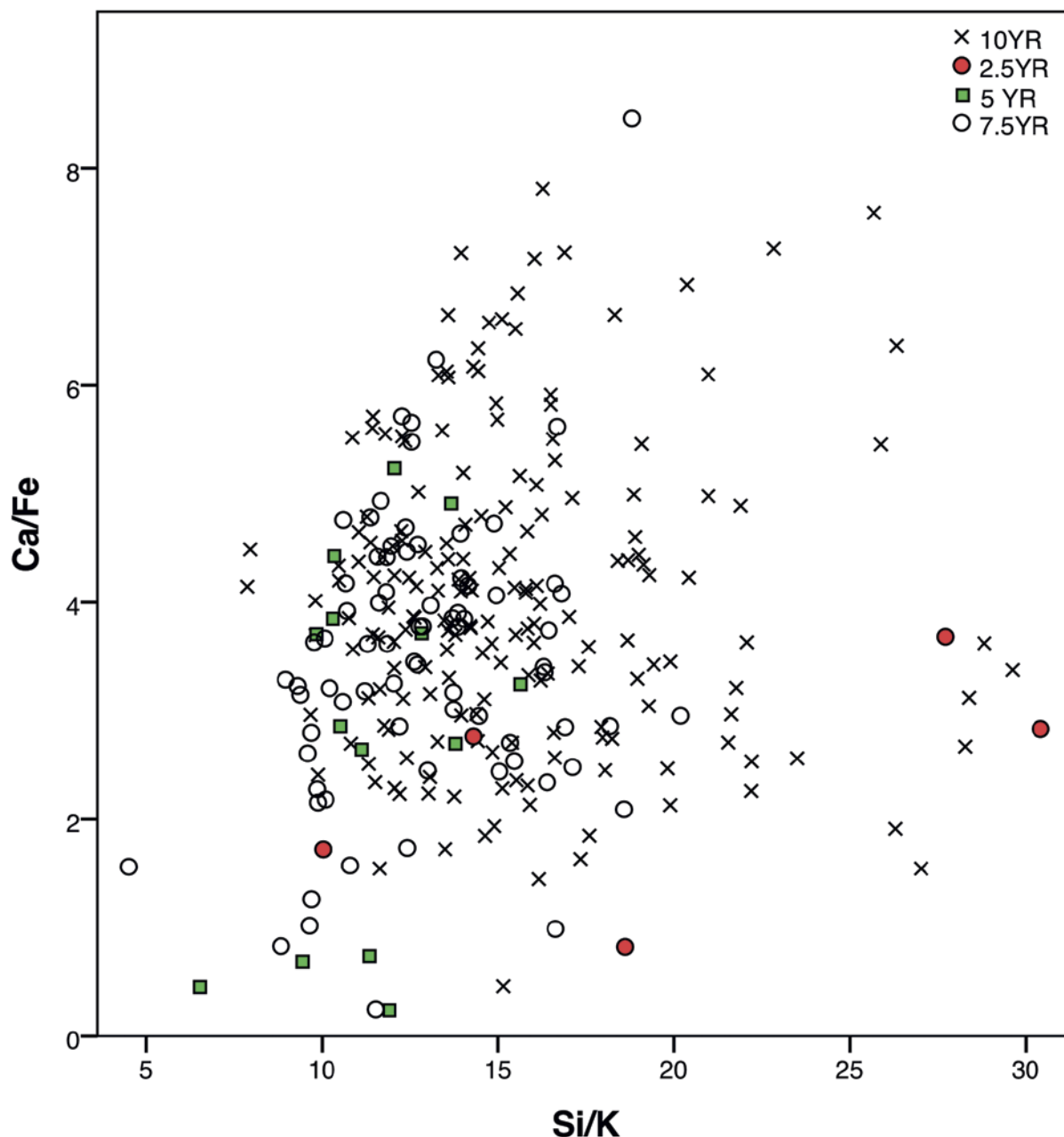


FIGURE 1.21 Scatter plot based on pXRF data, using two ratios: potassium (K) / silicon (Si) and calcium (Ca) / iron (Fe), the first being of mineralogical, and the second of chemical significance. Samples are labelled according to the colour group, to which they were allocated macroscopically.

group. The overall morphological uniformity observed among these terracotta figurines is justified by both pXRF and NAA. Both methods of analysis have shown a significant chemical overlap among the figurines, with most of them being chemically grouped together (Fig. 1.22). The absence of any major compositional discrepancies among the assemblage suggests that the figurines share a common technological tradition, and that they were produced with the same recipe.

However, both pXRF and NAA show that there are two sub-divisions in the assemblage that should not be

ignored. This is shown particularly by NAA (Fig. 1.23), and in the case of pXRF when specific elements are plotted against each other (Fig. 1.24). For the moment, we cannot be certain what these sub-groups represent. When comparing terracotta figurines from the two chemical sub-groups macroscopically, there are no discernible differences in style or in fabric.

The presence of these two compositional groupings in the dataset could be linked with at least three different scenarios: a) the use of more than one clay sources for the procurement of the raw materials by a single production

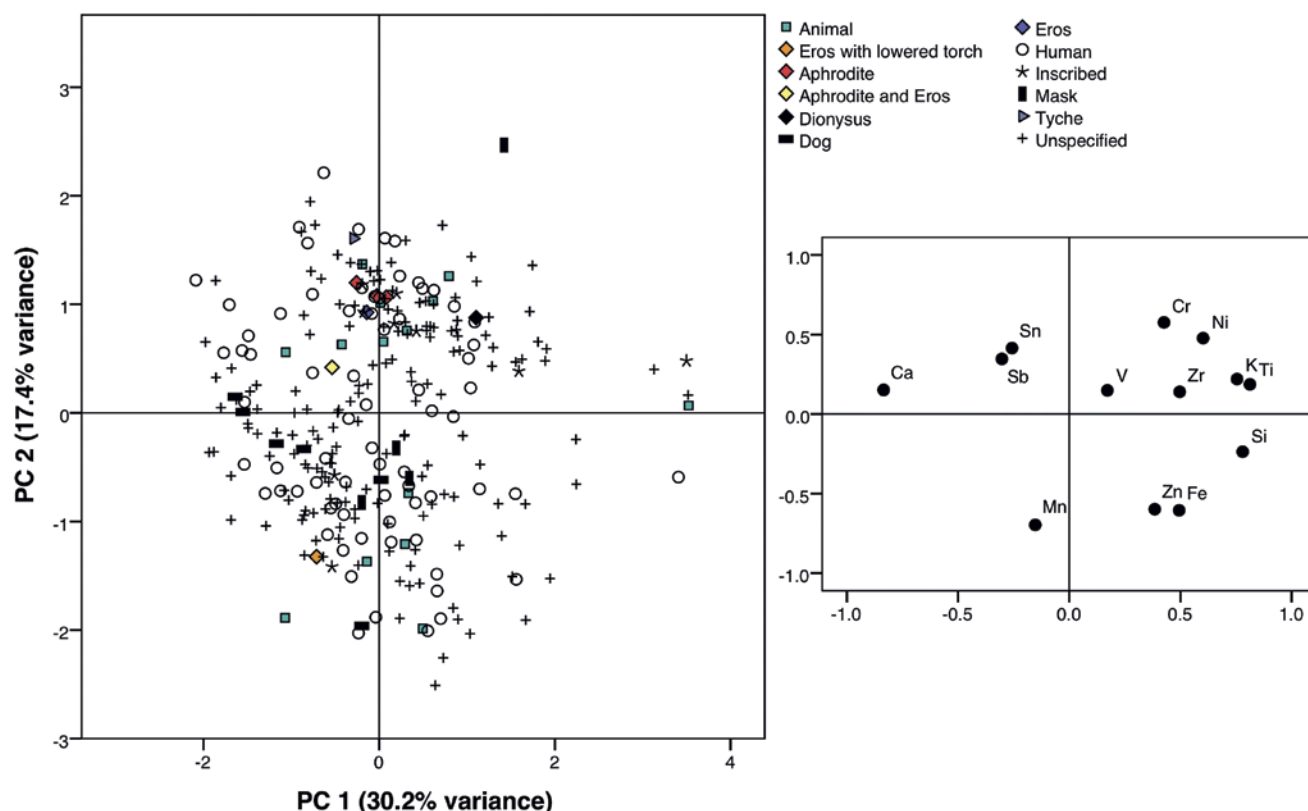


FIGURE 1.22 Principal component analysis plot using pXRF data. Samples labelled according to their thematic representation.

centre in Paphos, b) the presence of two different workshops located in the region of Paphos, each one of them exploiting different clay resources, or c) the distribution of these figurines inter-regionally, with some of them being produced by a Paphian workshop, and others being manufactured by a workshop located in another region of the island, distributing terracotta figurines over a longer distance. If the latter scenario proves to be true, then the scale of style and fabric standardisation in terracotta figurine production in Cyprus, during the second century CE was extremely high, with regional differences being totally eliminated. A more focused comparative study of the terracotta figurines from the House of Orpheus with other figurine samples of known provenance, also analysed with NAA (e.g. Kilikoglou & Glascock, 2009), is planned in order to understand the meaning of these two compositional groupings in our dataset.

Overall, there was a good correspondence between the two employed methods of chemical analysis (Figs. 1.23 and 1.24). The majority of the dog figurines seem to fall in the same group (group A in Figs. 1.23 and 1.24), as does Eros with his lowered torch. Inscribed items are found in both sub-groups. If these sub-groups represent different workshops, then this observation can be used as evidence that different workshops were inscribing

their products. The Aphrodites were found to be compositionally very similar by both analytical methods, being clustered together in group B (Figs. 1.23 and 1.24), leaving little doubt that they were produced by the same workshop. However, as animal and human figurines were recorded interchangeably in both groups, there is absolutely no evidence about workshop thematic/iconographic specialisation.

Both sub-groups morphologically present similar characteristics and there is no reason to doubt the fact that they belong to the same tradition, following the same ceramic recipe. What we see at the House of Orpheus are the products of a well-established and organised market of terracotta figurines. It is anticipated that the construction of the occupational stratigraphy of the house will shed some more light on the micro-chronology of these figurines, enabling us to understand the nature of these sub-groups and how the figurines in each of them relate to each other chronologically.

We cannot be sure at present if all of the House of Orpheus figurines are of Paphian origin, but we tend to believe that in their majority they were, most probably, locally produced in Paphos. It seems likely that the Paphian market was distributing to the local clientele all sorts of ceramic artefacts, including elaborate terracotta

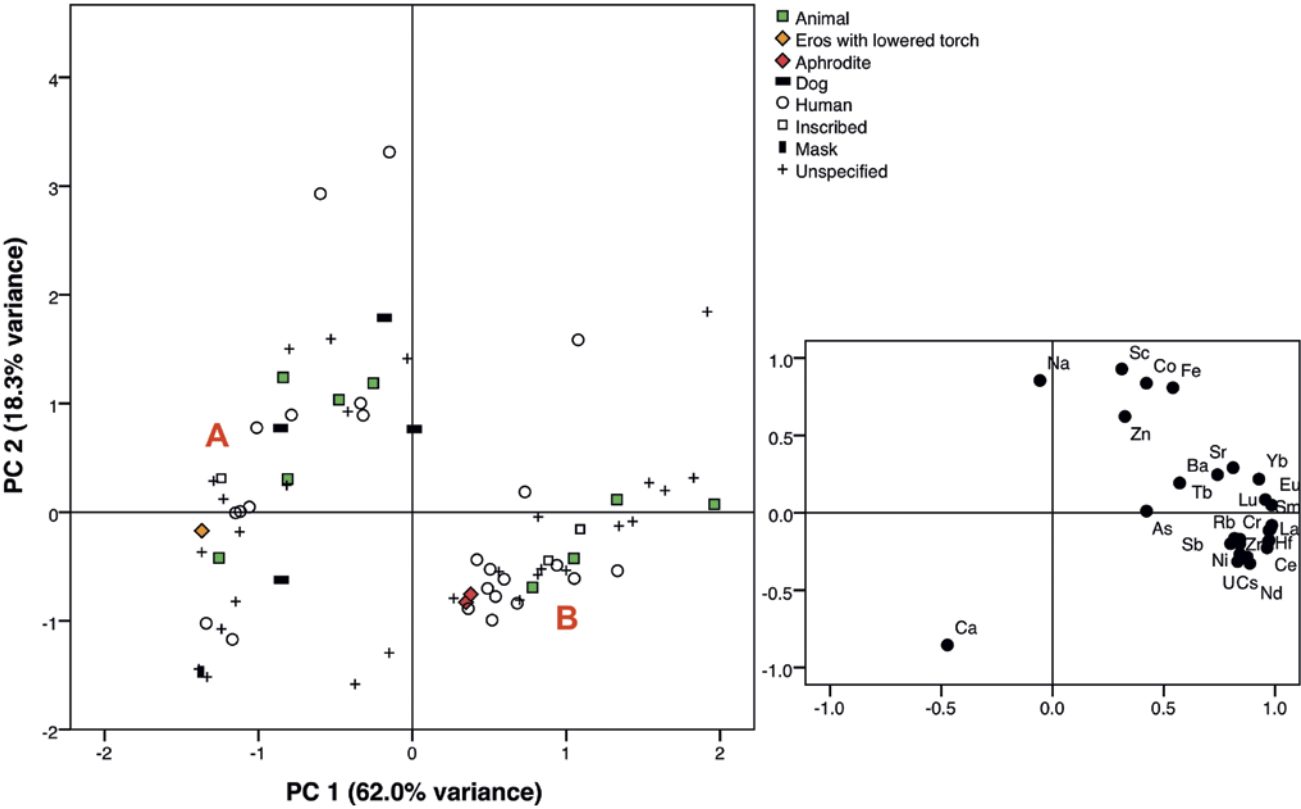


FIGURE 1.23 Principal component analysis plot using NAA data. Samples labelled according to their thematic representation.

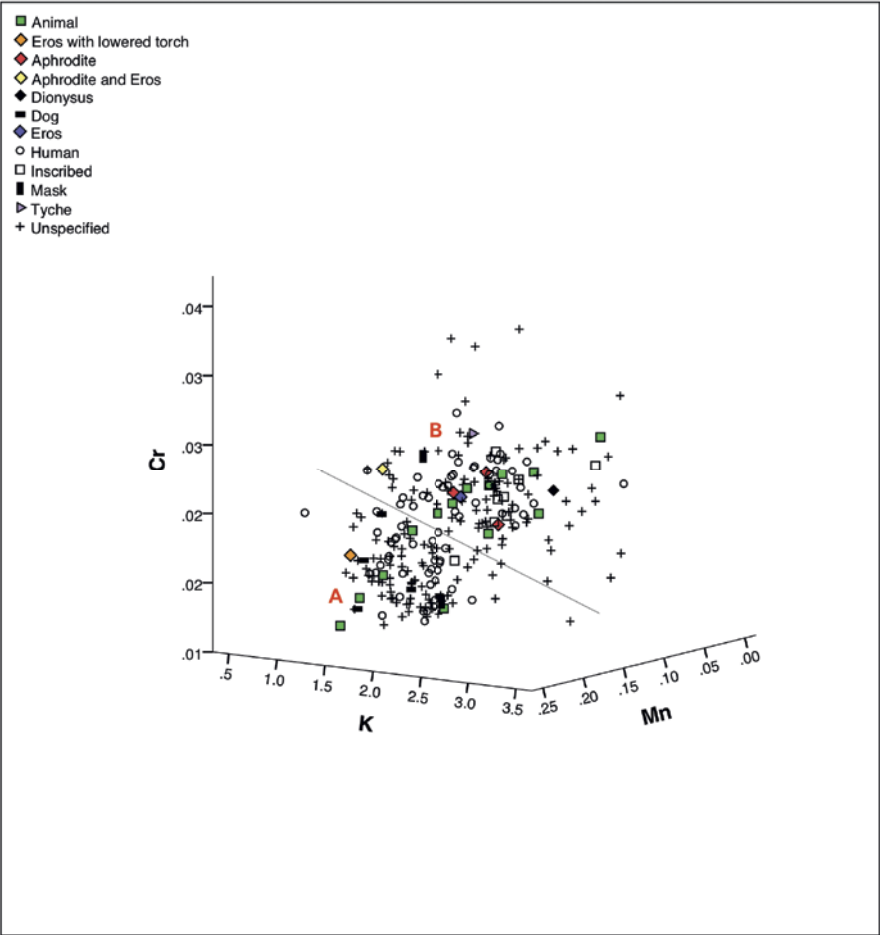


FIGURE 1.24 Three-dimensional scatter plot based on pXRF measurements for chromium (Cr), manganese (Mn) and potassium (K). Samples labelled according to their thematic representation.

figurines of deities and humans, figurines of animals, such as dogs and deer, altars and composite scenes. Whether the two sub-groups represent one or more local workshops, or different workshops with one of them distributing their products inter-regionally, still awaits to be confirmed. Nevertheless, the two sub-groups are technologically and morphologically equal, both being formed by elaborate and inscribed figurines. As has already been argued, the high degree of macroscopic standardisation in their production, as seen in the great similarities in ceramic fabric fineness, colour and overall texture, in forming and firing, suggests the existence of one or more specialised workshops in the area of Paphos or elsewhere in Cyprus, for the production of these high-quality figurines.

It was interesting to observe that those terracotta figurines that stand aside from the rest of the assemblage due to their complete state and elaborate details, permitting their complete morphological study, compositionally are not different from the rest, and fall within both sub-groups. Examples such as the Tyche (PHH 54), the Eros (PHH 1462), the Aphrodites (PHH 9, PHH 118, PHH 169), Aphrodite and Eros (PHH 41), and Dionysos (PHH 523), all of which must have been eclectic specimens in the collection of their owners, as they are now amongst the group, are chemically very similar to the majority of the figurines that form the House of Orpheus assemblage and seem to have been produced with the use of a very similar recipe (Fig. 1.22).

The House of Orpheus located in the urban environment of the capital of the island, must have been in close proximity to the local industry. Kiln sites of different periods for the production of pottery in the area have been recorded by various scholars (Demesticha, 2000; Demesticha & Michaelides, 2001; Lund, 2015, with references). Even though, we cannot know if the same workshops produced pottery and terracotta figurines, or whether there was a distinction in artefact specialisation, there is no reason to doubt the production of at least a significant subset of the terracotta figurines from the House of Orpheus, in Nea Paphos, by local craftspeople.

Generally speaking, in pre-Hellenistic times, the Cypriot coroplasts used the snowman technique but, sometimes, they also used moulds for the production of some hollow but mainly solid terracottas (e.g. the 'Astarte plaques' or the faces of some horse-and-riders, or those of larger figures: Gubel, 1991; V. Karageorghis, Kourou & Glascock, 2009: 20, 33; Hermary, 1991; 2000: 75–112; Winter, 1991; Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998; Serwint, 2016: 407). It was only towards the end of the Hellenistic period that mould-made, hollow figurines became the norm (Queyrel, 1988: 15–19). From then on, manufacturing processes and

techniques drew heavily upon the advances made elsewhere in the Mediterranean, adapting various new methods of ante- and post-firing treatments.

Hitherto, there have not been any detailed, case-to-case technological comparisons for the full documentation of the Cypriot Hellenistic and Roman coroplasts' manufacturing techniques, in order to identify hands or workshops and regional techniques, or technological changes in time (cf. Nicholls, 1952; Queyrel, 1988: 15–19; Uhlenbrock, 1990a; 1990b; Besques, 1994: 21–23; Muller, 1996; 1997; 1999; 2000; 2004; 2010; 2011; 2014; Burn and Higgins, 2001: 18–22; Proskinitopoulou, 2001: 213–214; Barrett, 2011: 89–118; Peppas-Papaioannou, 2011: 51–61; Aġtürk & Arslan, 2015: 16–22). As far as it can be ascertained from the published record and in contrast to other ancient Cypriot cities, such as Ledroi (Michaelides & Pilides, 2012: 32, fig. 48), Kourion (Christou, 2013, vol. 1: 273 no. 454) and Marion-Arsinoe (Najbjerg, 2012: 237), there is no evidence for wasters, moulds or other production debris or installations from Nea Paphos and its immediate vicinity. A mould for a face in the Paphos District Museum was found at Trachypedoula (V. Karageorghis, 1970: 217, fig. 52), which is at a considerable distance from the city.

Nearly all the terracottas from the House of Orpheus are hollow, made with two-piece moulds – although some examples made with single unit moulds have also been recorded. When it comes to two-piece moulds, an obstacle that one faces in describing the processes of production relates to the lack of information concerning the individual stages of the production sequence and, consequently, the absence of a systematic and comprehensive terminology. In addition, the individual stages and their order in production may have varied from one centre to another (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 18). An enlightening exception amongst the terracottas of the House of Orpheus is the case of dog figurines (such as PHH 1621, 1624, 1625; Fig. 1.16), which provide more information on derivative production, that is subsequent generations of moulds, as described by Nicholls (1952: 219–224). Existing terracotta figurines were used as prototypes for the production of more moulds that, in their turn, served for the multiplication of figurines of the same type. As mentioned before, it is interesting to notice that the majority of the dog figurines from the House of Orpheus seem to fall in the same group (group A in Fig. 1.23 and 1.24), strengthening the arguments favouring their derivative production with the employment of moulds by the same workshop.

Experimental work undertaken by the laboratory of Thetis Authentics LTD in Athens, in the framework of this research project, focused on the examination of

derivative production and the shrinkage of the clay as one moves from one mould generation to the next. During experimentation, it was observed that the moulds were deformed with use, losing their fine detail. Therefore, products made with the same mould significantly differed in the fineness of execution, with the later ones having a coarser appearance than the first products. This degradation in the attribution of details from one mould generation to the other could explain differences in the size and quality of execution on some of the figurines (e.g. the dog figurines).

The dog figurines from the House of Orpheus also raise the important question of type and mould interregional distribution. It seems that mould derivatives were manufactured in large numbers at remote centres, at a distance from the workshops where this type had originated (Nicholls, 1952: 221). This could explain the presence of dog figurines in the House of Orpheus (and in nearby houses), which, in origin, were clearly of Egyptian inspiration, but as our macroscopic and chemical analyses showed, they were produced locally, in Cyprus.

When recording morphological variability in ceramic artefacts, especially figurines, we should bear in mind that the coroplast would take additional steps, after removing the impressed figurine from the mould, in an attempt to finalise its form and appearance, making corrective changes, pinching, incising, stamping or adding appliqué details (Murphy, 2017: 119; see also the case of the Tyche figurine mentioned above). Examples from Sagalassos manifest a conscious manipulation of the figurine from the original impression, altering or enhancing details diminished throughout the life of the worn mould (Murphy, 2017: 199–120). Therefore, fine differences among the dog figurines from the House of Orpheus (e.g. the fur), or the Aphrodites wearing the *strophion* from the Houses of Orpheus and Dionysos, should not be linked necessarily with the use of different moulds. In addition, there is always the possibility of the existence of parallel moulds, i.e. two or more moulds taken from a single prototype, which, as the details were done in intaglio afresh every time, ended up by looking very similar and very different at the same time (Nicholls, 1952: 223).

Ceramic and plaster were the two most widely used materials for the production of figurine moulds in the broader eastern Mediterranean. At Naukratis, for example, both plaster and terracotta moulds were used during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Villing *et al.*, 2013). However, in the absence of production debris, it is not possible to know the material used for the making of the moulds for the terracottas from the House of Orpheus. It can be assumed that they were formed of fired clay rather

than plaster, as at present we do not know of any plaster moulds on the island.

Considering those examples that have survived more or less complete, one can argue that while the front side of the figurines was extremely detailed and with a good finish, the back varied in its degree of finish. The majority of the terracotta figurines were either partly worked or completely unworked at the back, intended to be seen only from the front rather than to be handled or admired from all sides. Where evidence is preserved, they have either a flat or, more commonly, a slightly convex back.

Once the clay was fitted into the mould, the moulds would be left aside for the excess water to evaporate. Then, the moulds would be joined together sometimes with the aid of tabs or incised set-marks. This technique for joining the moulds is evidenced in the House of Orpheus assemblage as some of the figurines preserve either the joining markings or a seam (strip of clay) where the front and the back halves, manufactured in two separate moulds, were joined together.

Muller (1996: 36–37) has argued, the moulds were left open underneath so that the join between the back and the front would be consolidated before removing the figurine from the mould. Nonetheless, while such moulds are known from elsewhere (e.g. Ağtürk & Arslan, 2015: 18, fig. 4), so far they are unknown in Cyprus. The release of the figurine from the mould was facilitated during drying by the reduction of the figurine's size, a physical process called shrinkage. As the water surrounding the clay particles evaporates during drying, it forces the latter to draw closer to each other. As a result, the figurine's clay body shrinks, and plasticity decreases to a minimum (Rice, 1987: 63), making the release of the figurine from the mould easier.

Burn and Higgins (2001: 19) have suggested that, on removal from the mould, a vent was cut at the back of the figurine. Indeed, a circular hole is found in the majority of our terracotta figurines where the back survives. The purpose and role of these holes, discussed in the following section, is still open to discussion. These apertures could be suspension holes for hanging the figurines on the walls, or, as Muller argued (1996: 38–39; 2010: 101), they could have operated as vent holes, as well as access ways for the joining of the two halves of the figurines from the inside (cf. Higgins, 1967; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 19).

Fingerprints visible on the inside of joining parts of several of our terracotta figurines may add validity to this interpretation – although at least some of the fingerprints must have been impressed as the coroplast pushed the clay into the moulds. Also, in support of this interpretation is the fact that the holes are found about halfway



FIGURE 1.25 PHH 10; Base with feet of standing figure. The back view shows, on the left-hand side, a small fragment of the back mould still adhering to the front one.

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up or even further up on the back of the figurines, which would allow the coroplast to reach the upper part of the inside of the figurine, something he could not do through the open bottom. On the other hand, in accord with Burns and Higgins (2001: 19), we should note that the small holes at the back of some of the figurines, would not allow most adult fingers to pass easily. Not just fingers but tools too were used for pressing the edges of the two moulds together, as is evidenced for example by PHH 10 (Fig. 1.25). However, assuming that the leather-hard figurines would have been placed standing up in the kiln for firing, the circular apertures certainly acted as vent holes.

The head of a figurine could be made separately and fitted onto the body, although it could be an integral part of the body in one mould. Some larger heads from the House of Orpheus, such as the bust with Isiac features PHH 1639 (Fig. 1.11) and the male bust PHH 39 (Fig. 1.18), are hollow. Several heads found detached from their bodies were clearly made in two solid parts but it is difficult to ascertain

whether they were made separately from the bodies to which they belong. In some cases, like that of Aphrodite PHH 9 (Fig. 1.6), the arms are solid, made separately and attached to the hollow body, which was made in two separate moulds – and the same was most likely true of the other limb extremities and the head of the figurine. Any extra fittings would be luted with wet clay onto the figurine at this stage. Solid terracotta fragments may have been made separately and then attached to composite figurines as appliqués (cf. Barrett, 2011: 108). In addition to the forming of the main body with moulds, and the attachment of any parts or fittings, more detail could be added or even corrections be made with the use of a knife or another sharp tool (as in the case of the Tyche figurine discussed above; see also Michaelides, 1992: 324). The craftsman in some cases even used his/her fingernail to shape particular elements, like the drapery on PHH 52 (Fig. 1.26).

Figurines are likely to have been fired in kilns like those used for pottery, but probably at lower temperatures,



FIGURE 1.26 PHH 52; Legs and drapery of a standing figure. The craftsperson used his/her fingernail to shape particular elements, like drapery.

PHOTOS: V. TRIGAS AND M. DIKOMITOU-ELIADOU

varying between 750 and 950°C (Burns & Higgins, 2001: 20; Erlich, 2015). The use of calcareous clays for the majority of these figurines certainly explains their firing in this range of temperatures.

It was common practice to cover the terracotta figurines with a white slip, which formed the base for the subsequent colour decoration; and traces of such slip survive on many of the examples from the House of Orpheus (as for example the figure of Aphrodite PHH 9, Fig. 1.6). The fact that this is poorly preserved may be due, as Burns & Higgins (2001: 20) have argued, to its being applied after firing – as opposed to the well-preserved slip in cases where it was added before firing (Higgins, 1970: 273).

The documented white slip on the surface of the House of Orpheus figurines and the recorded decorative colours, including red, reddish brown, pink, yellow, orange, green, black and blue should be considered as part of terracotta figurine technology, their composition, their cultural existence. The study of the polychromy of the terracotta figurines is particularly useful especially in the interpretation of their iconography and their function (Blume-Jung, 2016: 148–149), as well as all the information that terracotta figurines were meant to provide to their observers, about the

depicted figures, their gender and status (cf. Zervoudaki, 2002; Abbe, 2015; Blume-Jung, 2016).

Sadly, only a small number of terracottas from the House of Orpheus preserve remnants of any colour. Traces of red were recorded on mask PHH 53 for the depiction of hair (Fig. 1.13), for the skin on grotesque head PHH 32 (Fig. 1.14), on the clothes of male bust PHH 39 (Fig. 1.18) and on the leg of draped figure PHH 52 (Fig. 1.26). Traces of red colour are also found on the neck and face of Dionysos PHH 523 (Fig. 1.10), and the hands and face of chariot rider PHH 1688 (Fig. 1.17). Red colour on Cyprus was produced primarily from red ochre. Red ochre was used also for the production of orange; and traces of orange were found on the clothing of the Tyche of Alexandria PHH 54 (Fig. 1.12). The Aphrodite and Eros fragment PHH 41 (Fig. 1.8), masks with numbers PHH 53 (Fig. 1.13) and 132, the Tyche of Alexandria PHH 54 (Fig. 1.12), Aphrodite PHH 169 (Fig. 1.3), and deer figurines PHH 1637 (Fig. 1.15a) and 1638 (Fig. 1.15b) preserve traces of yellow. Yellow was produced from yellow ochre for the depiction of the skin and short fur (as in the cases of the two masks, and the two deer figurines), hair or clothes, or even the base of the figurine as in the case of Aphrodite



FIGURE 1.27 PHH 1928; Cornucopia?
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO

PHH 169 (Fig. 1.3). Traces of pink (most possibly a mixture of red ochre and chalk, Higgins, 1970: 273) were found on Aphrodite PHH 169 and the Aphrodite and Eros fragment PHH 41 (Figs. 1.3 and 1.8 respectively). In the case of PHH 41, pink was used to depict the chiton of Aphrodite, while in the second case pink colour traces were found on the goddess's headpiece. Dark blue or black was found on two fragments from unidentified figurines PHH 1410 and 1928 (Fig. 1.27), and on a fragment of an animal figurine PHH 1636. Finally, remnants of green colour are preserved on dog figurine PHH 1625 (Fig. 1.16c) and the chariot rider PHH 1688 (Fig. 1.17), while this colour covered the entire body of the fragmentary base PHH 1936 (Fig. 1.28). Green could be produced from green earth (*terra verde*), which is abundant in Cyprus (Aloupi *et al.*, 2000: 21).

4.5 Functions and Meanings

There cannot be a systematic and comprehensive study of ancient terracotta figurines without addressing their function in the society and within the particular contexts



FIGURE 1.28 PHH 1936; Fragmentary base
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO

in which they were used. As Erlich (2015) emphasised, the interpretation of terracotta figurines can be divided into three categories: general use, function and meaning. In the case of Cyprus, the use of terracotta figurines in domestic contexts remains highly problematic, as we cannot be sure of their function(s) within the household. It is even more difficult to address their cognitive meaning(s), and the symbolism(s) that these ceramic artefacts bore, as well as the role that they played in the hands and the heads of the inhabitants of and the visitors to the house. The study of the function of the terracotta figurines from the House of Orpheus becomes even more challenging when considering the hitherto only rudimentarily analysed stratigraphy of the site and their often disturbed context. Most of the pieces are extremely fragmentary and some of them must represent material left behind at the abandonment of the house. However, most of the breaking up of the terracottas (as of the pottery) and the dispersal of their pieces can be attributed to the already mentioned centuries-long removal of building material from the ruins of the house. This disturbance also explains the presence of some earlier, intrusive material in the later layers. All the same, the domestic context of the terracottas is assured, as material was removed from but not brought to the site.

The fragmented condition of the majority of these terracotta figurines presents a significant challenge in the study of the themes represented and the iconography. Consequently, their function and role in the household can only be partially understood. Nevertheless, in analogy to other geographic regions (Jackson, 2015), the domestic context that the terracottas were found in can tell much about the cultural predilections of the inhabitants, offering also some useful clues regarding their cultural identities. It would be useful if evidence from Cyprus allowed

us to compare types found in a domestic context with types found in a sacred or a funerary context but, as emphasised above, the available publications do not at this point allow us to do so in any detail. Such a qualified work would allow us, at a first stage, to identify the typological and iconographic differences among different contexts, and, at a second stage, to comprehend better the figurines' function(s) within their assigned space.

Even if we can only speculate the identity of the inhabitants of the House of Orpheus, something can be said about their economic status, and consequently their terracotta figurines. This wealthy household owned a significant number of terracotta figurines. The large number of such figurines found here and in the other wealthy houses nearby suggests that these objects were completely integrated into the everyday life of the Paphian upper classes. While we need more studies on the relative distribution of figurines within households, tombs and sanctuaries before we can associate them with specific social classes, it is more than obvious that the common perception that, considering their inexpensive nature, these objects are primarily related to the poor, is wrong. On the contrary, their presence in an elite, Roman household leaves little doubt that the terracotta figurines were prestige items, owned by the wealthy, who supported financially their production market.

Figurines found in domestic contexts have traditionally been seen as cultic artefacts, though they might have also had a number of other functions, including a merely representational one (cf. Rumscheid, 2006: 347–50; Boutantin, 2014: 129–156; Blume-Jung, 2016: 148). This may be the case, for instance, for the aforementioned chariot rider (Fig. 1.17) or the figurine of an African (Fig. 1.19), but also for other figurines described above, such as those involving theatrical iconography.

Theatrical iconography became very popular in Hellenistic and Roman times; and the coroplastic art of Cyprus was not left unaffected (cf. K. Nicolaou, 1967: 123–124, pl. XXII:1–2; K. Nicolaou in V. Karageorghis, 1974: 893, fig. 78; I. Nicolaou, 1989; Koiner & Reittinger, and Serwint, this volume; for an earlier period, including a funerary context, see A. Christodoulou, 1970; Green, 2013). Theatrical figures must have played different roles in different contexts (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 21). For example, they may be regarded as merely in vogue decoration, or they may be related to the house of a theatre-enthusiast. Hermary's (2015: 136) study of terracotta figurines from houses on Delos has shown that theatrical terracottas were very popular in domestic contexts. Similarly, Rumscheid (2006: 493–495) has shown that such figurines are common finds in domestic contexts, in Priene.

More generally, it seems that whenever theatrical terracotta figurines are found in houses, these are perceived as decorative elements of the household, just like painted masks on Roman wall paintings (Burns & Higgins, 2001: 21). The near complete mask (PHH 53; Fig. 1.13) recovered at the House of Orpheus, as well as those from the House of Dionysos (K. Nicolaou, 1967: 123–124, pl. XXII:1–2; and K. Nicolaou in V. Karageorghis, 1974: 893, fig. 78) and elsewhere in Cyprus, have holes on either side of the face. These holes could be used either for suspending the mask on the wall (cf. Zografou, 2015), giving the mask a decorative function, and/or for wearing the mask by the occupants of the house. However, the weight and fragility of these masks makes the latter highly unlikely. In support of a decorative interpretation of these masks are examples, like that of an African from the House of Dionysos, which has a single suspension hole on the forehead (K. Nicolaou, 1967: 123–124, pl. XXII:2).

The grotesque male head (PHH 32; Fig. 1.14) from the House of Orpheus may represent another testimony to theatrical practices in Cyprus, and indeed to the integration of the island into the broader Mediterranean cultural *koine*. As mentioned already, recent scholarship has shown that 'grotesques' cover a broad range of categories and have different functions, such as actor figurines, caricatures, and pathological grotesques (Mitchell, 2013). Our figurine seems to fall within the caricature category, the iconography of which may have originated in Alexandria, even if it was embedded in a broad, cross-cultural exchange; and was also commonly found in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The function of caricatures is not yet clear, but they seem to have amused the viewers bringing people closer together and helping them connect socially (Mitchell, 2013: 281).

The animal terracotta figurines are particularly pertinent to the discussion of function (Figs. 1.15 and 1.16). In an Egyptian context, the dog-figures have been related by several scholars to the cult and iconography of the dog-star Sothis (Sirius), associated with Isis and Harpocrates (Török, 1995: 172–173; Barrett, 2011: 187–189; Boutantin, 2014). In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, however, they become frequent subjects for Egyptianising terracotta figurines from the broader Mediterranean, the dogs themselves being attested as household pets in many geographic regions (Lazenby, 1949: 246; cf. Barrett, 2011: 189). Dog figurines were very popular in Egypt and they were found both at production sites and other contexts, particularly domestic ones, at a distance from their areas of production (Erlich, 2015). While, the prototype moulds for the production of the first dog figurines may have arrived in Cyprus from Egypt, their production continued



FIGURE 1.29 PHH 64; Small terracotta altar
PHOTO: S.A. RUSMIGO

on the island with the use of derivative moulds. However, in a Cypriot context, these dog figurines should be dissociated from any direct religious connotations (cf. Török, 1995: 172–173; Barrett, 2011: 189).

Even though the presence of animals in Hellenistic and Roman art is often linked with specific deities, this is not always the rule. These dog and other animal figurines could have served as toys for children, or as decorative ornaments for the house (cf. Bailey, 1983: 196). Contemporary research on cultural entanglements, as well as studies on Romano-Egyptian relations offer fresh research standpoints for the generation of inferences. This, in contrast to traditional binary oppositions related to the ‘religious’ versus the ‘cultural’, the ‘Roman’ versus the ‘Egyptian’ and the ‘constructed’ versus the ‘authentic’ (Barrett, 2017; cf. Versluys, 2002). Thus, one cannot completely exclude the possibility that these dogs could manifest, at least for some owners, personal or side religions (Bountantin, 2014).

The holes on the back of the Maltese dogs from the House of Dionysos have been interpreted by K. Nicolaou (1976: 125) as a means of suspending the figurines – presumably on the wall. However, as we have mentioned above these holes may also have had a technological rather than merely a functional role.

In order to understand the function of figurines, we have to look at and think of them as three-dimensional objects. Most of the figurines from the House of Orpheus were meant to stand with their backs to the wall, displaying only their front; they could be handled and they were moveable, but their form spoke of their primary function:

that of display and contemplation – and this seems to be the case for the dog and deer figurines, without this detracting from their possible use as toys or, in the case of the dog figurines, as objects of personal religion.

While the question about the function of the terracotta figurines in the domestic context of the House of Orpheus remains a matter of speculation, it is more than likely that they had more than one function. Some were decorative or prestige items, others were related to the cognitive systems of their owners, and yet others were probably toys or simply decorative objects. The figurines of deities should probably be studied within the sphere of domestic cult or personal religion; however, it must be remembered that in some instances, a single object may have served multiple roles and incorporated more than one of the functions mentioned above.

Traditional interpretations usually study the house of classical antiquity within an interpretative framework that divides the private from the public sphere. Studies on domestic space, however, have shown that the private house was the economic and social centre of its owner. Furthermore, recent scholarship encourages classical archaeologists to explore how the boundaries between public and private sphere have changed, especially during the Roman period (Tuori, 2015). Domestic cult usually conceals a wide range of practices; individuals may have used household cult to express aspects of their social identity, status or cultural affiliations (cf. Barrett, 2011: 441).

As Barrett (2015b) has recently manifested, for the case of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, coroplastic studies provide important evidence for the interrelationships

between 'personal', 'popular' and 'collective' forms of religious ritual. The high percentage of terracotta figurines depicting deities in the domestic context of the House of Orpheus makes religion present – at least iconographically. It is true that iconography alone cannot tell us if or how such objects may have actually functioned in ritual practice. The importance of Aphrodite (the Cypriot goddess *par excellence*) in the house, might indeed relate to imperial receptions and appropriations of local *mentalités*, and their importance in shaping and communicating imperial ideologies (Gordon, 2012; Papantoniou, 2012).

Cults offering protection, salvation and guidance, such as those that might be present in the House of Orpheus (Aphrodite, Isis, Serapis [see below], Dionysos, Hermes), became much more widespread from the Hellenistic period onwards, due to an increased mobility of people, and new philosophical tendencies that might have contributed to a sense of rootlessness, inconstancy and flux, or/and greater flexibility (Ammerman, 1990: 39). Returning to the function of the Aphrodite figurines, the goddess was probably placed in bedrooms around the atrium as a patroness of sexual desire (cf. Zografou, 2015).

In the absence of stratigraphic evidence and the partial publication of the excavated Cypriot houses, a comparative study of well published terracotta figurines from areas outside Cyprus, from more secure stratigraphic contexts, even from earlier periods, may be helpful in approaching the function of terracotta figurines in Cypriot domestic contexts, in relation to public/private space, ritual, or even in relation to gender roles. The information mentioned below suggests at least the many and varying ways in which the terracotta figurines could have functioned in the House of Orpheus.

Rumscheid (2006: 81) suggests that, at the House of the Comedian in Priene, for example, a small number of Hellenistic terracotta figurines may have fallen from an upper storey, while some were also found in the *andron*. Cahill (2002: 140) also points out that, in the case of the Olynthian houses of the Classical period, terracotta figurines are more commonly located in the courts, porticos or pastas. Sharpe (2015) has also demonstrated that, in Olynthos, although terracotta figurines were found in many rooms throughout the houses, they were typically located in kitchens and spaces commonly used by women.

As the spatial analysis of material culture in Pompeian households has shown, identifying religious activities in Roman domestic space is a rather complex issue (Allison, 2004: 143–146). Often devoid of monumental complexes of built structures, domestic or private religion is to be investigated alongside family traditions and networks. Domestic shrines (*aediculae*) were regularly located in

courtyards or open areas off courtyards and/or in the kitchen areas (Clarke, 1991: 9).

Similar features, including altars and decorated niches, where terracotta figurines were possibly displayed, are found in domestic contexts in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt (Erlich, 2015; Barrett, 2015b, 406). Excavated Hellenistic houses at Jebel Khalid in North Syria, again, show that the majority of terracotta figurines were also found in courtyards. However, it is impossible to tell whether this deposition was due to wash-down of discarded material or to ritual deposits made in these open-air spaces (Jackson, 2015: 391). In addition, portable material that could be associated with religious activities in Pompeii includes movable altars, seashells and statuettes, and 'valuable' animal parts such as boars' teeth, deer antlers (Allison, 2004). In this sense, it is pertinent to mention that the House of Orpheus has yielded one small, square terracotta altar (PHH 64; Fig. 1.29) and small fragments of others; as well as six cylindrical, limestone altars – unfortunately, none directly related to any of the terracotta figurines.

Moving to ritual performance, a number of texts allude to religious rites in Hellenistic and Roman households (Barrett, 2015b: 406, with further references), with the lighting of lamps at domestic shrines being a very usual phenomenon. The House of Orpheus has yielded an enormous number of clay lamps but it is impossible to know if any of these were used in such a way. One very likely exception is a large second/third century CE *polylychnon* in the shape of a boat, carrying the images of Isis, Serapis and Harpocrates, and, on the underside, the inscription HAEIO CEPATIEC, which could certainly be used in one such ritual (Michaelides, 2009). Figurines and divinities employed in occasional religious – or even magical – rituals could be the same as those housed in domestic shrines; for example, an Isis figurine receiving regular domestic worship could also be periodically used in anti-snakebite spells. Without definite evidence, we cannot rule out either use but, indeed, a figurine could potentially have both or more (including decorative) or very different functions (Barrett, 2015b: 414). For example, due to their iconographic value, Eros figurines could endow their owners with love and passion, or even be used in magic spells. As Barrett (2015b: 416) has eloquently argued, invocations of all these divinities together in a domestic context 'ritually tie the household's well-being to the well-being of the cosmos itself'. The corpus of terracotta figurines found in domestic contexts in Cyprus and abroad, indeed, demonstrate peoples' ability to apply the official theology to personal needs, selecting from a larger pantheon, and emphasising those deities most relevant to the concerns of the specific household or individuals (Barrett, 2015b: 417).

Focusing on the House of Orpheus, the largest concentration of terracottas was found in the rooms west of the atrium, and a slightly smaller one in the eastern rooms. Another significant number of terracottas has also been recovered around the nearby baths of the house. The function of these rooms, other than those belonging to the baths, is impossible to define with certainty, given that nothing indicative was found in them. However, given their size and situation next to the peristyle atrium, at least a number of them, as already mentioned, must have been *cubicula*. Intra-site spatial analyses, considering both the architecture and the material culture of the Hellenistic (which is even more difficult to identify) and Roman households of Cyprus remains to be made. The problematic depositional contexts and the current state of stratigraphic analysis do not allow us to draw any further conclusions. South of the House of Theseus, however, the Polish mission in Paphos has recovered an earlier structure, the so-called Hellenistic House, which is now known to date to the Roman period and to have been destroyed in the mid-second century CE (Meyza *et al.*, 2014). In the south-west corner of the south portico of this house an altar was found surrounded by fragments and a number of complete terracotta figurines, among them one of gladiators, an Apis bull and a Maltese spitz (Daszewski, 2001: 75–76). It is hoped that future stratigraphic calibration and intra-site spatial analysis in the context of the House of Orpheus, will offer some further conclusions on the functions and meanings of this important corpus of terracottas.

5 Conclusions and Future Directions

In summing up, we can reiterate that terracottas, over and above their art-historical importance, should be seen as active and symbolic elements in their depositional and social contexts. Each region under the influence of the Hellenistic monarchies and, later, the Roman Empire produced terracottas in distinctive local styles with similar ranges of subjects, but often including themes deriving from local traditions (cf. Connelly, 1990: 97–98; Burn, 2000; Papantoniou, 2012: 260–261; Erlich, 2016). The contextualisation of the figurines within their individual depositional intra-site context, as well as their broader socio-cultural and socio-political Cypriot and Mediterranean contexts, is a most valuable undertaking when attempting to understand their use and function in a Cypriot household.

Future comparisons with and analyses of material from the House of Dionysos and the Villa of Theseus, and, hopefully, the dog figurines from Kourion, in order to establish

their compositional and technological characterisation, might help attribute groups of terracotta figurines to specific workshops, and it will certainly contribute to our enhanced understanding of their local production and its mode of organisation.

Our future study aims to examine the interpretation of the figurines and the interaction of multiple cultural traditions in a regional, imperial context. We hope that the future calibration of the house stratigraphy will help us to further clarify the function and meanings of these objects. What is certain, however, is that these terracotta figurines form one of the strongest testimonies of the cosmopolitan nature of Roman Cyprus. Moreover, as the case of Aphrodite, or the theatrical figurines and masks manifest, they show that the island formed part of the broader Mediterranean cultural *koine*.

‘Hellenisation’ and ‘Romanisation’ are problematic terms, but indeed they are rather helpful concepts in assisting us understanding antique objects in motion (Versluys, 2014). While our project can serve as an example for the examination of objects coming from a stratified context, at the same time, it can solve long-standing issues related to the understanding of unstratified terracottas found through looting or the antiquarian approaches of early explorations, which were primarily interested in the creation of art collections, and neglected important aspects related to the archaeological context of the objects. Moving beyond the individual analytical datasets at an intra-site level, the project aims at providing a reference collection for future inter-site research, setting the scene for further systematic study of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas from Cyprus and the wider Mediterranean world, attracting also and engaging (via the digital humanities) public interest in this kind of ancient artefacts.

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Hellenistic Terracottas and Limestone Sculptures in Cypriot Sanctuaries: On the Search for Types and Votive Habits

Gabriele Koiner and Nicole Reitinger

Abstract

Studies at the University of Graz, on Late Classical and Hellenistic limestone and marble sculpture from Cyprus, investigated issues of iconography, typology, style and chronology. The question whether contemporaneous terracotta figurines could be compared to stone sculpture in relation to their iconographies, place of production, chronology and quantities was raised when dealing with limestone sculpture. This paper discusses selected figurines of the first processing campaign in the Cyprus Museum in 2013 based on the card catalogue and the inventory books.¹

1 Introduction

Terracotta and limestone votives are regarded as standard figural dedications in Cypriot sanctuaries. Cypriot limestone sculpture of Late Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times has been a main concern of study at the Department of Archaeology at the University of Graz over the last thirteen years. The focus has been laid on portrait sculpture and on the typology of Late Classical and Hellenistic votive sculpture from the Mesaoria (Erath-Koiner, 2003a–b; 2005; 2007; Koiner, 2006; 2007; 2008a–b; 2009; 2012; 2013a; 2014; forthcoming; Reitinger, 2013).

When studying Hellenistic limestone votive sculpture, the question was raised as to what types of terracotta figurines were dedicated in sanctuaries of eastern Cyprus. Are they similar to limestone sculptures concerning their types and iconographies (Cassimatis, 1991)? Are there specifically Cypriot types or do they all belong to the Hellenistic *koine*? What quantities have been found

in comparison to stone sculpture? Were they locally produced and can we make out the sources of clay (Koiner, 2013b; for the distinctive Cypriot fabrics in yellow and very light brown shades see Burn & Higgins, 2001: 256, pl. III, nos. 2870, 2899, 2929).

The very beginning of the investigation marked a survey of excavation reports and museum catalogues as well as a short campaign of processing terracotta figurines in the Cyprus Museum. Through the study of the publications, it soon became clear that rather few Hellenistic terracotta figurines from eastern Cyprus have been published or mentioned in excavation reports. This is in strong contrast to the Archaic and Classical period when terracotta dedications were, in terms of numbers, at least equal with limestone offerings. Museum catalogues reflect this fact, and even the corpus *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus* by Jacqueline and Vassos Karageorghis (1996; 1999) dealt neither with the Classical nor with the Hellenistic period of Cyprus. This was perhaps because Hellenistic figurines were no longer regarded as “Cypriot” in character).

Regarding the important finds of Hellenistic votive statues in sanctuaries of eastern Cyprus at Arsos, Golgoi, Idalion, Voni and Lefkoniko (Fig. 2.1), the lack of Hellenistic terracotta figurines is striking. It is particularly remarkable, as there are plenty of Hellenistic terracotta offerings from Amathous, published by Queyrel (Aupert, 1981; Queyrel, 1988; earlier finds by Smith & Myres in 1893/1894: Burn & Higgins, 2001: 256) and recently discussed by Papantoniou (2011), and also from Kition, which were found in the sanctuary of Artemis Paralia in the 19th century and are now kept in several collections, such as in New York (published in Cesnola, 1894: pls. 39–41, 48–67, mixed with Late Classical figurines; Hellenistic figurines: Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004: cat. 360 onwards), Paris (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 443, 499–557, cat. 794–948) and London (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 256: said to be from Kition-Batsalos, but probably from the sanctuary of Artemis Paralia; Walters, 1903: 45–60, cat. A 261–A 395; for the heads with *kalathoi* cf. Queyrel, 1991). The British Museum keeps over 300 figurines from this place, most of them Late Classical rather than Hellenistic. An ongoing study of Maillard (this volume) is re-assembling this

¹ We would like to thank the organisers of the conference and the publishers of this volume, G. Papantoniou, D. Michaelides, and M. Dikomitou-Eliadou, as well as D. Pilides and E. Zachariou, Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, for the study and publication permits, and the store room staff of the Cyprus Museum for their help. The text is shared as follows: Koiner: introduction, 1934/VII-12/2; 1939/IX-27/3, D 131, D 267, D 275, D 348; Reitinger: 1952/I-15/1, D 101, D 104, D 134, D 135, D 137, D 207, D 231, D 233, D 239, D 258, D 325, D 326, D 329, D 341, D 380, D 397, D 399, D 401, D 414, D 419, D 426.



FIGURE 2.1 Map of Cyprus showing all sites mentioned in the text

complex. Single pieces originate from Kition-Bamboula (Salles, 1993: 313–319, cat. 733, 734, 736, 739, 744, 750, figs. 258–260), Idalion (two Late Hellenistic sandaled feet: Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004: cat. 341, 342; a Late Hellenistic rooster, part of a group, from a tomb in Idalion: Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004: cat. 408) and Kythrea (male figurines: Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004: cat. 334, 337, 383, 351: perhaps from Soloi; female figurines: cat. 366, 380).

What is the reason for this phenomenon? Can it be explained by certain votive habits? Is it due to the fact that limestone was the favourite material in eastern Cyprus, as terracotta was in western Cyprus – due to a lack of suitable stone (Connelly, 1991: 95) or to a strong coroplastic tradition (Poyiadji-Richter, 2014) in western Cyprus? Did worshippers stop dedicating terracotta figurines in the Late Classical period as is the case in sanctuaries of Demeter in Sicily (e.g. Eloro, Santuario nuovo; Hinz, 1998: 116)? Or does it simply reflect the state of research? Did the excavators ignore or fail to mention terracotta finds which were still awaiting processing in museum store rooms? Or were the terracotta figurines dug out long before the first “excavations” in the second half of the 19th century and sold off to private collectors? In contrast to stone sculptures, terracotta figurines are easy to carry away and, due to their small size, were deliberately acquired by “bourgeois” collectors, sometimes to extremely fortunate conditions

(Cesnola [1877: 170–171] mentioned thefts in his collection crowded by Thomas Cook tourists).

However, 19th century reports, such as those of the Cesnola brothers, offer evidence for Hellenistic terracotta figurines, even though their provenance remains obscured in many cases. Luigi Palma di Cesnola published Hellenistic figurines from the sanctuary of Artemis Paralia in Larnaca (Cesnola, 1894: pls. 39–41, 48–67, mixed with Late Classical figurines), Kourion, sanctuary of Apollo Hylates (Cesnola, 1894: pls. 42, 44, 46, 47), tombs of Soloi (Cesnola, 1877: 230) and Kythrea (Cesnola, 1894: pl. 43), although the locations of his finds have been doubted (Dümmler, 1886: 210–211; Goring, 1988: 11–12).

The catalogue of the former Lawrence–Cesnola Collection contains a considerable number of Hellenistic and Roman figurines (Cesnola, 1881: pls. 29, 43–54), excavated by Alexander Palma di Cesnola from 1876 to 1879 and coming mostly from the Salamis area, from tombs (Cesnola, 1882: XVI, 190–221: from tombs, 223–234: from sanctuaries; Goring, 1988: 15). The collection was sold and dispersed only a few years later, from 1883 on. Parts of it are now at, among others, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/rpr/index.php/article-index/12-articles/769-all-cesnola-sales>, 24.4.2013; Karageorghis, 2009) and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (GR.7.1977: Karageorghis, Vassilika & Wilson, 1999: 75–76, cat. 137: Artemis holding a deer and a dove, H 39.7 cm).

The British Museum holds Hellenistic figurines excavated in the Salamis area by Ohnefalsch-Richter, Tubbs & Munro and Kitchenner (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 256–287, pls. 140–156). These figurines were mostly discovered in tombs. Late Classical sanctuary offerings from Salamis were published by Monloup (1994), however, Hellenistic dedications from sanctuary contexts in this area are still lacking. Figurines originating in east Cypriot find spots are listed by Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter: Voni (female figurine, Artemis[?]: Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1899: 148, no. 5141), Chytroi (draped figure and head with peaked hair dress: Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1899: 151, nos. 5335–5336: possibly Late Classical) and Salamis (draped female figure: Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1899: 111, no. 3189; female heads: 162, nos. 5851–5856; comic mask heads: nos. 5860–5861; various figurines: Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1881: 244–255; 1883: 133–140).

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, having conducted and documented their excavations according to the then newest standards in field archaeology, attested “Greek or Tanagra style” terracottas only for northern Cyprus, and more precisely: for Soloi: the sanctuary of Aphrodite (Gjerstad *et al.*, 1937: Soli, Temples at Cholades 528–529, pl. 173) and the theatre (Gjerstad *et al.*, 1937: Soli, The Theatre: 577, pl. 182); and “Cypriot style” Hellenistic terracottas for Mersinaki (Gjerstad *et al.*, 1937, Mersinaki: 387–388, 396 styles VI [dating to Ptolemy III according to Gjerstad *et al.*, which seems probable] and VII [of c. 150 BCE according to Gjerstad *et al.*, but maybe rather of Late Classical date] pls. 144–145; Hellenistic or Roman: 388, nos. 639, 1095). Investigations in 1967 yielded Early Hellenistic figurines from tombs c. 250 m South-East of the theatre of Soloi. Christodoulou (1970: 142–145, pl. 24, nos. 5–7) believed them to come from children’s burials. Westholm (Gjerstad *et al.*, 1937, Arsos: 594–595) emphasised that Arsos yielded no Classical or Hellenistic terracotta figurines but that these are mostly known from the western part of Cyprus and that they are nearly absent in eastern Cyprus. Regardless, Westholm’s judgement on coroplastic art in Hellenistic Cyprus was a rather pessimistic one. He argued for the “decadence” of Cypriot art during Hellenistic times, a judgement often heard since (Vessberg, O. & Westholm, A., 1956: 104–110, pls. 23–24).

Until recently, the study of Hellenistic terracottas from Cyprus has not been a main concern of coroplastic investigations. The necessity of processing a larger amount of Hellenistic figurines from Amathous led to Queyrel’s publication (Queyrel, 1988). Connelly’s study of Hellenistic limestone sculpture (Connelly, 1988) yielded her contribution comparing sculpture and terracottas of Hellenistic Cyprus in the proceedings “Cypriote Terracottas” in 1991

(Connelly, 1991). The collections of the British Museum (Burn & Higgins, 2001), the Louvre (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998) and the Metropolitan Museum (Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004) were republished according to new standards and provide more information and better quality photographs than the original publications. A synopsis of coroplastic production in Cyprus was presented by Vandenabeele (2007: 220–221), who included Hellenistic terracotta production in Kourion and Salamis, but also pinpointed the Hellenistic production in Amathous and highlighted the problem of unpublished material.

New research has added some, but rather little material. It was only recently that the Hellenistic terracottas of the House of Orpheus in Nea Paphos were the focus of the project of the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus (Michaelides & Papantoniou, 2012; Papantoniou, Michaelides, Loizides & Lanitis, 2013; Papantoniou *et al.*, this volume). An important source for Hellenistic finds is Ulbrich’s research on sanctuaries of female deities in Cyprus (Ulbrich, 2008), where Hellenistic sites were also catalogued. The value of Ulbrich’s survey lies in among other things, in the processing of unpublished material, based on reports, the card catalogue, and the inventory books of the Cyprus Museum, as well as the Cyprus Survey Inventory. In a recently published paper on Hellenistic Maroni-Vournes in southern Cyprus, Ulbrich listed three early Hellenistic terracotta figurines belonging to the latest phase of the sanctuary, the number being half of the amount of the limestone figures (Ulbrich, 2012: fig. 21: upper part of female figure; fig. 23: head of a pig, cf. Nicosia, CM 1939/IX-27/3 z: Dikaioi, 1937–1939; for a pig cf. Cesnola, 1881: pl. 50).

In 2013, the authors studied approximately 250 figurines in the storerooms of the Cyprus Museum. The Classical, Hellenistic and Roman figurines selected for study are all recorded in the Museum card catalogue (between nos. D1–D433) and the Museum inventory books (between 1934–1959). It should be stated that only in very rare cases the provenance of the figurines was provided in the Museum Card Catalogue. This is the case for the stone sculptures in Ohnefalsch-Richter’s book on his excavations in Idalion, Voni and other places, the Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter catalogue of 1899, and the records of Markides’ excavations in Arsos (from 1917 on, later published in Gjerstad *et al.*, 1937, Arsos: Connelly, 1988: 17–18). It may be that the labelling of the finds got lost and that time was a crucial factor when writing the catalogue.

The few provenanced pieces in the card catalogue come either from tombs at Polis or from a few other locations, such as Triкомо and Arsos, without further definition whether from tomb, settlement or sanctuary. The

situation with the inventory books appears to be more reliable, although many of the terracotta figurines were acquired from private collections and their provenance is, once again, unknown. Nevertheless, the figurines acquired from 1934 onwards, in most cases, give at least the name of the place of discovery and sometimes even the field name. Numerous entries in the card catalogue belong to funerary terracottas from Marion and its region, representing mostly bearded men and veiled women. Similarly, reclining men, squatting satyrs and temple boys possibly came from funerary contexts, as the photograph taken by Markides of finds from tombs at Polis-Kaparka in 1916 clearly demonstrates (Childs, Smith & Padgett, 2013: 34, fig. 1.6, see below).

Truly Hellenistic figurines make up only approximately 25% of the processed objects, most of them depicting females or children. Among them, numbers D318 to D327, of unknown provenance, form a larger group within the card catalogue. The largest provenanced group comes from Kyrenia with 23 figurines, 1939/IX-27/3a–z. Several of these display conspicuous attributes or physiognomies which allow the identification of such mythological figures as Aphrodite, Artemis and Herakles. Other figurines are standard votives, such as *hydrophoroi*, female, male and children figurines and seated scribes. Finally, funerary portraits, clearly identifiable by their size, fabric and iconography, represent a notable part of the processed terracottas. The figurines will be presented in this order.

2 A Group from Kyrenia

One of the few provenanced find groups comes from Kyrenia in the north of Cyprus. The assemblage of 23 figurines was discovered when air-raid shelters were dug near the Government offices in Kyrenia in 1939. It was acquired by the Department of Antiquities (1939/IX-27/3a–z: Dikaio, 1937–1939: 200–201, pl. 44; Ulbrich, 2008: 333–334, KE 2). The figurines are suspected to come from a settlement or sanctuary complex and represent mostly females and a few males, and male and female children, the boys or Eroses partly naked and with wreaths, some made from the same mould, the girls wrapped in a mantle. The figurines bring fruit (1939/IX-27/3m) or play the tambourine (1939/IX-27/3d) or the *trigonon* (1939/IX-27/3w). The tambourine player has her shoulder exposed thus referring clearly to Aphrodite and her environment (compare Queyrel, 1988: 97–98, cat. 289, pl. 30, end of second/beginning of first century BCE; New York, MMA 74.51.1696, from Kythrea: Cesnola, 1894: pl. 7 no. 50; Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004: cat. 380). The head of a pig might also

point to a deity of fertility and agriculture (1939/IX-27/3z; for a pig see also Cesnola, 1881: pl. 50; and Ulbrich, 2012: fig. 23).

Close comparisons, both stylistically and locally, are figurines found in rock-cut tombs in Kyrenia in 1883 (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 256, cf. cat. 2866–2870, pl. 141; cat. 2878, 2880 pl. 143; cat. 2886, pl. 144; cat. 2893, 2897, pl. 145) and a girl figurine (1934/VII-12/2) whose drapery is very similar to figurine 1939/IX-27/3e. The terracotta rattle in the form of a pig (Cesnola, 1881, New York, MMA 74.51.833), is believed to come from Idalion, third-first centuries BCE (www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections, 09.10.2013), but examples were also found in tombs (figurine of a pig, London, BM 1894.1101.571), excavated in Amathous, 'Site E', Tomb 297, by the Turner Bequest 1894, dated to 600–500 BCE (www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, 09.10.2013). Piglets were gifts for Demeter in Greece whereas the cult of Demeter is rarely attested in Cyprus (cf. female statue D 292 with grains of corn and poppy; inscription from Kourion, London, BM 1896.0201.215: www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, 30.10.2013).

3 Aphrodite

The first divine representation is an almost completely preserved Aphrodite statuette from Rizokarpaso (1952/I-15/1: Karageorghis, 1998: 217, fig. 168). It is about 24 cm high, 10.7 cm wide and 5.3 cm deep. It shows the naked goddess bathing and accompanied by a winged Eros. Aphrodite is lifting her arms and running her hands through her loose hair, which is crowned by a diadem. The upper part of her body is slim, while her hips and thighs are of a sturdy build. Her feet are unrealistically large and appear flat. Beside her right leg there is a hydria with a robe draped over it, while beside her left leg a winged Eros on a high profiled pedestal supports the interpretation that this could be an Aphrodite. Karageorghis dated this find to the Roman period (Karageorghis, 1998: 217, 315).

Comparable examples are an Aphrodite Anadyomene in the British Museum from the first century BCE (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 289, pl. 157, cat. 2967), and two representations of the bathing Aphrodite from Egypt dated to between the first century BCE and the first century CE (Schürmann, 1989: 273, pls. 172–173, cat. 1038–1039) and which can now be found in the Badischen Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe. Another comparable example is a painted panel from Dura Europos, which was discovered not far from the synagogue, on which a naked princess similar to Aphrodite is represented. She also has raised arms, and



FIGURE 2.2 Nicosia, CM D 267. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities

PHOTO: G. KOINER

is holding a mirror in her left hand (Moon, 1995: 291–293, fig. 16.11).

4 Artemis with Stag

A female deity (Fig. 2.2) clearly related to deer hunting, but equally to the female world (Klinger, 2003; Reeder, 1995: 303–305), is depicted in a headless figurine of unknown provenance, with a remarkable preserved height of 33.3 cm (D 267: W 14.7 cm, D 6.9 cm, H stag with antlers 19 cm). She wears a long, finely pleated chiton and a mantle, and holds by the antlers a stag that stands to her left. The draping of the costume indicates an early Hellenistic date. The figurine is the goddess Artemis who was worshiped in eastern Cyprus and other places in the island (for sanctuaries of Artemis: Ulbrich, 2008: 159; for Artemis

in Athienou-Malloura: Counts & Toumazou, 2003). Several Late Classical and Hellenistic terracotta and limestone sculptures in the island show her with a stag or deer, such as examples from Achna (terracotta with stag: Vandenabeele, 2007: 223 fig. 24, Late Classical; Karageorghis, 1998: 176 fig. 124), Salamis (Monloup, 1994: with her hands on the stag or deer: 83–84 Type 2 cat. 205–214) and Kition (Ulbrich, 2008: 89–91 KI 7). Moreover, a Hellenistic figurine is reported for Voni (Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1899: 148 no. 5141). The large size of D 267 is paralleled by two Late Classical Artemis figurines holding a deer by the front legs in Nicosia (Cyprus Museum 1949/IV-7/12, H 43 cm, of unknown provenance: Karageorghis, 1998: 177 fig. 125) and in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum GR.7.1977, former property of H.W. Lawrence, H 39.7 cm, unknown provenance, but probably from the Salamis area: Karageorghis, Vassilika & Wilson, 1999: 75–76 cat.137). These dimensions can nearly compete with some limestone representations of Artemis from Idalion (London, BM 1873.0320.47, Sculpture C 370, H 53.7 cm: Karageorghis, 1998: 178–179, fig. 128; Tatton-Brown, 2007: 186–187, no. 11, fig. 8, third century BCE; www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, 30.10.2013) and Pyla (with stag: New York, MMA 74.51.2742, H 64.1 cm; Karageorghis, 1998: fig. 132; Vessberg, O. & Westholm, A., 1956: 89, pl. 9.2; it is one of four pieces: Cesnola, 1885: pl. 117, nos. 849–650, 852–853; Hermary, 1989: 413, cat. 839; Paris, Louvre MNB 356; 414, cat. 840; Paris, Louvre MNB 358, both possibly early Imperial; cat. 841: Paris, Louvre AM 3361, unknown provenance, Hellenistic?).

5 Isis

The following piece shows the goddess Isis (Fig. 2.3, D 380) holding a large *sistrum* in front of her left breast. The origin of the statuette is unknown and it is about 13 cm high, 4 cm wide and 3 cm deep. Her hands, crossed below the bosom, clasp a *sistrum*, and her belly is bulging out distinctly. Her body is covered by a long, finely pleated robe, which is clinging closely to her right, slightly angled leg, creating an unnatural impression. The folds in the drapery and the pronounced curvature of the belly create the impression of a very pregnant woman.

Unfortunately, the authors were unable to find a suitable comparison for this remarkable piece. Pregnant figurines are reported for Amathous (Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1899: 111, no. 3195: “nude female figure with luxuriant hair: apparently pregnant: left hand to head, elbow supported on right palm: dark grey clay ... with white slip. Amathous, 296”) and for the sanctuary of Artemis Paralia



FIGURE 2.3 Nicosia, CM D 380. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities

PHOTO: N. REITINGER

at Larnaca (Cesnola, 1894: pl. 43, no. 344: draped female figure), though neither seems to match the figurine in Nicosia. The Amathous pregnant female is probably a siren like the one processed by the authors (D 283), which is very similar if not identical to the piece described by Ohnefalsch-Richter and Myres.

6 Herakles Strangling the Snakes

A seated boy (Fig. 2.4) in the manner of the temple boys is depicted with a snake around his chest and left arm, the snake's head coming out of his fist (D 348, H 7.7 cm, W 5 cm, D 4.1 cm, and provenance unknown). The snakes evoke the myth of new-born Herakles strangling the snakes the



FIGURE 2.4 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 348. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities

PHOTO: G. KOINER

goddess Hera had sent to kill him. The snake equally features in Archaic Cypriot sculpture and coroplastic art with snake charmers: Karageorghis, 2007. There are several parallels in Cyprus and in the Greek world (Paris, Louvre D 3450, from Capua: Besques, 1986: 26, cat. D 3450, pl. 22c). The Cypriot comparisons originate from the Salamis area, probably from tombs (Cesnola, 1881: pl. 49: very similar, but also pl. 47).

7 Herakles

The male head D 239 (Fig. 2.5) is bearded with massive, mature facial features. It is about 12.1 cm high, 9.7 cm wide and 7.7 cm deep. The eyes bulge forward, there is a large swelling on the forehead and the cheeks are sagging. The fringe is loose and is covered by a simple crown or wreath. The lower face is covered by a full beard which has individually defined curls. The mouth has a thin upper and a voluminous lower lip. The mouth is open and smiling.

Due to the modelling of the hair, the beard, the eyes and the strong, mature facial features, this small head appears to be an effigy of Herakles. The same characteristics can be found in another head (Fig. 2.6, D 233) in the Cyprus Museum, which has similar, but very simply designed



FIGURE 2.5 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 239. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities
PHOTO: N. REITINGER



FIGURE 2.6 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 233. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities
PHOTO: N. REITINGER

facial features. This appears to be handmade, whereby the right side of the face has been neglected, while the left side is detailed. It is about 6.4 cm high, 5.3 cm wide and 6.3 cm deep.

In the design of the beards and the characteristics of age, both heads have strong similarities to a Herakles head from Smyrna, which is now in the British Museum in London and is dated to the period from the first century BCE to the first century CE (Higgins, 1967: 111, pl. 51b). Further comparisons are a terracotta statuette of Herakles holding a club from Egypt (Higgins, 1967: 132, pl. 63d), as well as a limestone head from Idalion, which is now in the British Museum in London. The second example is dated to around 300 BCE (Karageorghis, 1998: 165, cat. 113). Both pieces have similarities with the two terracotta heads in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, especially in the physiognomy.

8 *Hydrophoroi*

A total of four partially fragmentary terracottas (D 325, D 326, D 329, D 414) have been interpreted as *hydrophoroi*

due to the arm position. There is a statuette missing its legs, another where only a part of the shoulder, the left arm and the head have been preserved, as well as two headless figurines. One example (D 414) can be safely interpreted due to the clearly visible hydria on the head. The left arm is resting on the side of the body, while the right arm is raised towards the head and is holding the vessel. The facial features have a washed-out appearance, and the hair falls loosely to the side onto the upper part of the body. The robe is girded and loops over. The fragment is 10.7 cm high, 4.2 cm wide and 3.1 cm deep.

The second piece has a similar, but mirror-imaged arm position (D 329). The left arm is raised towards the head and is presumably supporting a hydria. The bracelet is still visible on the wrist and the robe on the left shoulder. This fragment is 2 cm high, 2.4 cm wide and 2 cm deep.

The attribution of the two headless figurines (D 325, D 326) was based on the left arm resting on the side of the body, the girded robe and the raised right arm, because details on the right-hand side of the body are missing. One piece (D 325) is 10.1 cm high, 3.5 cm wide and 3.8 cm deep. The other is about 10.7 cm high, 5.2 cm wide and 4.1 cm deep.



FIGURE 2.7 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 419. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities

PHOTO: N. REITINGER

Comparable examples in terracotta abound in literature, such as those from Amathous (Queyrel, 1988: 109–113, pls. 34–35, cat. 337–345), Knidos (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 180–183, pls. 85–88, cat. 2513–2530) and of unknown origin (Monloup, 1994: 57, pl. 5, cat. 114–115; 63, pl. 6, cat. 153; 64, pl. 6, cat. 156; Karageorghis, 2000: 276, cat. 446; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 174, pl. 82, cat. 2495).

9 Female Heads

Common dedications are female heads (Fig. 2.7) wearing a *polos*. One head (D 258) should probably be dated to the Classical period, while the other (D 419) has been dated to the Roman era. The first example (D 258) has a high, sweeping hairstyle that is crowned with a high *polos*. On the surface white and red colour is still visible, while the facial features have a washed-out appearance. It is 8.4 cm

high, 6.6 cm wide and 4.1 cm deep. We know of a variety of similar heads and complete statuettes with identical hairstyles (Higgins, 1967: 78–80, pls. 33–34; Paul, 1974: 51, fig. 14; Schmidt, 1994: 51, pl. 13, cat. 50; 52–54, pl. 13, cat. 53–55; 55, pl. 14, cat. 57) from Boeotia. In the identification of a single head as female, however, it should be noted that there are also male terracotta statuettes with a similar hairstyle, and this must be taken into consideration in an interpretation. Two examples of male heads with sweeping hairstyles come from Boeotia and are dated to the fourth century BCE (Mollard-Besques, 1954: 95, pl. 67, cat. C 69; Higgins, 1967: pl. 34e).

The second female head (D 419, Fig. 2.7) is a mere 3.8 cm high, 3.3 cm wide and 2.7 cm deep. It has a “melon” hairstyle and is crowned with a *polos*-like crown. The face has fine features, is detailed and of a high quality. Two models were used for this head. A comparable example is a limestone head from a grave relief from



FIGURE 2.8 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 131. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities

PHOTO: G. KOINER

Palmyra, which is dated to 150–160 CE (Koch & Wright, 1988: 108–109, cat. 40). Despite the different formats, there are similarities in hairstyle, headdress and in the fine facial features.

10 Temple Boy with Toy Bird

There are several seated small boys, so-called temple boys, most of them without provenance, but apt both for sanctuary and tomb. One of them, D 275, W 8.9 cm, H 7.6 cm; D 3.1 cm, with unknown provenance, is sitting on the ground, his naked body draped with a mantle around shoulders, back and lower body. He touches with his right hand a bird on wheels, this being clearly a toy, thus comparable to the depiction of children and their toys on Attic *choes* (Rühfel, 1984: 140–141, fig. 79).

11 Group of Two Seated Persons with Writing Devices

A group of two seated persons, without provenance but listed in the card catalogue amidst a group of tomb figurines from *Sphageion* at Polis, shows a male figure with female hairstyle on the right side and a female figure on the left side, holding respectively a *diptychon* and a scroll on their laps (Fig. 2.8, D 131, H 10.3 cm, W 9 cm, D 3.3 cm). Seated figures with writing devices are a common type in Cyprus and elsewhere (seated girl, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 2196, from Smyrna: Schürmann, 1989: 335, cat. 1268; seated girl with *kalathos*, London, BM 1856.10–1.36, from Benghazi: Burn & Higgins, 2001: 235, cat. 2749, pl. 122; Walters, 1903: 268–269, cat. C 718; further examples in Winter, 11, 1903: 123, no. 6, from Tanagra; no. 7, from Myrina; 124 no. 1, from Cyrenaica, with *kalathos*;

no. 2, from Cyrenaica; no. 3, from Myrina; no. 4, from Tripoli; 259 no. 2, probably Boeotian; no. 3, from Tarsos; cf. Benissi, this volume). In Cyprus, a seated girl with *dip-tychon* has been found in Enkomi, Salamis and Kition (London, BM 1881,0824.104, excavated by Ohnefalsch-Richter: www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, 24.10.2013; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 272, cat. 2906, pl. 147; Walters, 1903: 65–66, cat. A 430, pl. 15; maybe the same figurine: Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1881: 248), a seated boy and a seated girl with a *dip-tychon* both originate from Larnaca (Paris, Louvre AM 133, Pierides Acquisition, 1888; Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 632–633, cat. 1076; seated girl; Pottier, 1879: 90, no. 52). Such figurines are assumed to allude to education and school.

Seated groups of two persons are attested at the Artemis Paralia sanctuary in Kition (London, BM 1866, 0101.24; Walters, 1903: 51, cat. A 326; www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online, 29.10.2013, “Demeter and Persephone” with book and roll), and in Benghazi (mentioned by Burn & Higgins, 2001: 235, cat. 2749). The group from the Paralia sanctuary provides a possible link to the divine sphere, or are the enthroned females human scribes? Equally, the Benghazi writers and one figure of D 131 wear *kalathoi*. Due to the small number of scribes with *kalathoi* a precise interpretation must remain open for the moment.

The terracotta scribes have counterparts in limestone; those, however, possibly have a different function. Seated male persons with writing devices were common limestone dedications in the Mesaoria sanctuaries of Golgoi-Agios Photios (for the type of the scribes: Hermary, 1989: 292–293; Myres, 1914: 190, cat. 1233–1235; New York, MM74.51.2708: Connelly, 1988: 79, pl. 30, fig. 114; Karageorghis, 2000: 255, cat. 413: third century BCE; New York, MMA 74.51.2695: www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections, 09.10.2013) and Idalion (Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum 3035: Koiner, 2009: 25, cat. 100: 450–400 BCE). Examples are also known from Salamis-Toumba (scribe seated at desk: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.24.1890, excavations Munro & Tubbs; Karageorghis, Vassilika & Wilson, 1999: 86–88, cat. 155) and of unknown provenance (Paris, Louvre AM 1148, Mission Couchoud 1903; Hermary, 1989: 292–293, cat. 590: end of fifth/beginning of fourth century BCE; Collection George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides: Karageorghis, 2002: 222–223, cat. 287–289: end of fifth/beginning of fourth century BCE). They have been interpreted as scribes offering their skills in sanctuaries.

Although the sex is clearly indicated by the clothing, the male figure's head displays conspicuous female features, such as a voluminous hair dress and a *kalathos*. Was it a

mistake of the coroplast or intentional? *Kalathoi* are distinctive features on female scribes from Benghazi (London, BM 1856.10–1.36: Burn & Higgins, 2001: 235, cat. 2749, pl. 122).

Figurines of young males with female facial features and voluminous female coiffures, sometimes even covered by a *kalathos* (as in Poseidonia: Hinz, 1998: 172, fig. 42), are also known from Greek sanctuaries (Kabirion of Thebes: Schmaltz, 1974: pls. 11–12; Schürmann, 1989: cat. 95, pl. 20) or from sanctuaries in South Italy (Poseidonia: Kron, 1992: 611–650; for the effeminate youth see Angele Rosenberg, this volume). These are votive bearers mostly holding piglets or birds. Thus, the combination of male body with female or effeminate head is a particular type of representation of young men in a certain stage in their adolescence. Perhaps the male scribe of D 131 represents such a youth.

Two further remarks shall be made: Hellenistic female scribes are noteworthy proof that writing was no longer considered a male occupation, and the Demeter sanctuary in Poseidonia and the Kabirion in Thebes, among many others, yielded a highly comparable spectrum of dedications, such as children, draped youths, reclining men, squatting silenoi and grotesque figures. These types are represented in Cyprus as well, though in some cases in tombs (Childs, Smith & Padgett, 2013: 34, fig. 1.6).

12 Figurine of an Actor

A piece with a vivid expression portrays an actor with a theatre mask (D 426). The fragmentary piece, whose origin is uncertain, is approximately 6.7 cm high, 5.9 cm wide and 3 cm deep. The surface is finely tempered. The man is wearing a wreath on his head and his mouth is twisted in a broad smile. His left arm is on his hip while his right arm is bent and held in front of his chest, embracing the robe. Due to the turn of his head and that of his upper body, the actor appears to be in a reclining position.

A comparable example is a relief from the monument of Numitorius Hilarus in Rome from the first century BCE (Becham, 1992: 123, fig. 18). The actors there are wearing similar masks, however, in contrast to the Cyprus Museum piece, they appear to be serious and are not laughing. A variety of comparable examples of terracotta are also known through publications, including three pieces from Larnaca that are located in the British Museum in London (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 145–146, pl. 68, cat. 2379–2381). Another comparable example from Larnaca, which supposedly originates from the collection of Pierides, is dated from the end of the fourth to the beginning of the third century BCE (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 639, cat. 1089).



FIGURE 2.9 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 101. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities
PHOTO: N. REITINGER

13 Funerary Portraits

13.1 *Female Portraits*

A female head (Fig. 2.9, D 101) is probably a grave portrait on account of the veil pulled well over the hair. On the side of the neck there are holes for mounting the head onto a wall or a block of wood. The head has finely defined facial features, a high forehead with short hair covered by a curved veil. On the ears there are pointed earrings, as well as holes for other jewellery. It is 15.3 cm high and about 13 cm wide.

Comparable examples in terracotta are two grave statuettes at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. These heads come from Limnitis and are dated to the third century BCE (Karageorghis, Vassilika & Wilson, 1999:

77–78, cat. 140–141). A further comparison is the servant figure on the stele of Hegeso and Kalliston in the Athens National Museum (Ridgway, 1997: 167–168, pls. 38, 40).

Another female head (Fig. 2.10, D 104) also probably belonging to a grave statuette is 12.6 cm high, 9.9 cm wide and 10 cm deep. It shows a veiled woman with large, protruding eyes and an open mouth. The hair is parted and styled in fine strands to the sides. On the ears there are holes for ear-rings.

Comparable examples are three terracotta heads in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe. They wear similar facial expressions. The two heads are dated to the first half of the third century BCE (Schürmann, 1989: 229–230, pls. 142–143, cat. 836–838).



FIGURE 2.10 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 104. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities
PHOTO: N. REITINGER

13.2 *Male Portraits*

As part of on-site research, a variety of bearded heads (D 134, D 135, D 137, D 231) featuring significant characteristics of age in the form of flabby cheeks, forehead wrinkles, frown lines or nasolabial wrinkles could be recorded. The heads have a height of between 11.2 and 14.5 cm, a width of 7.6 to 11.7 cm and a depth of 7.5 to 13.1 cm. These heads are in keeping with the dignified, older men portrayed on a variety of sepulchral stelae from Athens. Among others, examples include the relief of Euandria (Schmaltz, 1983: pl. 15, 2) and a relief in Copenhagen (Schmaltz, 1983: pl. 17, 1–2).

While most of the recorded male heads are bearded, there is also a beardless head among them (Fig. 2.11, D 207). It is the front of a 15 cm head which has clear traces of red colour in the hair. It is about 10.1 cm wide and 5.9

cm deep. The eyes are etched and the forehead and cheeks are deeply wrinkled. The root of the nose is pronounced, the eyes are surrounded by deep rings and the voluminous mouth is open. The hair is close to the head and separated into strands.

A comparable example of the form of hair and eyes is the larger-than-life (D 341) forehead fragment of a male head of unknown origin. It is 11.6 cm high, 17 cm wide and 6.2 cm deep. The head shows similarities in the form of the bulging upper eyelids, forehead wrinkles and the greatly differing formation of the strands. Further comparisons are a terracotta fragment from Kazaphani (Karageorghis, 1978: 179, pl. 44, cat. 182) and the colossal head of Constantine in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (Lawrence, 1972: 309–310, fig. 69b).



FIGURE 2.11 Nicosia, Cyprus Museum D 207. Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities

PHOTO: N. REITINGER

Two limestone heads from Voni (E 475, E 514: Connelly, 1988: 56–57, cat. 16, pl. 19, figs. 70–71; 60, cat. 21, pl. 22, figs. 82–85), located in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, are also comparable due to the beardlessness, the highlighted hair and the distinct characteristics of age. The heads have a height of about 31 cm. They are both dated to the second century BCE. In the opinion of N. Reitingner, the beardless terracotta head (D 207) is a piece from the Roman era, due to the very simple designed facial features with clear age characteristics.

14 Reclining Male Figurines

According to the card catalogue of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, three male torsos (D 397, D 399, D 401) of reclining figures are of unknown origin. Due to the diagonal slant of

the upper body, the significant curve to the right, and the right forearm resting sideways on the garment, the men appear to be in a reclining position. They are wearing a chiton and a mantle, which is draped over the lower body. The torsos have a height of 16.5 cm to 21 cm, a width of 17 to 25 cm and a depth of 11.5 cm to 14.8 cm.

Literature shows an abundance of comparable examples in terracotta (Besques, 1986: 58, pl. 48, cat. D/E 3604–3607) as well as on Greek sepulchral stelae (Firatlı, 1964: pls. 8–11, cat. 29–41; Fuchs, 1993: 478, fig. 561) and two reliefs in Nicosia in limestone. One relief is exhibited in the George and Nefeli Giabra Pierides Collection in Nicosia, showing two reclining figures, in front of whom there is a table laden with food, a tall vessel and a small servant (Karageorghis, 2002: 205–207, cat. 266; Pogiati, 2003: 137–138, cat. 39, pl. 24). The second relief in the New Sculpture Store Room of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia (E 696, H c.100 cm, W 44 cm: Pogiati, 2003: 138–139, cat. 40, pl. 4) is an almost identical copy of two reclining persons, but in a fragmentary state. The two figures are reclining to the right. The left figure is holding a bowl in his left hand, while the second is embracing the cushions of the *kline*. In front of the two persons there are the badly damaged heads of two children, probably servants – seemingly a boy and a girl. In this relief the upper parts of the body are almost vertical, while the legs are stretched out in an unnatural position to the right.

Finally, the authors would like to briefly indicate the book by Childs, Smith and Padgett with the title: *City of Gold. The Archaeology of Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus*, published in 2012. In the preface (p. 34, fig. 1.6) there is an old photograph of finds from graves in Polis-Kaparka). In the course of research in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, seven finds were recorded (D 109, D 117, D 120, D 130, D 134, D 137, D 231), which, according to the card catalogue, are from *Sphageion* or of unknown origin. However, based on the photograph they could be identified as finds from Polis-Kaparka. These seven objects are grave-finds by Markides from the year 1916. Based on this example it is clear how important old photographs are to research in order to identify finds of uncertain origin.

The objects presented in this paper were made for votive or funerary use. Most of them belong to common types, some of them go hand in hand with types known in stone sculpture (e.g. temple boy, tambourine player, Artemis with stag, Aphrodite from Rizokarpaso, funerary terracottas). Some pieces, though, have only few matches in terracotta and limestone sculpture (e.g. group with writing devices). Most objects listed in the card catalogue of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia are unprovenanced. However, further investigation is needed and may provide

the information about provenance and find contexts of the terracottas.

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The Terracottas from the Kitian Sanctuary of Artemis Paralia: A Snapshot

Pauline Maillard

Abstract

In the last decades of the 19th century, the British Museum, the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum successively set up and enriched their collections of Cypriot Antiquities. Among the artefacts leaving the island, there was a large number of terracotta figurines excavated near the Salt Lake of Larnaca. These meticulously Greek in style figurines were quickly compared to the popular productions of Athens and Tanagra, before being sent abroad, in separate batches. The discovery, a few years later, of inscribed stelae led archaeologists to identify a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis Paralia on the north-eastern shores of the Lake, an identification that is strongly disputed today.¹

1 Introduction

Scattered across France, England and the United States, the archaeological material from the Salt Lake has never been compiled into a comprehensive study, despite the originality of its iconography. In addition, the corpus of the northern shore of the Salt Lake is almost devoid of any precise archaeological context, which renders its study difficult. Nonetheless, the singularity of these figurines gives rise to a multitude of questions regarding their production. Are they mainly imports, as suggested by the iconography? Should we rather consider them as local productions made from Greek moulds? It stands to reason that they could also be purely Cypriot creations. Beyond these technical considerations, is a contextual study of the Salt Lake terracottas still possible? If that is the case, it

would most likely increase significantly our knowledge of Kitian cultic practices at the end of the Classical period.

2 History of the Collection

Contemporary with the Salaminian workshops (Monloup, 1994: 19–20), the terracottas from Larnaca's Salt Lake represent one of the bigger collections of Classical terracottas known from southern Cyprus (for a discussion of some of these terracottas, see Koiner & Reitingner, this volume). The total number of figurines represents, so far in my research, 550 artefacts. All of them were excavated during the last decade of the 19th century by three different teams of excavators, whom we would find hard to define as “archaeologists” these days. The majority were members of the foreign diplomatic missions stationed in Cyprus, whose leaders used to practice archaeology as a trendy and money-making hobby (Patrizio Gunning, 2009). The most well-known is probably Luigi Palma di Cesnola, who excavated in Larnaca in 1867, and sold the major part of the discovered terracottas, that is to say about 70 artefacts, to the Metropolitan Museum in 1874 before selling the rest to the Louvre Museum at the end of 1890s (Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004). The area excavated can be situated outside the walls of ancient Kition, on the north-eastern shore of the Salt Lake, not far south of what is today the church of Phaneromeni (Fig. 3.1).

The British vice-consul, Dominic Ellis Colnaghi, seems to have been the most active digger in the region around Larnaca. Mandated by the British Museum's Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Charles Newton, Colnaghi associated with the Vicomte de Maricourt, brother of the French consul, who, according to Colnaghi, was the first to identify the site of the Salines during the winter 1864–1865. For Léon Heuzey curator of the Louvre Museum researching in the French archives, the discovery goes back to 1863 (1923: 156). The archives of Colnaghi are still available today at the British Museum and form one of the precious sets of correspondence known from this period between the Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities and his delegate in the field (British Museum, Greek and Roman Antiquities archives: *Excavations in Cyprus: Correspondence 1861–1866*).

¹ I would like to cordially thank G. Papantoniou, D. Michaelides and M. Dikomitou-Eliadou for giving me the opportunity to present and discuss my research in the framework of the conference “Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas: Mediterranean Networks and Cyprus”. This paper is a preliminary presentation of my doctoral research on the terracotta votives from Larnaca's Salt Lake, supervised by A. Hermay (Université d'Aix-Marseille) and K. Reber (Université de Lausanne). I also want to address warm thanks to T. Kiely for granting me access to the documents available at the British Museum and also for his relevant suggestions for my research. I express my sincere thanks to D. Pilides for granting me permission to study the 1958 survey material in the Cyprus Museum; and my gratitude goes to A. Erlich (University of Haifa) for the kind and enriching discussions on the subject of the terracottas of the two seated women.

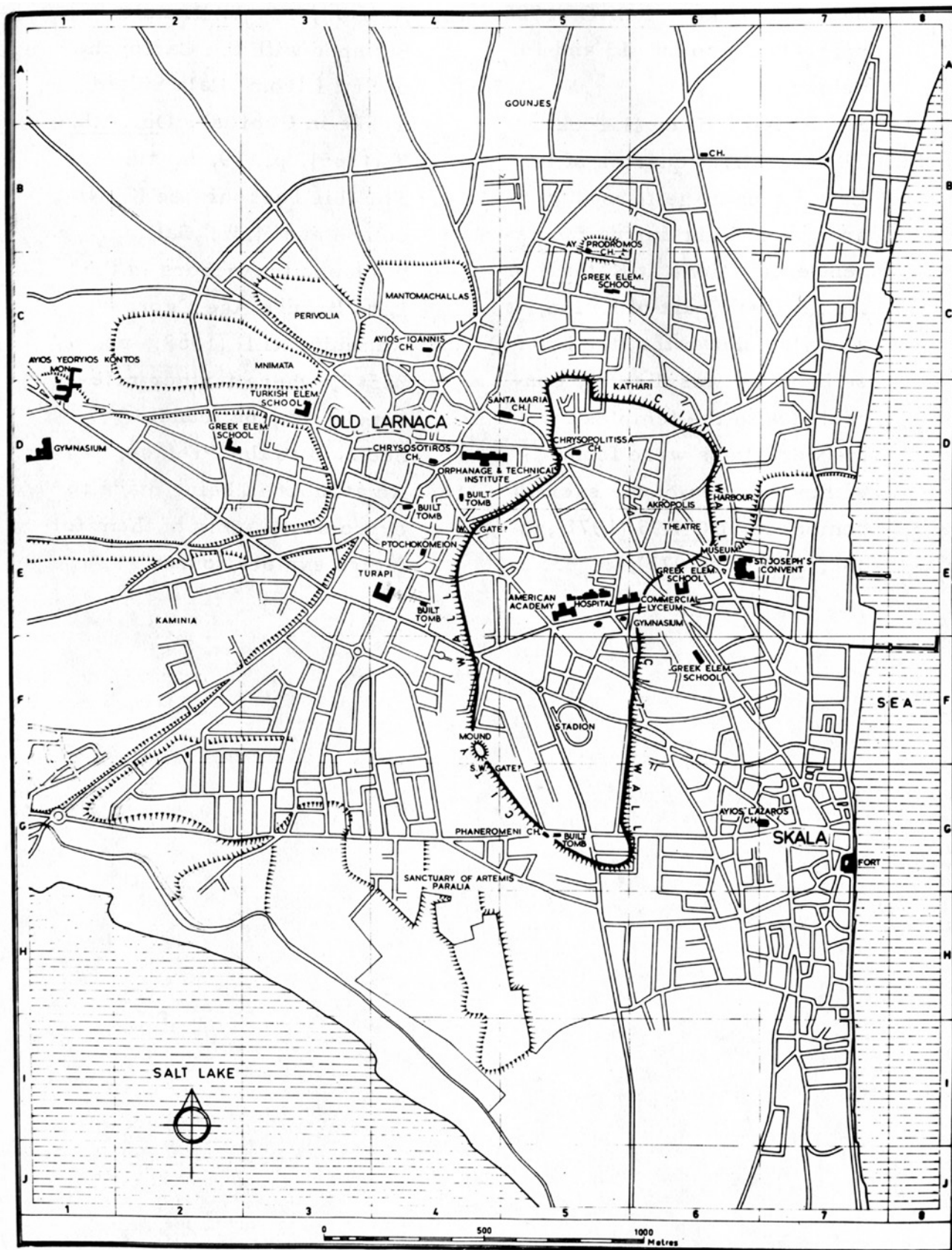


FIGURE 3.1 Map of Larnaca showing the first presumed location of the sanctuary of Artemis Paralia. This is actually to be located far more to the South, as demonstrated in Maillard 2016

FROM NICOLAOU, 1976: 8, FIG. 1

These records give us further details about the excavations conducted near the Salt Lake during the summer 1865. For instance, we learn that the figurines were found on the hill near Batsalos, lying just below the surface, or at least in shallow levels, as Colnaghi mentioned that the artefacts “lie in a line about 2 or 3 feet from the ground” and were picked up without digging operations (Colnaghi to Newton, 10 June 1864, Original Letter no. 182). This testimony completely matches the description reported by Colonna-Ceccaldi and Heuzey in the words of the French diggers (Colonna Ceccaldi, 1882: 19; and quoted by Heuzey, 1923: 156). On the top of the hill, Colnaghi mentioned the presence of walls in a bad state of conservation that were finally not excavated. The British Museum’s collection of terracottas from Larnaca’s Salt Lake is today the largest with 233 artefacts, mainly dated from the fourth and third centuries BCE but also from the Archaic period (Burn & Higgins, 2001). The rest of the terracottas excavated in 1865, divided in two batches between the French and the British Consuls, were sent to the Louvre Museum (Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998). This dispersed collection of votive fragments is nowadays the only remains relating to the sanctuary near the Salt Lake. In the long term, the objective of our study is to collect all the evidence from the sanctuary in order to present a general picture of the cultic assemblage from the Salt Lake. For a discussion regarding the actual location of the sanctuary, see Maillard 2016.

3 The Goddess of the Salt Lake

The terracotta figurines found in the Salines were admired for their meticulous style for about a century, occasionally exploited to allude to the “Greekness” of Cyprus in Classical times (Heuzey, 1923: 108, 115, 126). Apart from artistic considerations, they were partially ignored until the 1980s when Pouilloux took up again the study of the epigraphic evidence from the area of the Salt Lake and wrote his article “*Artémis Paralia à Kition*” (Pouilloux, 1986). The inscriptions discussed and related hypothetically to the Salines seem to have been found by Cesnola. The four documents are dated to the second century CE and take the form of religious dedications, clearly mentioning the cult of Artemis under the *epiclesis* of Paralia. We leave out intentionally the discussion concerning the texts themselves (for restoration of the texts and commentary, see Pouilloux, 1986 and Nicolaou, 1976). As Pouilloux explained (1986: 416), the name Paralia may probably be understood as a geographic *epiclesis* for an Artemis “of the shores”, thus following a Cypriot tradition of naming

the gods in accordance with the topography, as in the more well known cases of Aphrodite Golgia and Paphia. The main question remains: is this Artemis Paralia the same goddess as the one who received the figurines, deposited on the hill next to the Salt Lake? Pouilloux (1986) and Hermary (1982) were the first scholars to underline the contrast or at least the profound difference between Artemis and the woman represented at the Salt Lake, who, instead, evokes Aphrodite or Demeter. The name of Demeter had already been suggested, but due to a misunderstanding of the epigraphic evidence it was deciphered as “Demeter Paralia” by Cesnola (1877: 51). Pouilloux (1986: 421) proposes that the Cypriot “Great Goddess” was honoured in the area of the Salines since the late Archaic or the beginning of the Classical period and that she was given a Greek name later, during the Hellenistic, or even later, in the Roman era.

Yon’s contribution on the topic was also important. In a paper published in 1992, she took over the discussion, where Pouilloux left off, and added some newly-found major elements. First, she added to the discussion the environment of the so-called Salines sanctuary and established a strong connection between the identity of the Goddess and the exploitation of the salt in the area of Batsalos. According to Yon, the activities of salt-collecting already took place in Classical times (Yon, 1992: 303; cf. Vandenabeele, 1991: 8). She highlighted evidence in the Phoenician documents from the Kitian necropolis of Ayios Georgios, alluding to a funerary stele which mentioned “a salt man” (Teixidor, 1986: 489). Yon then proposed a reinterpretation of the *epiclesis* Paralia, offering a new etymology developed on the ancient Greek word “ὁ ἅλς” originally designating “salt”. Therefore, she suggested a new interpretation of the name of the Goddess as a compound name “Παρ-ἅλῖα” meaning “beside the salt lake” or “beside the salt marsh”. The goddess Paralia would have thus operated as the Great Goddess of Cyprus, in a strong relationship with the cult of fertility and vegetation (Yon, 1992: 304–305). The deity could also have been named Artemis, at least since the fourth century BCE, functioning as the mistress of wildlife and farming, as we know her as Artemis Agrotera in Paphos at the same time (Ulbrich, 2008: 165). In Yon’s opinion, the Great Goddess – Aphrodite or Astarte in the Phoenician context of Kition – became Artemis. This opinion is in agreement with the proposition put forward by Hermary in 1982, namely that the goddess honoured on the shores of the Larnaca Salt Lake must be Aphrodite, at least as far as the iconography provided by the terracottas is concerned. This opinion was also reinforced by the publication of the Salaminian Classical corpus in 1994 (Monloup, 1994) and was more

recently accepted by Ulbrich (2008: 58) in her synthesis of the Cypriot feminine cults.

4 Iconography of the Terracottas

The iconography of the terracottas is definitely what makes this place and its looted sanctuary appear very special for anybody who is keen on Cypriot or even Greek terracottas. The vast majority represent a woman, in most cases seated on a throne, but unfortunately only the heads are usually preserved. The woman consistently wears a veil superimposed by a headdress, usually called a *kalathos* (Fig. 3.2). It is large and covered with various decorations, combining vegetal ornaments such as flowers and rosettes or incisions that look similar to plaited rush. The decoration of the *kalathos* sometimes includes figures of two creatures: the sphinx and the griffin (Fig. 3.3).

These different types of headdress are also well attested in Salamis where they are developed in various forms broadly including the same motifs, only covering the head of standing women (Monloup, 1994 *passim*). Just like her Salaminian alter ego, the Kitian woman holds different kinds of attributes. Most of the times, she holds a piece of fruit, probably an apple, raised in front of or just below her breast. The other objects that we find in her hands are a *tympanon*, a *phiale*, and in one unique case a fawn. The latter has been highlighted by those proposing an identification as Artemis (Pouilloux, 1986: 420; Nicolaou, 1976: 108–111), but its relationship to the cult of the Great Goddess as the mistress of wildlife was correctly demonstrated by Monloup (1994: 69). Finally, we must take note of the rich jewellery composed of earrings, bracelets ornamenting upper arms and ankles, and large necklaces, revealed by the woman by pulling her veil aside in a distinctive gesture (Fig. 3.4).

In some other groups, figurines wear a low *polos* and seem to embody not a deity, but the girls often described as “acolytes” of a goddess, seated in the centre (Fig. 3.5). These girls differ in their iconography from the seated woman: they look younger, not only because of their small size but because of their lineaments, especially their physiognomy. They are also dressed in a different way: instead of the Greek “combination” of chiton and himation worn by the seated woman, they wear a long-sleeve dress, in some rare cases tucked at the waist. This little personnage always holds a box – (opened, closed or half-opened) – sometimes disclosing a crown, (Fig. 3.6). The reconstruction of the group is made possible by a few examples, especially by the so-called “triad” from the Louvre Museum (see Fig. 3.5). This extraordinarily well-preserved



FIGURE 3.2 Terracotta figurine wearing a *kalathos* in plated rush (Musée du Louvre, AM 327), H: 7.1 cm

FROM CAUBET, FOURRIER & QUEYREL, 1998: 547, NO. 921

group shows in the centre a woman of larger dimensions, wearing a *kalathos* decorated with vegetal motifs, seated on a high throne, holding a *phiale* in her right hand. She wears various pieces of jewellery: a two-tier necklace as well as double bracelets on each ankle and above the right elbow.

Much more enigmatic are the “enthroned couples” that show two women, crowned with a low *kalathos*, seated on a large bench (Fig. 3.7). The position adopted by the two protagonists is curious: the woman seated on the right wraps her arm around the second character, putting a hand on her shoulder. Furthermore, in order to accentuate this closeness, they share the same veil and also divide the attributes: one holds the *phiale*, the other a piece of fruit. These groups are often put forward in the discussions in support of the identification of the deity of the Salt Lake not only as the Great Goddess of Cyprus, but also as a double Aphrodite. This interpretation was first proposed by Heuzey in 1923 when he



FIGURE 3.3 Terracotta figurine wearing a high *kalathos* decorated with sphinxes and griffins (Musée du Louvre, AO 22243), H: 11.5 cm

FROM CAUBET, FOURRIER & QUEYREL, 1998: 531, NO. 869



FIGURE 3.4 Terracotta figurine wearing a large necklace (Musée du Louvre, AM 1726), H: 11 cm

FROM CAUBET, FOURRIER & QUEYREL, 1998: 511, NO. 818



FIGURE 3.5 Terracotta group of a seated goddess, flanked by two acolytes (Musée du Louvre, AO 22238), H: 20.5 cm
FROM CAUBET, FOURRIER & QUEYREL, 1998: 500, NO. 794



FIGURE 3.6
Fragment of a terracotta group representing a young girl holding a half-opened box, disclosing a crown (Musée du Louvre, AM 125), H: 17 cm
FROM CAUBET, FOURRIER & QUEYREL, 1998: 521, NO. 843



FIGURE 3.7

Terracotta group of two women sharing a bench and a veil (Musée du Louvre, MNB 1302), H: 11.6 cm
FROM CAUBET, FOURRIER & QUEYREL, 1998: 512, NO. 822

described the Stackelberg group, discovered in Larnaca and now in the Louvre, as a representation of Aphrodite Ourania and Pandemos (Heuzey, 1923: 185) (Fig. 3.8). This hypothesis was adopted by Hermary (1982: 166) who proposed to identify the group as a divided image of an ouranian and a chthonian Aphrodite. "The divided goddess" would have symbolised two aspects of her personality: on one hand the astral Ourania, on the other the infernal Pandemos.

This interpretation relates directly to the two standing female statuettes found in 1967, together with a base, in a room of the Roman villa of Theseus in Nea Paphos (Daszewski, 1968: 54; pl. XIV 3–4). Both are supposed to represent Aphrodite but while one is sculpted in a fine-grained white marble, the other, which is very similar, is carved in a dark grey marble and has a decoration of small stars all over the himation.

As shown by Pirenne-Delforge (1988: 143–144), the origins of the duality between Ourania and Pandemos

are traceable in the discussion of the nature of love in Xenophon's *Symposion* (VIII, 8–11). If one nature of Aphrodite is responsible for pure love, the second is distinctly related to sexual desire. So it is evident in literature that these two aspects of Aphrodite received separate cults and sacrifices in Athens during the fourth century BCE. The cult of Ourania is indirectly attested in the Kitian sphere, thanks to the well-known inscription of around 333 BCE, found in Piraeus and mentioning the foundation of an altar to Aphrodite Ourania by the Kitian population there (IG II²: 337 = Sylloge³: 280). Returning to the iconography of the two seated women, we have to remain cautious: neither the *epiclesis* of Pandemos nor a conjoined cult of the two 'characters' of Aphrodite have so far been recorded in Cyprus. Furthermore, according to Pirenne-Delforge (1988), the two forms of Aphrodite, well attested in Greece, are not necessarily antagonistic, something that is stressed in the opposition of her ouranian and the chthonian nature.



FIGURE 3.8 Reconstruction of the so-called Stackelberg group (drawing: C. Florimont) (Musée du Louvre, MNB 1723, AO 22864, N III 3325, AM 248), H (reconstructed): 17.5 cm

FROM CAUBET, FOURRIER & QUEYREL, 1998: 572, NO. 957

5 Homemade or Imported Productions?

In 1974, a surprising find in Israel broke the monopoly of Cyprus for the representation of such groups. A terracotta of two seated women was found at Tel Beersheba by the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, in the area of the ancient city called "The Temple" (Aharoni, 1974: 271). The main interests of the excavators were the strata going back to the Early Iron Age, corresponding to the construction of a horned altar adjoining an impressive structure of rooms connected to a courtyard (Aharoni, 1974: 271). A few metres away there was a small temple dating to the third or second century BCE. It was also bordered to the East by a courtyard apparently occupied by an altar used for burning offerings and surrounded by several ash pits. They contained a wide range of deposits undeniably votive, including ivory, bronze, faience and terracotta artefacts, amongst them the group in question here. It is very similar in terms of iconography to those originating from the Salt Lake sanctuary. The two women share a bench and a veil, and technical details such as the incised *kalathoi* and bracelets are identical in treatment to what could be observed in the Kitian artefacts. Even though a detailed examination of the clay has yet to be done, one can assume, following Derfler (1981: 99), that the terracotta found in the Negev is a unique Cypriot import. It is very tempting to use this exceptional example to bring together the Goddess honoured in the *Salines* of Larnaca with an oriental divinity, as Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel (1998: 447) prudently mentioned a connection with the Levantine Astarte.

We do not agree, however, with the categorical interpretation of Derfler (1981: 98) as Demeter and Kore, since there is no evidence for such an identification either in Beersheba or in Larnaca. Evidently, it concretely confirms the contacts between Kition and the Levant in the fourth century BCE, even though sharing a figurine type does not imply sharing a god. The isolated find may perhaps be seen as an outside object brought back to Israel by someone returning from a business trip in the eastern Mediterranean, who may have recognised in the Cypriot representation, the character or iconography of a local, Levantine divinity. At this stage, therefore, the evidence is too limited to allow one to assume any rooted link between the two sanctuaries. Instead, we should be pleasantly surprised that the Kitian production was sufficiently appreciated to be taken so far away. Finally, one of the remarkable contributions of the Beersheba discovery is the *terminus ante quem* provided for the deposition of the terracotta in the late second century–early first century BCE, based on a coin of the Nabatean king Aretas II (103–96

BCE) found in the final destruction level of the Hellenistic temple (Aharoni, 1974: 271).

At this point, I can confirm that the majority of the terracottas collected on the north-eastern shores of the Salt Lake are locally produced. The light red clay of which the objects are made is very similar to other terracotta productions attested in Kition. As it shows practically no inclusions, earlier scholars have evoked Attic productions (Cesnola, 1877: 51), which is definitely not the case for the large majority of the terracottas, whereas others have qualified the figurines as *rudimentaire* because of the crudeness of their backs (Heuzey, 1923: 117), a severe judgement if we consider the sharpness and the fine execution of the obverse. It is very clear if we examine the clay, as well as the homogeneity of technical marks left by the craftsmen on the objects, that all the terracottas gathered in the Salt Lake and analysed so far are Kitian productions and may furthermore have been manufactured in a workshop devoted to the sanctuary.

This conclusion is supported by the observed iconography: the style of the terracottas has always been described as purely Greek, which is not false if we stick to first impressions on examining the faces, the clothes of the seated woman, and the hieratic posture of each character. All these features confer to the whole assemblage a Greek look. Nevertheless, the originality of the composition of a seated woman followed by two young girls, as well as the two women sharing a seat and a veil, has to be noted. No parallels have been identified in the Greek World for the fourth century BCE. Furthermore, the clothing of the two little girls, a long and skin-tight dress, derives from a purely Cypriot tradition.

6 Conclusions

Studying the geographic distribution of these figurines, we are forced to conclude that these terracottas attracted only the attention of the Kitian clientele. Apart from the extraordinary find of Beersheba, no specimen presenting the same iconography was found either on Cyprus itself or off the Cypriot coast. While the Classical figurines wearing vegetal *kalathoi* from Salamis and Achana may bear a resemblance, they all present a distinct fabric and, as far as I know, never included groups or pairs of figures (Monloup, 1994; Caubet, 1992). Consequently, I postulate that the iconography of the Salt Lake group is marked by specific features and was created to be commensurate with the goddess honoured on those shores. Being too exclusive, the imagery and even the symbols referring to the divinity were apparently not suitable for other contexts, a

hypothesis strengthened by the unshared name of Paralia of the Goddess that is witnessed in Roman times.

Moreover, as was ardently argued by Heuzey (1923: 167), the hybridity of such representation may suggest that some Kitian terracotta workshops employed Greek craftsmen, or simply used imported Greek moulds. Another possibility, that I personally find more persuasive, would be the custom of *surmoulage*, using terracottas imported from central Greece or Ionia that would be reworked, modified and in the case of groups, “reassembled” in accordance with Cypriot habits or rituals. This practice is attested in Cyprus and its utilisation in the middle of the fourth century BCE was already suggested by Besques in a study published in 1978 dealing with the trade of terracotta figurines between Ionian and Attic workshops, a point of view also already present as an implicit idea in the publication of Heuzey (1923: 115). Besques took as an example the so-called Stackelberg group (Fig. 3.8), whose fragments were collected in the Larnaca Salt Lake, and clearly demonstrated its derivation from an Attic mould, moreover from a plastic vase. In doing so, she established that Greek imports circulated in the Kitian workshops and that those productions ended in the sanctuary of the goddess Paralia (Besques, 1978). The obverse of this figurine was qualified as “missing” by Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel (1998: 571), something we do not agree with. The figurine is simply devoid of its back, which is typical of plastic vase production in the fourth century BCE (Jeammet, 2010: 62–68). Moreover, after careful examination of the object, we postulate that this group was not produced in Kition using a Greek mould but imported directly from Greece on account of its clay which is very similar to Attic productions.

Recently Papantoniou (2012: 15) demonstrated how material depositions and dedications in Cypriot sanctuaries inevitably reflect political changes. We may then rightly suggest that the Kitian presence in the fourth century Mediterranean trade relates to the arrival of Greek moulds and figurines in the city workshops. As testified by the cult of a Cypriot Aphrodite Ourania in Piraeus, contacts were strongly established between Kition and Attica in Classical times.

In my opinion, the seated woman represented in the terracottas from the Salt Lake may thus refer to a Cypriot interpretation of a goddess whose image was formed in the Greek *koine* of the mid-fourth century BCE of which Kition was an integral part. She was then converted into a Cypriot divinity, resembling the Great Goddess and later related to Artemis. Finally, it seems pointless to name her precisely for the phase discussed here. Whoever she was, she may have been worshipped as a local divinity functioning in close relationship with the environment

and the nature of the Salt Lake, obviously implicated in fertility. The comparison with Astarte is really tempting within the Phoenician context of Kition. However, we must protect ourselves from a hasty judgement since there is actually no evidence to justify this identification. It is perhaps more useful to approach her from the perspective of a religious dynamism, which makes the study of the Cypriot cultic sphere so fascinating.

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Terracotta Figurines of Hellenistic Arsinoe and Environs

Eustathios Raptou

Abstract

The paper aims to present developments in archaeological research in the area of Polis Chrysochous, in north-western Cyprus, resulting from excavations carried out by the Department of Antiquities over the last decade. Recent investigations, both within the ancient city, which lies under the modern town of Polis, and the surrounding countryside, have brought to light a number of sanctuaries, either newly founded in the Hellenistic period, or showing continuous use from Archaic to Hellenistic times. Finds from these sanctuaries are indicative of the developments that took place in cultic practice, iconography and techniques of terracotta production in this area through time down to the period of Ptolemaic rule. Figurine groups include iconographical types that follow old traditions, as well as a variety of imported Greek models, thus allowing some suggestions regarding the adoption of Greek deities in local worship, as well as the possible existence of different workshops in the city and its periphery.

1 Introduction – Current State of Research in the Area

In trying to answer some of the questions posed by the editors of this collected volume on Hellenistic and Roman terracottas, we turn our attention to the north-western part of Cyprus, that of the Polis Chrysochous area, which, in archaeological terms, is considered to be one of the less well-known on the island (Fig. 4.1). This is true to a certain degree, since the systematic exploration of the region is relatively recent and a large part of the material recovered from excavations still remains unpublished. In effect, after the first excavations carried out by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, focusing mainly on the rich cemeteries, it was only in the 1980s that scientific research was first started by the Princeton University Archaeological Mission, and is still ongoing, excavating the ruins lying beneath the small town of Polis Chrysochous (Smith, 2012: 27–44). From the late 1990s onwards, due to the accelerated expansion of the town it became necessary to carry out many rescue excavations under the responsibility of the Department of Antiquities and the present writer. The huge amount of material evidence collected requires a great deal of effort before being published or at least accurately presented.

2 Presentation of the Site

However, it has been well known for a long time, through written sources and fortuitous discoveries, that a significant settlement existed in the fertile valley of the Chrysochou River, owing its importance to the exploitation of copper and timber and the natural resources of its rich lands (Childs, 2008: 65; 2012: 92–94). This settlement, transformed during historic times into a city known as Marion, became the seat of royal power and the main administrative and economic centre of the entire region. Ptolemy Lagos, Alexander's general, who later became Ptolemy I Soter, king of Egypt, abolished the kingdom of Marion before the end of the fourth century BCE, destroying the city (Diod. 19.59.1). Soon after, his son Ptolemy II Philadelphos must have re-founded the city in almost the same place, naming it Arsinoe after his wife (recently Najbjerg, 2012: 233–234).

Much progress has been made in the last few decades regarding the topography of the two cities, testifying that Arsinoe continued the role of its predecessor, remaining the capital city of the area during Hellenistic and Roman times (Childs, 2008: 68–74; Najbjerg, 2012: 233–248). Concerning the cult places, where terracotta figurines are usually deposited in large numbers, Marion has proven to be richer in information. The Princeton University archaeological mission has uncovered two important sanctuaries: the first excavated on the Peristeries plateau to the east of the site, and the second at Maratheri, situated to the north (Smith, 1997; Childs, 1999: 223–227; Smith, Weir & Serwint, 2012: 167–184).

These sanctuaries yielded an unprecedented number of terracotta figurines dated mostly to the Archaic and Classical periods, testifying to worship related to the fertility of nature represented by figurines sharing influences from the Levant and the Greek world (Smith, Weir & Serwint, 2012: 168–170). In contrast, evidence is scarce concerning places devoted to cult in the Hellenistic and Roman city. Meanwhile, several written sources present a blurred image of the sacred landscape of Arsinoe. One of these testimonies is to be found in the descriptions of the area by the geographer Strabo (14.683.6.3), who mentions the situation in the area in early Roman times and characterises the city of Arsinoe as containing the sacred grove

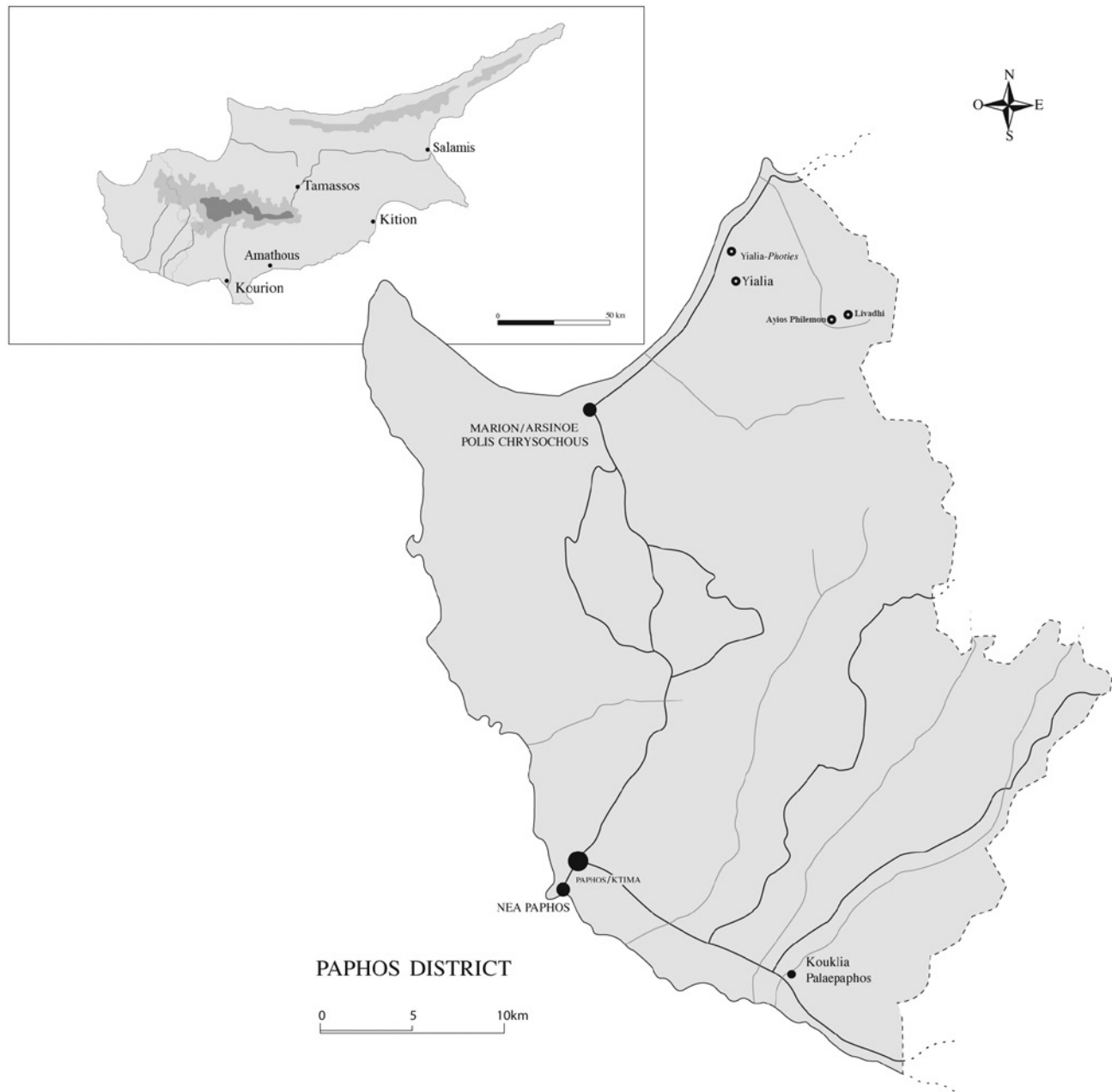


FIGURE 4.1 Map of western Cyprus

or precinct to Zeus (Najbjerg, 2012: 242). This information has not been confirmed archaeologically until now. It is the same for the sanctuary of Zeus and Aphrodite, which is known from an inscription of the Tiberian era referring to a dedication made to the gods by slaves (Najbjerg, 2012: 245).

3 New Sanctuaries Discovered in the Area

The picture is actually changing considerably due to recent archaeological activity by the Department of Antiquities, providing new relevant information on the sacred topography and religious activities of the two cities (Fig. 4.2).

New cult places have been located and some of them have already been excavated, both within the urban setting as well as the surrounding areas. To proceed to our scope here we present the material from two cult places uncovered inside Polis Chrysochoous and from one site from its periphery. The first has been excavated inside a large workshop complex, quite obviously situated inside the Hellenistic city's urban grid and it is only briefly described in a recent publication (Raptou, 2012: 66–69).

A second cult place, also Hellenistic in date, was discovered inside a large building whose location might be again in the centre of the ancient city. The excavation brought to light terracottas and cultic utensils testifying to

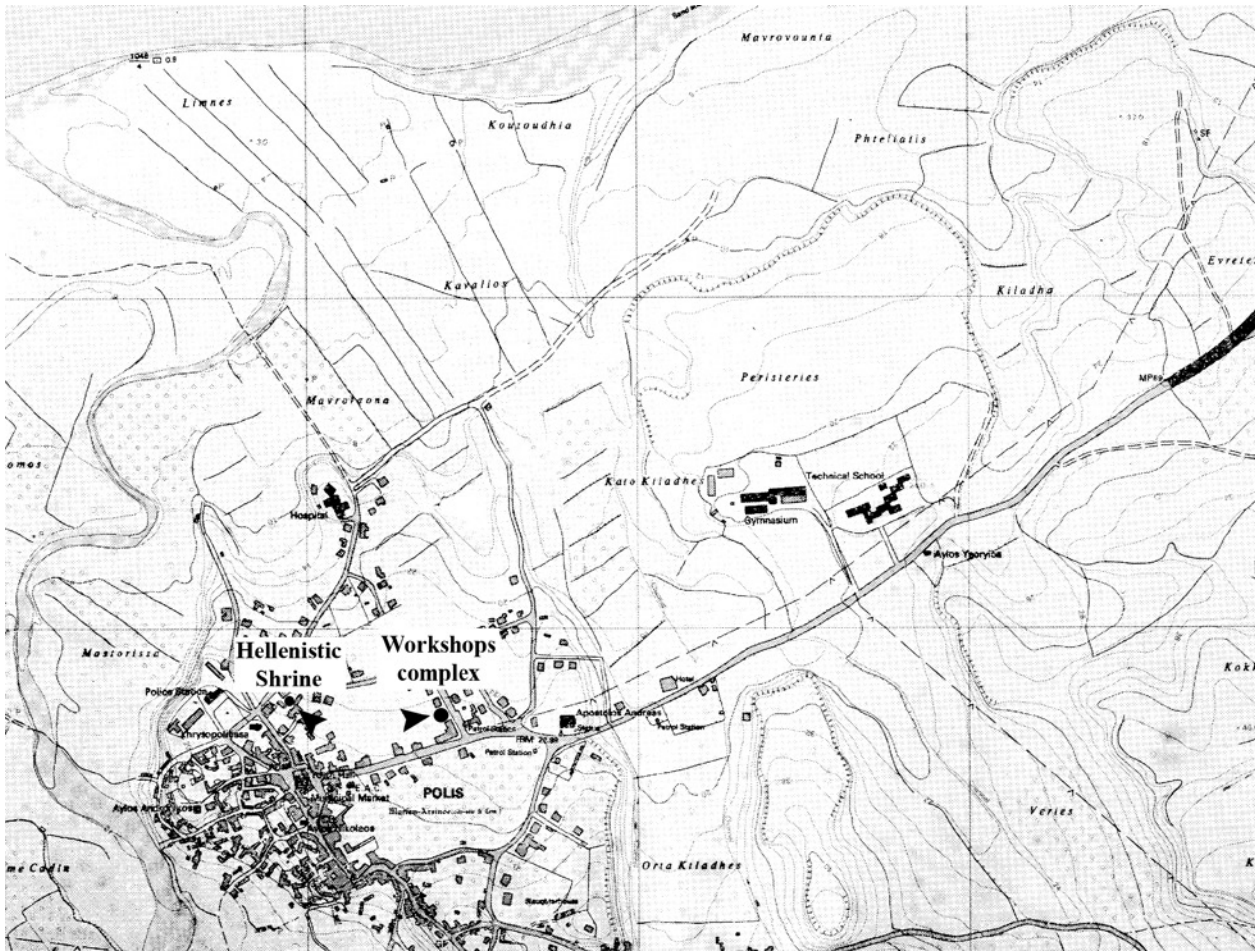


FIGURE 4.2 Map of Polis Chrysochous

the existence of a sanctuary. Furthermore, recent archaeological and survey work in the countryside surrounding Polis has revealed the existence of numerous local sanctuaries, undoubtedly dependent on smaller peripheral centres. One of these sanctuaries, discovered in the locality of Yialia-Photies to the north-east of Polis, has been fully excavated. Investigations in the wider area have revealed another peripheral sanctuary in the mountainous hinterland of the village of Yialia. This ancient sanctuary was built over during the Byzantine period by the church of Ayios Philemon. The pagan offerings, having been smashed, were used in the construction of the church, which is now in ruins near the abandoned village of Livadhi (Raptou, 2010: 14–22, 23–25).

4 Presentation, Typology and Interpretation of Terracottas

4.1 *Workshops Complex: Hellenistic Shrine*

The first case concerns the finds from the small shrine which was excavated between the rooms of a large

workshop complex. Part of a vast building was unearthed during a rescue excavation inside Polis Chrysochous that housed weavers, dyers, blacksmiths and other workers, while one of the rooms was devoted to worship (Raptou, 2012: 67). The shrine consisted of a small room, very simple and almost square in plan, without any specific architectural features attesting its sacred character. It contained a monolithic high-stemmed bowl with a flat base, which was found surrounded by pottery vessels and offerings; this element may have served as an altar for bloodless sacrifices. The pottery consisted mostly of cups of various sizes, unguentaria, probably used for perfume offerings, and other material dating from the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Several terracotta figurines of the same date were also recovered. It is of note that the upper layers of the site were unfortunately bulldozed, not allowing us to acquire a full image of the history of the area through the course of time.

The excavation of the shrine yielded numerous fragments belonging to a large terracotta figurine which may have stood in that room. The assembled fragments form the lower part of what might be a female figure consisting

of an almost tubular body with modelled upper parts and probably a moulded face. This type of large clay figurine has many parallels in other sanctuaries excavated mostly in the west of the island, as at Vouni (Vessberg & Westholm, 1937: pl. LXXVIII, nos. 67 and 118) and Mersinaki (Vessberg & Westholm, 1937: pl. CXXII, nos. 2, 3). Although very fragmentary, stylistically it is dependent on the Classical traditions of the city, since other fragmentary specimens of this type of statue have been recovered in Marion (Serwint, 1991: 215, pl. LVb) and the surrounding area, like in Yialia-Photies (Raptou, 2010: fig. 10). It must be stated that it is the largest terracotta artefact form to be excavated in the shrine and in all probability constituted the cult statue of the main deity worshipped there, that of the “Great Goddess” or Aphrodite. A small fragmentary moulded figurine of a nude boy was also discovered in the same place and must be the representation of Eros. It is a figurine that also dates stylistically to the Classical period and together with the large figure constitute the oldest pieces found, connecting the shrine and the cult with the religious past of the ancient city, that of Marion.

In addition to the evidence related to local iconography and traditions, excavation yielded terracotta fragments belonging to various types of Greek deities and other mythological figures. Among them a fragmentary statuette of Apollo *kitharodos* has been registered (Fig. 4.3). It is moulded and hollow of fairly good workmanship. The god is depicted standing on a base, wearing a chiton and a back mantle. He holds a heavy kithara on the left, supported by strips visible on his chest, while holding the plectrum in his right hand. Although it is not my intention at this stage of the research to go deeper into the details of Apollonian iconography, I will only state that the uncovered figurine is suggestive of Late Classical models of the god deriving from monumental sculpture of the fourth century BCE, such as Apollo *Patroos*, the famous statue of Euphranor, which had a strong impact on terracotta production (Roccas, 1998: 266). However, the Arsinoe specimen possibly depends on other prototypes of the Classical period since the god does not appear here wearing a peplos. In other types he is represented wearing the finer chiton, as for example on the statue of Apollo from Delphi (Palagia, 1994: no. 101). Clay figurines of Apollo *kitharodos* are not frequently reported from Cyprus. Some complete examples of a slightly different type have been recorded at Amathus, uncovered in the subterranean sanctuary. Two of the Amathus specimens seem to be closer to Apollo *Patroos* of Euphranor while the third, wrongly stated by the excavator as a representation of a female musician, is different (Flourentzos, 2004: 11, 12, 23, pls. XXVII.129, XXXI.147, XXIX.138; Hermay, 2012: 27). The type of our

Apollo figurine is known in a limestone sculpture exhibited in the Cyprus Museum. The god is rendered in relief, depicted standing next to a tree, holding the kithara on the left (Palagia, 1994: 91). A date in the second century BCE is possible for this image and possibly for our terracotta. It is a period when there is a renewal in art of the late Classical image of Apollo. Thus, Apollo as *kitharodos* is often depicted in votive reliefs from various parts of the ancient world, such as in north-western Asia Minor and Caria where it is said to represent the father-god of many local cults. It is also frequent in northern Greece and elsewhere (Robert, 1955: 152–153; Roccas, 1998: 267).

The same shrine also yielded the figurine of a young boy or Eros depicted as a kithara player (Fig. 4.4). The statuette is in fairly good condition and of a high quality which tends to suggest a foreign origin. The boy stands in the *contraposto* position having a mantle on his back held by his right hand. He holds the kithara on his left side and bends the body and head in an effort to keep upright. Boys were often depicted in various attitudes during the Hellenistic period, and it is not unlikely that they may also be representations of an Eros without wings. Similar figurines of such boys, uncommon in Cypriot contexts, are better presented in other places in the eastern Mediterranean, as in the Kharayeb sanctuary in Lebanon (Chehab, 1951–1952: 37; 1953–1954: pls. XL.2, XLI.2). Similar to the Arsinoe specimen is the figurine of a boy from Alexandria (Török, 1995: 44–45, no. 35, pl. VIII). A date around the end of the third century BCE is suitable for this figurine. In the Cypriot context we can never be sure if the figure it represents is the young Eros or whether the figure may be seen once again as Apollo *kitharodos*, as they were found together.

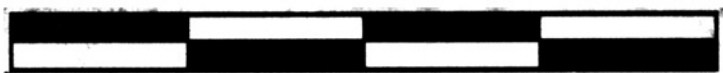
Many fragments recovered from the shrine belonged to a figurine of Artemis *dadophoros* – the torch bearer (Fig. 4.5). The figurine is in a very fragmentary condition preserving only the lower part of the body, showing the goddess running and wearing a short tunic. This type of Artemis has until now been infrequent in Cyprus. However, one example is said to come from Kourion (Queyrel, 1988: 76, n. 16), while similar figurines are encountered in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathus dated to the late Hellenistic period (Queyrel, 1988: 75–76, pl. 24: 223, 225, 226). A complete example was also found, again at Amathus, in the so-called subterranean cult place (Flourentzos, 2004: 11, 24, pl. XXVI.127). Artemis as a torch bearer was considered to be a deity protecting maternity and children, a role strongly held in Cypriot tradition by the “Great Goddess” (Queyrel, 1988: 77).

Finally, one terracotta fragment from the shrine most probably belongs to a Group of Dioscuri. The fragment is part of the body of a young male wearing a mantle on



MMA 661-77

FIGURE 4.3 Arsinoe – Workshop Complex, terracotta of Apollo *kitharodos*



MMA 661-12

FIGURE 4.4 Arsinoe – Workshop Complex, terracotta of Eros holding *kithara*



MMA 661-22

FIGURE 4.5 Arsinoe – Workshop Complex, terracotta of Artemis *dadophoros*



MMA 661-174

FIGURE 4.6 Arsinoe – Workshop Complex, fragment from a Dioscuri group

the left shoulder, possibly the torso of one of the Dioscuri (Fig. 4.6). Representations of the twin brothers are known from various examples found at Amathus, dated to the late Hellenistic period (Queyrel, 1988: 81–83, pl. 26, nos. 243–244). Our fragment would be from the upper part of the body of the right figure. Dioscuri are considered to be protectors of family and house and, in a harbour city such as Arsinoe, they may also be invoked as protectors of navigators. They also appear next to Aphrodite (like Eros), as well as next to Isis. In Cyprus they are only found occasionally, mostly in Paphos, Soloi and Amathus (Queyrel, 1988: 82–83). The fragment from Arsinoe for the time being corroborates the statement that they mostly appear in the west of the island (Queyrel, 1988: 83).

Archaeological evidence shows that the shrine would most likely have been dedicated to the cult of the “Great Goddess”. The workshops and all related economic activities may have been under her protection. The cult seems to have initially reflected local traditions as the main deity was probably depicted in an ancestral form of representation. The figurine of a young boy, which may constitute the representation of Eros, underlines the aspect of a fertility cult in the shrine. The evidence collected indicates a change in iconography at least from the end of the third and second centuries BCE, when types of Greek deities and other mythological figures appear, which may reflect a general change of cultic practices and beliefs in the later part of the Hellenistic period. However, it should be noted that statuettes of the Greek type Aphrodite known in other Cypriot sanctuaries are completely absent. The presence of Apollo and Artemis figures shows that these deities acquired importance and that may reflect a general change in religious attitude in the city that took place during the Hellenistic period. However, the type of Artemis *dadaphoros* and the young boy figurines that continue to be dedicated in the sanctuary demonstrate continuity in the fertility cult indicating that beliefs related to life and death, the protection of childbirth and family might have prevailed in the sanctuary in all periods.

4.2 Hellenistic Sanctuary

The second cult place of Hellenistic date was uncovered in an open courtyard of a large building where a large well had also been discovered. The area housed various activities, but it is uncertain whether it was a private dwelling or a public space. The existence of the fresh water spring made this place a vital point in the city. The continuous use of the area can be observed from installations relating to the collection and distribution of water, such as cisterns and water channels, dating from Roman and later periods to the present day. The sacred place was located on the

northern side and provided a stone altar lying among typical cultic furnishings such as incense burners, lamps and other artefacts. The same place yielded three terracotta figurines found close to the altar: one of Tanagra type and two others depicting Apollo and Artemis. A date between the end of the third and the early second century BCE is suitable for that material.

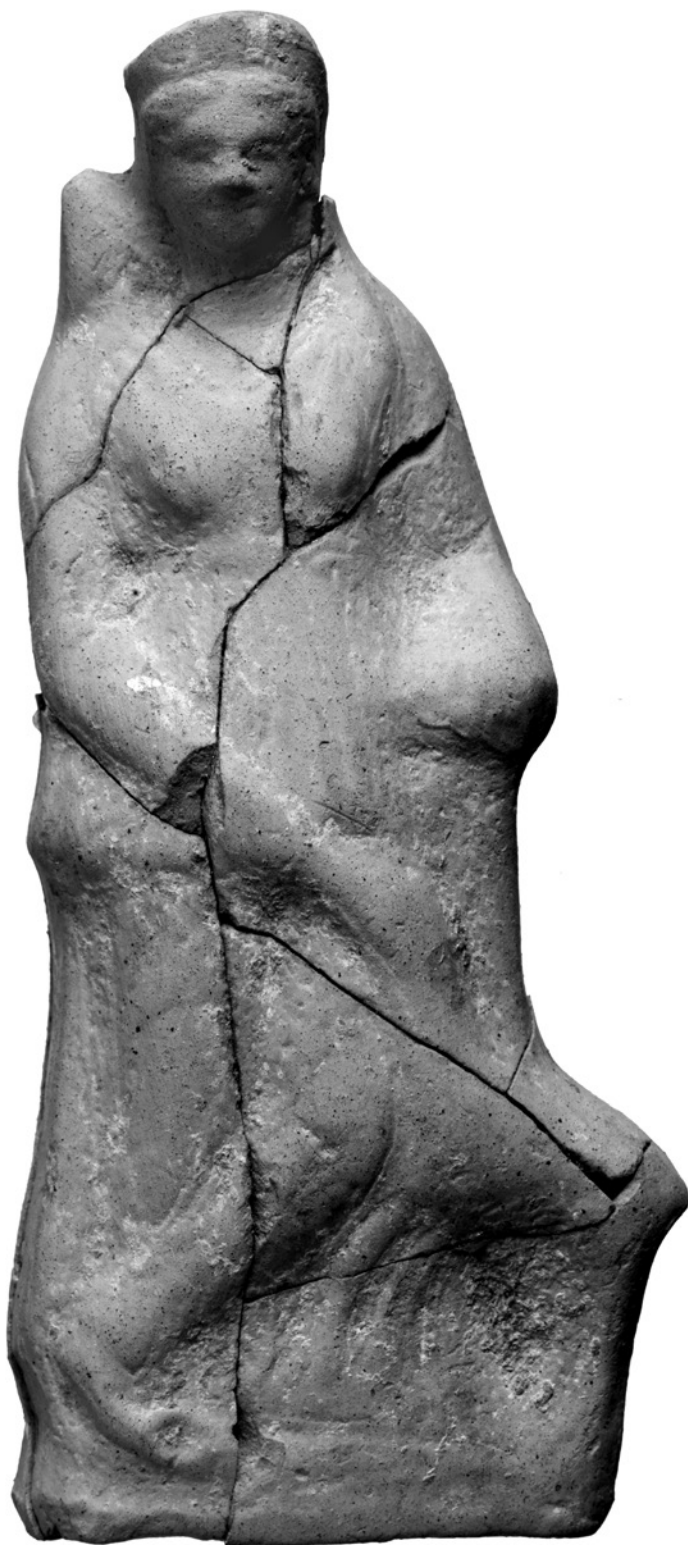
The Tanagra figurine is almost complete, restored from numerous fragments, measuring c. 30 cm (Fig. 4.7). It is well manufactured, moulded on both sides and is possibly an import. The figure is dressed in a chiton and himation which covers her arms and her torso. The chiton is tied high thus emphasising the lower part of the body giving the impression of an elongated and slender form. The figure has the left arm bent at the waist holding the himation while the right hand is wrapped in the mantle on her right side. This type of standing well-dressed young lady with variations is found in terracottas from the fourth century BCE and is very common in the entire ancient world during the Hellenistic period (Uhlenbrock, 1990: 108; Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2002: 76; Verhagen, 2012: 14). It is not possible here to fully examine this terracotta; we can only state that many specimens of Tanagras have been found in Cyprus at different sites and belong to various types (Queyrel, 1988: 213; Salles, 1993: 315, no. 736, fig. 259; Flourentzos, 2004: 26). Our figurine displays features similar to types originating in Greece, probably Athens or Boeotia, and produced in many workshops during the third century BCE (Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2002: 112–113). Typically, it is the head-cover which differs from the earlier examples since the himation passes over her head and tightly encloses her fine face.

The second figure to be found in the area is that of Artemis Kynegetis, the huntress (Fig. 4.8). Once again it is a moulded terracotta statuette, hollow and very thin. It is complete, restored from numerous fragments. The goddess stands on a base, dressed in a long fine chiton with a quiver on her back, appearing above her right shoulder. Her body bends slightly to the left, while her left arm leans on a pillar. She crosses her left flexed leg in front of her right leg and extends her right hand to the head of an animal, most probably a fawn standing in front of her. Although the sanctuaries of Artemis are numerous in Cyprus, this type of depiction of the goddess is infrequent. Fragmentary terracottas representing Artemis in a type similar to that from Arsinoe are known from Amathus, dating to the late Hellenistic period. This representation of the goddess may derive from creations in stone. A statue depicting the goddess in a similar stance was found in the sanctuary of Apollo at Pyla, dated to the late fourth century BCE (Queyrel, 1988: 74–75, pl. 23; Karageorghis, 1998: 132).



MMA 648-1

FIGURE 4.7 Arsinoe – Hellenistic sanctuary, terracotta of Tanagra type



MMA 648-2

FIGURE 4.8 Arsinoe – Hellenistic sanctuary, terracotta of Artemis Kynegetis



MMA 648-3

FIGURE 4.9 Arsinoe – Hellenistic sanctuary, terracotta of Apollo *kitharodos*

The third terracotta found together with the previous one is again an Apollo *kitharodos*, of which only the upper part is preserved (Fig. 4.9). The fragment obviously belongs to a different type from the figurine previously examined. In this type the god is depicted playing the kithara, and very close parallels are frequent in various parts of the ancient world dating to the late Classical period. One example from Athens dates to the fourth century BCE and comes from the Kerameikos cemetery (Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1997: T.141, 47, pl. 27.1); another example was found in Olynthos (Robinson, 1952: 175, no. 222, pl. 74).

The cult in this place was probably related to fertility due to the importance of the water in the area as the presence of a well testifies. It is not clear whether the installation belonged to a workshop or a wealthy private dwelling housing production activities. A hearth discovered in the yard may have been used for both domestic and production purposes. However, the process of identifying the deity worshipped in this cult is a difficult task. Two of the figurines clearly depict Artemis and Apollo but the presence of the large Tanagra figurine has yet to be clarified.

Tanagras as offerings in sanctuaries or domestic shrines in the Greek world and periphery are the subject of much debate (Verhagen, 2012). The largest figurine in our

terracotta assemblage may also represent the main deity worshiped here or may represent the worshipper who dedicated it, possibly the lady of the house, if we consider it a private place. The Tanagras may constitute symbols of the ideal woman in many aspects (Verhagen, 2012: 15, 66). We also cannot exclude the possibility that the three terracottas found together were seen as an Apollonian triad; we know that Leto was venerated in Palaipaphos during the Hellenistic period, where a joint dedication to Leto and Aphrodite Paphia is known in an inscription of the second century BCE (Mitford, 1961: 4, no. 4; Bennett, 1980: 178). Additionally, we can refer to an inscription of the early third century BCE found in the sanctuary of Apollo at Mersinaki close to Soloi mentioning Apollon *Lykios* (Vessberg & Westholm, 1937: 622, no. 4; Bennett, 1980: 196). These inscriptions probably attest the influence of Lycian cults which may have acquired more importance in the west of the island during the Hellenistic period.

In the Greek world Tanagras can be found in various cults and in complex cultic contexts (Dewailly, 2007: 152). They are connected with various cults of female deities such as Artemis, Demeter and Kore, with goddesses of fertility and protectors of family and marriage (Verhagen, 2012: 47, 51–52). At this stage of research we cannot go any

further into our interpretations. However, it is interesting to note the importance that Greek divinities such as Apollo and Artemis acquired in the city of Arsinoe during the later part of the Hellenistic period, while the written sources are completely silent about their worship.

4.3 *Rural Sanctuary at Yialia-Photies*

The small rural sanctuary at Yialia-Photies is particularly interesting since we observe an impressive continuity of the cult in the same place from the Archaic to the late Hellenistic period, and to better understand the evolution of the cult and the iconography of the images offered we cannot isolate the Hellenistic phase. The sanctuary probably consisted of a simple precinct since no buildings have been uncovered during the excavation. The oldest sanctuary, that of the Archaic period, can be dated to the sixth century BCE, and was devoted with certainty to the cult of the “Great Goddess”.

The sanctuary yielded an impressive amount of terracottas of differing sizes varying from large statues to very small figurines. They exclusively represent females, most of them wearing high tiaras or thick taeniae around the front, having their arms raised. For the majority these figures may constitute images of the “Great Goddess” (Raptou, 2010: figs. 1–4). The place was abandoned in the late Archaic period without showing indications of a violent destruction and it is an assumption if we propose that the abandonment is related to the invasion of the Persians during the Ionian Revolt. However, some years later, at the beginning of the Classical period, the cult was reinstated at a distance of some metres to the north. In this new place, large terracottas of Classical date have been uncovered, in a very fragmentary condition. Bases of large terracotta statues have been found encircling a flat stone with small depressions carved into its flat surface, which may be related to the ritual (Raptou, 2010: fig. 33.9).

The smaller figures are predominantly terracottas, a large number being moulded the others crudely hand-made. It is interesting to note that the highest percentage of terracottas uncovered on the site constitute depictions of dancers, following local iconography. Towards the end of the Classical period a large number of terracottas from the sanctuary recall Classical prototypes suggestive of Classical and late Classical Greek terracotta models. Some of the figurines are similar to a marble dancer from Amathus (Hermay, 2000: pl. XXXII.b–c) dated to the late Classical period, while others consist of females wearing the peplos again in a dancing position (Walters, 1903: pl. XXIV.3).

Although very few stone figurines have been recorded from the site, one of them is particularly important and may indicate an important change in the cultic activities of the area. It shows an enthroned female holding the lyre on her left side while in her right hand she holds either a plectrum or a libation vessel (Fig. 4.10). The enthroned female obviously refers to a divinity and we may see in this image a new depiction of the “Great Goddess” as a lyre player. However, the enthroned female musicians are rare in Cypriot iconography and for the figure of Yialia we may suggest a possible contamination of the iconography of the local “Great Goddess” resulting from the contact with the Greek iconography of female divinities in the Classical period. The musical instruments have a strong symbolism and they are often held by divinities. In Greek iconography, the closest parallel is that of Artemis. It is important to note that only one statuette of a similar type, a terracotta dated to the fourth–third centuries BCE, is reported from the rest of the island, from Kition, where Artemis had an important sanctuary (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 507–508, no. 811). Of course, the role that music played in ancient religion and in Cypriot sanctuaries does not need emphasising. Numerous female lyre players, both in stone and clay, are very common offerings in all Cypriot sanctuaries; however they always show the musician standing (Hermay, 1989: 284; Karageorghis, 1999: 221). In Greek iconography Artemis appears holding the lyre, thus underlying her relations with music and dance performance in her sanctuaries and at the same time such iconography is suggestive of her relationship with Apollo (Kahil, 1984: nos. 714–718; Vlassopoulou, 2003: 39, 74–75). The lyre is an instrument which accompanied hymns and religious performances during ceremonies and we know that a cult of Artemis Hymnia existed in Arcadia (Kahil, 1984: 676). Numerous finds from the Yialia sanctuary support the opinion that in the cult of the local deity music and ritual dances played a fundamental role since the bulk of terracotta figurines constitute representations of female dancers arranged in circles (Fig. 4.11). It is relevant to note that dancers and musicians are completely absent from the recorded terracottas of the Archaic sanctuary. The Classical terracottas from the site testify that the reinstatement of the cult was accompanied by major changes both in divine iconography and ritual practices possibly due to a strong Greek influence which may have affected the area in that period.

After the end of the Classical period it seems that the local sanctuary once more entered a period of decline but not of total abandonment. This is probably a result of the turmoil at the end of the fourth century BCE which



MMA 655-1470

FIGURE 4.10 Yialia-Photies, limestone statuette of enthroned female figure

resulted in the destruction of Marion. It is not until the later part of the Hellenistic period that we witness a revival of the cult. From that time the place yields a multitude of moulded female figures, the majority being standing female musicians, this time playing the triangular harp held in front on the right side of their chest or placed on the shoulder. Most of them are obviously parts of dancing groups and others might possibly be free standing. These figurines were produced in large quantities, very crudely made. Although it is difficult at this stage of the study to attempt to establish any typology, we recognise at least two different categories. The first shows the musician holding a tall harp with an incurved music box (Fig. 4.12). The second type is not preserved in its entirety but again shows a female musician holding the triangular harp against her chest (Fig. 4.13). They are dressed in a chiton tied high up which differs from the known Cypriot examples. The figures wear thick wreaths, a type of hair decoration originating in Alexandria where they were worn by participants in religious ceremonies and followers of the cult of Isis (Queyrel, 1988: 97). Terracotta harp players are reported from many sites of the island, such as Amathus, Kourion, Paphos, Kyrenia and Salamis (Queyrel, 1988: 95–97, pls. 29–30; Flourentzos, 2004: pls. XXXI.148, XXXIV.164; Hermary, 2012: 25) but not as yet from Arsinoe's urban sanctuaries. Similar figures are common in Alexandria and other regions where they probably constitute representations of participants in ceremonies, as in the Kharayeb sanctuary (Chehab, 1951–1952: 37; 1953–1954: pl. XLI.1).

The appearance in large numbers of the harp players in the Yialia sanctuary might be dictated by a Ptolemaic influence. We know the importance of music in the Ptolemaic period and in the cult of Isis (Queyrel, 1988: 97). The importance of music and dances in the sanctuary might have facilitated the introduction of this new iconography. However, a possible influence in the local cult by that of Isis cannot be excluded from the Yialia sanctuary since her presence is overwhelming in Hellenistic Cyprus. We cannot of course ever be certain whether the musicians constituted images of the deity for the locals or if they were simply representing musicians of the sanctuary. It should be noted that among the musicians and dancers are two crudely-made nude males, whose presence may underline the relationship of the cult practiced in a rural environment with fertility and surviving ancestral religious ideology, even in the late Hellenistic period.

The cult in the Yialia sanctuary may again be that of the “Great Goddess” justifying the overwhelming quantity of

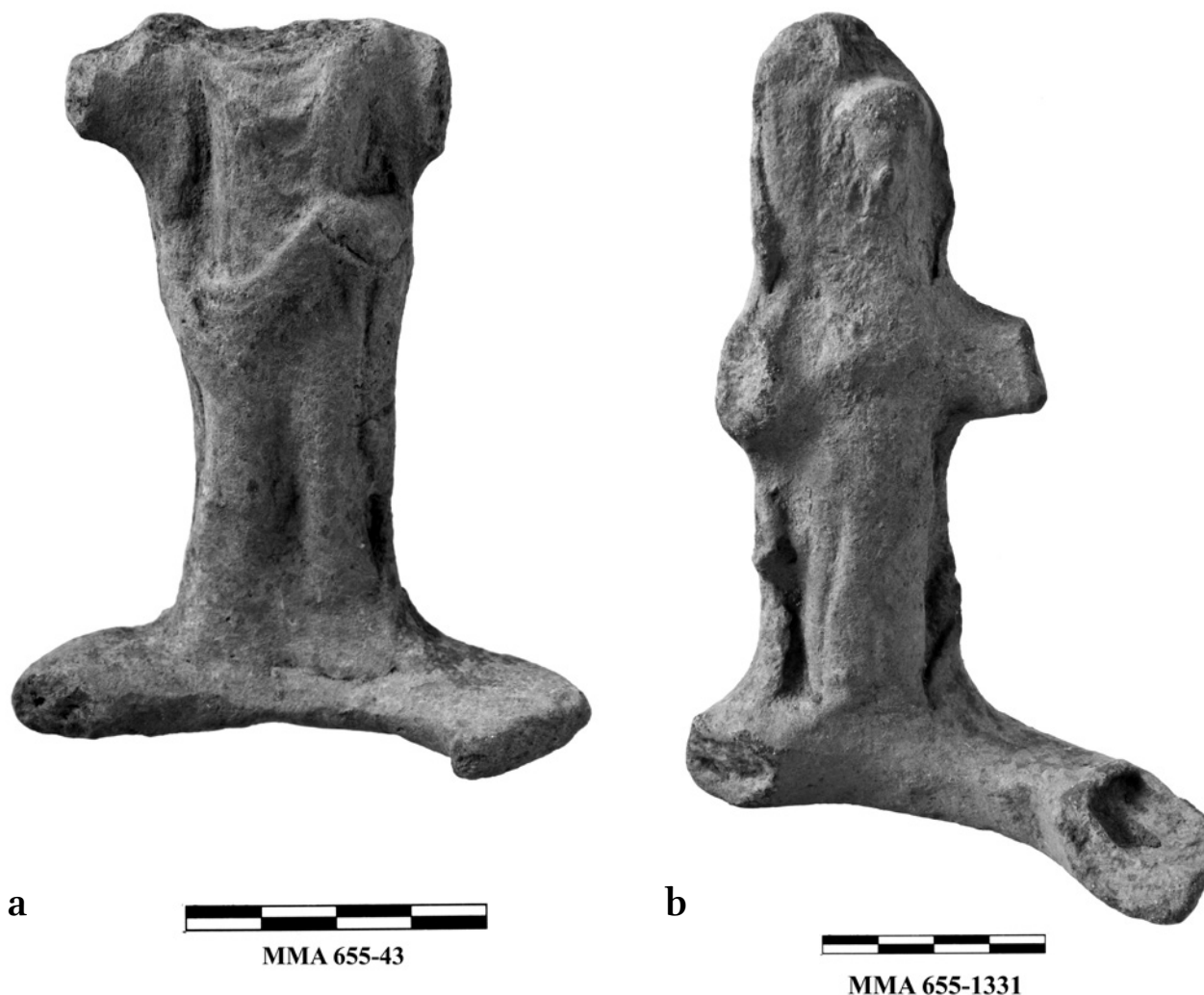


FIGURE 4.11 a.–b. Yialia-Photies, terracotta figurines of dancers

female figurines. In the Archaic sanctuary the divine images are clearly identifiable by the figures wearing the high *polos*, while in the Classical sanctuary and onwards the divine images are not clear in the assemblage. However, we observe an increasing importance of the music performances and dance rituals in the sanctuary which may reflect cult practices related again to fertility, while the local Goddess seems to be influenced by the iconography of Artemis and later by that of Isis. The material from the sanctuary shows a highly important role played by girls and women in the cult, possibly indicating that they participated in certain rites of passage to maturity or the age of marriage.

5 Conclusion

For the first time we are beginning to form a picture of cult worship in this part of the island during the Hellenistic

period, the relationship with ancestral traditions, the influence of Greek deities and involvement with other areas. The rural sanctuary of Yialia demonstrates religious evolution within a traditional society, from the local fertility goddess to a lyre-playing goddess and later on to a harp player of Alexandrian influence. The imported types encountered are numerous, but neutral – not depicting known images – probably deliberately chosen to serve a local ideology.

Sanctuaries inside the city show a different picture. Here, terracotta finds whilst showing a connection to local tradition, present at the same time a more accentuated connection to Greek ideas. Obviously, dedications of the Greek type terracottas in the urban sanctuaries may highlight the existence of a local elite more influenced by Greek culture, not easily satisfied by local terracotta production for their dedications to the divinity. It is also worth noting that the cult of Apollo and Artemis in the area became important in the Classical and Hellenistic



MMA 655-1287

FIGURE 4.12 Yialia-Photies, terracotta figurine of a harp player



MMA 655-1374

FIGURE 4.13 Yialia-Photies, terracotta figurine of a harp player

periods although there are no written testimonies testifying to their worship. The cult of these two deities in the north-west part of the island must be re-evaluated in the light of new evidence.

This presentation is an initial approach to the cults of Hellenistic Arsinoe through recent archaeological evidence, and, without aiming to be exhaustive, only hopes to have shed light on Arsinoe's past, which will no longer be so dark.

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Hellenistic Terracottas: The Evidence from Ancient Arsinoe

Nancy Serwint

Abstract

The ancient sites of Marion and Arsinoe, located in North-West Cyprus, have produced an unprecedented number of terracotta sculptural materials, and with a corpus numbering over 30,000 fragments, the recovered objects form the largest cache of sculpture in clay yet found on the island. Encompassing a diversity of iconographic types and sizes with a chronological span extending from the Cypro-Archaic into the Hellenistic period, the material provides an excellent dataset to which numerous questions about the coroplastic arts can be posed. Study of the corpus reveals that marked differences exist between the terracottas of Archaic/Classical Marion and Hellenistic/Roman Arsinoe, and those differences are critical to the discussion of how sculptural production developed and how terracottas functioned over time at a single location. Different contexts dictated disparate iconographic types and distinct typological forms. Close examination of key archaeological remains has allowed for identification of local terracotta production, providing important details given the relative paucity in the scholarly literature on coroplastic technical strategies.

1 Introduction

The call put forth by the editors of this volume, to address issues related to Hellenistic and Roman terracottas was an important one, primarily because of its focus on networks traversing the Mediterranean. Given its location, Cyprus was in a strategic position whereby the dispersal of goods, stylistic proclivities, and the confluence of technical strategies related to the coroplastic arts might be expected to form an important nexus. Yet, in the scholarly literature, the island's terracottas are rarely mentioned in light of the prominence directed to sites in Asia Minor, Egypt, North Africa and the Greek mainland. This article is an attempt to fill that lacuna and will concentrate on a particularly well excavated site on Cyprus that promises to provide considerable information about local coroplastic production during the Hellenistic period.

The ancient cities of Marion and Arsinoe, located on the North-West coast of the island (Fig. 5.1) have had a long history of archaeological exploration, but beginning in 1983 and continuing to the present, the cities have been

the focus of thorough study by a team from Princeton University (Childs, 1997; 1988; Childs, Smith & Padgett, 2012; also Gjerstad *et al.*, 1935: 181–459; Herrmann, 1888; Munro & Tubbs, 1890; and Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1893). During the course of the investigation by the Princeton group of the urban aspect of the cities, two major sanctuaries were uncovered, one located on the outskirts of the modern town of Polis Chrysochous within an agricultural field on a plateau known as Peristeries (Fig. 5.2 and Fig. 5.3, left), and another sited within the village on the Maratheri Ridge (Fig. 5.2 and Fig. 5.3, right). The earlier, Peristeries sanctuary existed in multiple phases and dated to the Cypro-Archaic period (Smith, 1997; Smith, Weir & Serwint, 2012: 171–178), whereas the slightly later Maratheri sanctuary continued in use from the Cypro-Archaic period until the late fourth century BCE (Smith, Weir & Serwint, 2012: 178–183). Both sanctuaries are distinguished by the amount of terracottas that were found in excavation and, indeed, that material formed the primary votive offering type. Within the Peristeries sanctuary and the adjacent *bothros*, over 25,000 fragments of votive sculpture were recovered, whereas inside the confines of the Maratheri sanctuary the terracotta dedications numbered over 4,000 fragments. The amount of votive sculpture is nearly unprecedented for Cyprus and forms the largest corpus of Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical terracotta sculpture discovered at a single island site, to date. The style of the terracotta votives helps secure the date of the Peristeries sanctuary; however, in the case of the other sanctuary, the heavy ash layer found covering much of the temple within the complex as well as the style of the latest recovered terracotta votives, dating to the second half of the fourth century BCE, suggest the destruction of the Maratheri complex at the hands of Ptolemy I Soter in 312, as reported by Diodorus Siculus (19.79.4). Within decades, a new city was founded probably by Ptolemy II Philadelphos in the 270s in honour of his sister/wife, Arsinoe (Nicolaou, 1976: 97), and the city continued to thrive throughout the Hellenistic, Roman and Medieval periods (Najbjerg, 2012; Papalexandrou & Caraher, 2012).

When examining the terracottas at Arsinoe, it is helpful to consider them against the foil of the extensive terracotta corpus from Marion. In doing so, there are three primary categories that establish a useful perspective in

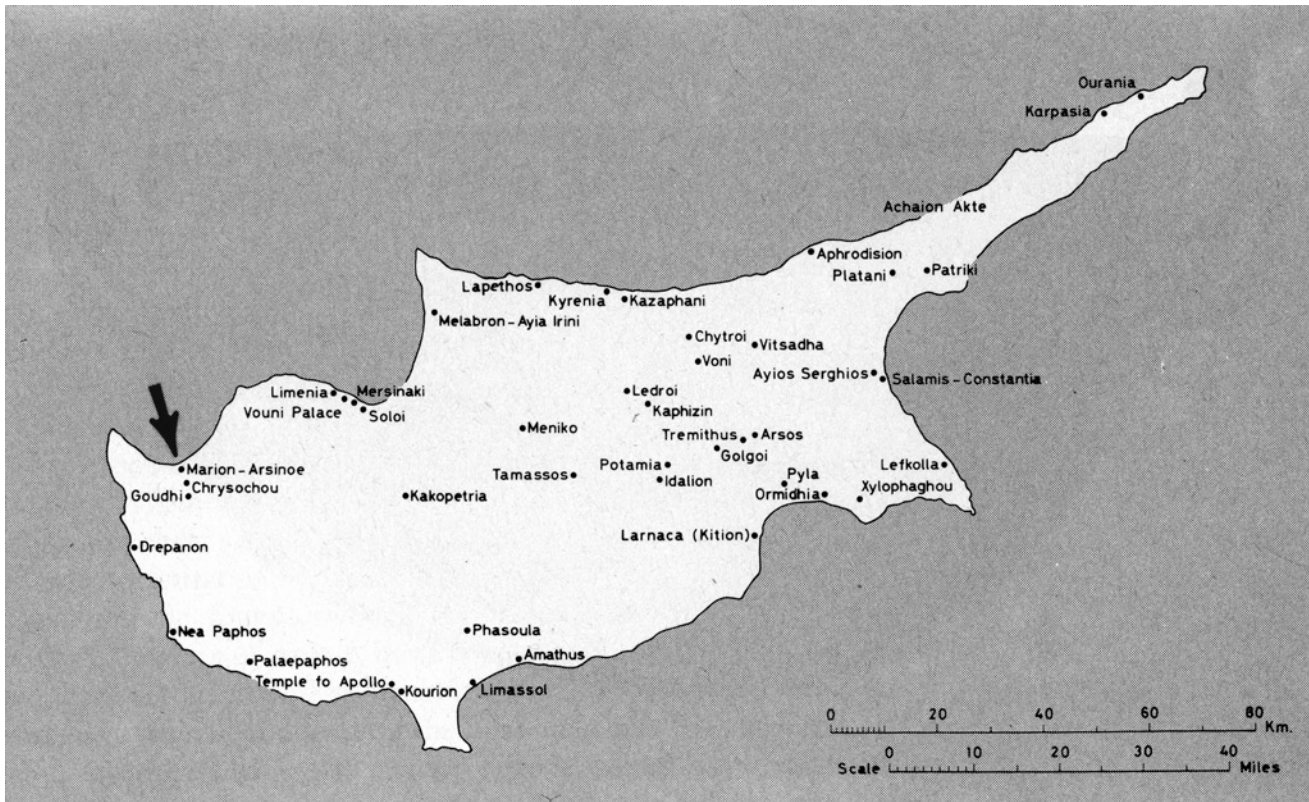


FIGURE 5.1 Map of Cyprus with Marion and Arsinoe
KARAGEORGHIS, 1982: AFTER FIG. 89, 115

discussing the Hellenistic and Early Roman sculptural material. Those categories are: Context, Typology, and Production.

2 Context

Since coroplastic production was so vibrant at Marion before its destruction, one might expect that that tradition would continue when the city of Arsinoe flourished. When it comes to examining the terracotta sculpture that was found at Arsinoe, surprisingly, the amount of material pales in comparison to what had been recovered from the earlier city. Nearly 30,000 fragments can be associated with Marion during the Archaic-Classical periods, whereas less than 100 can be identified with Arsinoe. This discrepancy is all the more striking when one considers that during the Hellenistic period, terracotta figurines in large quantities have been found throughout the Eastern Mediterranean (Uhlenbrock, 1990a). Certainly this was due primarily to the expedience of using moulds as well as the avid appreciation for the Tanagra figurine style that circulated around the Mediterranean basin beginning around 320 BCE

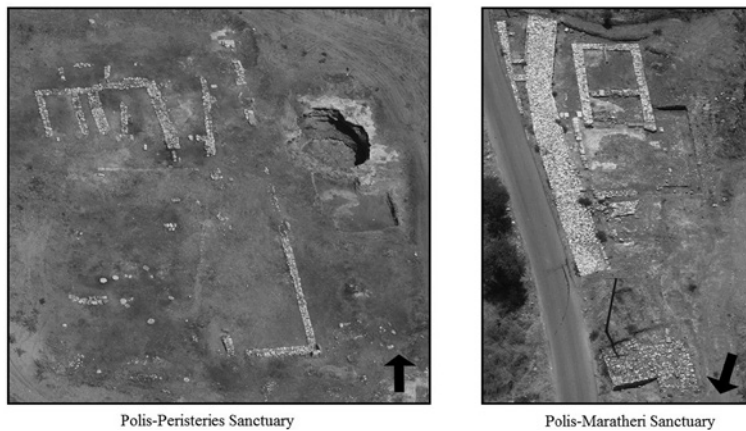
(Higgins, 1967; Jeammet, 2007; 2010). So why is there so little sculpture associated with Arsinoe?

Certainly the major reason is that in excavation, the same types of contexts that were explored for Marion were not investigated for Arsinoe. Of the numerous trenches that were excavated within Polis, abundant architecture associated with the city of Arsinoe was uncovered, but the buildings were not of a type where terracotta votives would be found. Whereas the excavated architecture of Marion was religious, that was not at all the case with the earliest dated structures of Arsinoe. The two primary loci where the architecture of Hellenistic and Roman Arsinoe is significant are in the area of Polis-Petrerades in two large zones of excavation (areas E.G0 and E.F2 after the Princeton grid designation) sited near the northern boundaries of modern Polis (Fig. 5.2 and Fig. 5.4). The area known as E.G0 is impressive for the complexity of the architectural ruins of the various phases of Arsinoe. The large building with a courtyard, originally surrounded on three sides by colonnades, has been dated by ceramic evidence to between the third and first centuries BCE. It may have functioned as an administrative building, perhaps a large residence, or a structure to house a Ptolemaic garrison because of the large cache of Scythian-type



FIGURE 5.2 Satellite view of Polis area with place names

CHILDS, SMITH & PADGETT, 2012: AFTER MAP 3



Polis-Peristeries Sanctuary

Polis-Maratheri Sanctuary

FIGURE 5.3 Polis-Peristeries Sanctuary, left; Polis-Maratheri Sanctuary, right

PHOTO: PRINCETON CYPRUS EXPEDITION

Polis-Petrerades
Area E.G0Polis-Petrerades
Area E.F2

FIGURE 5.4 Polis-Petrerades, Area E.G0, left; Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2, right

PHOTO: PRINCETON CYPRUS EXPEDITION

arrowheads found beneath the concrete-covered courtyard (Najbjerg, 2012: 240). To the South, a sizable basilica dates to the Late Antique period. However imposing the architectural remains are, terracottas were not present nor would be expected given the function of the buildings.

In the area of E.F2, the stratigraphy is complicated because of the density of construction that spanned centuries, with standing walls as early as the sixth century BCE and continuing into the Medieval period. Although architectural remains of both cities have been discovered, it is especially those of Arsinoe that are more extensive and reflect the use of an orthogonal grid implemented by the architects of Ptolemy. What has been excavated is an urban area that included another Late Antique three-aisled basilica, while adjacent areas are of earlier date. To the South-East there is slight evidence of a domestic occupation that dates to the second or first centuries BCE. Nearby are traces of workshop activity with indications of metal smelting and a clay-lined pit possibly used for glass manufacture. A small clay settling basin and evidence for the production of terracotta figurines were also

discovered. In close proximity was a Roman period lamp kiln with scores of lamps found, some produced from the same mould (Najbjerg, 2012: 236–237). That the area was an industrial one is corroborated by work undertaken by Eustathios Raptou for the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus in 2008 that revealed additional workshops and building foundations of the Hellenistic period about 100 m away (Raptou, 2010).

When considering the limited corpus of terracotta figurines that date to the Hellenistic period, it is interesting that a significant number were recovered from locations in the E.F2 area where craft workshops and domestic quarters have been documented. What is problematic for the study of the sculptural fragments is that they were derived from fill or found in secondary contexts. At best, the date of the objects can only be derived from stylistic considerations. The sculpture is fragmentary and ranges in size from figurine to statue and included drapery, figures and figurines standing on plinths, hair, and the head of a lion (Fig. 5.5). Discovered in a range of levels and passes, there were no joins among objects and there was

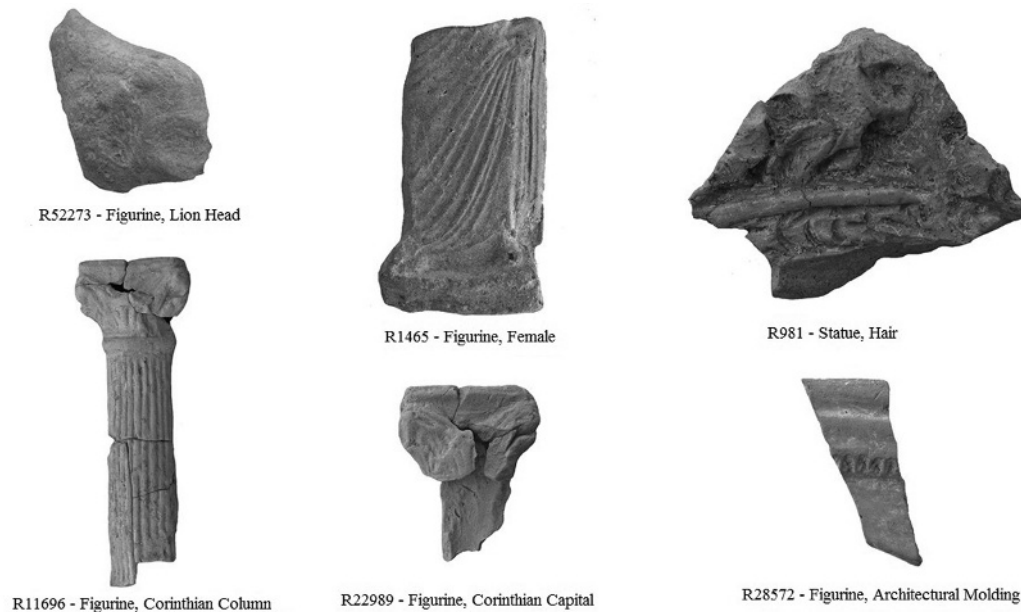


FIGURE 5.5 Hellenistic Sculpture from Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2

PHOTO: AUTHOR

no discernible context. Certainly the larger fragments, those belonging to a statue, would likely have been votive in nature; however, the smaller terracottas of figure or figurine size could once have been dedications made in a sanctuary or used in a home. Several architectural fragments of figurine size were found in a level associated with Hellenistic pottery, wall plaster, a possible hearth, roof tiles, and traces of a floor, although the exact context of the level has not been determined. Whether the fragments represent a temple is uncertain, although the Corinthian order is sure.

In the same general area, excavation revealed a badly damaged figure of a lion throne that must have once seated the goddess Cybele (Fig. 5.6). Worship of the goddess had already spread from Anatolia to the Greek world during the sixth century BCE where she is known as 'Meter', but it was during the Hellenistic and the Roman periods that her cult increased in popularity (Roller, 1999: 189–343). The iconography of the goddess seated on a throne with lion terminals is of Greek inspiration, perhaps first evidenced in sixth century votives from the Peloponnese (Roller, 1999: 134). Likewise, the *phiale* held in the outstretched right hand originated in Greece and becomes standard for the goddess beginning in the Classical period. The same is true for the dress that consists of a chiton with a himation drawn over the lap which derives from the Greek world and not Phrygia. The style of the lions on the throne is Hellenistic in date. That the enthroned Cybele derives from a household context is likely, given the numerous representations of the goddess found

elsewhere in domestic quarters, especially in Anatolia, during the Hellenistic period (Roller, 1999: 189–192). The remainder of the figure is sadly lacking, but plausibly she would have worn a *polos* headdress with a long veil extending down her back, as was common to many representations of 'Meter' in the Greek world. Likely the Arsinoe figure was inspired by the fifth century BCE cult statue of 'Meter', crafted by Agorakritos, the pupil of Phidias, which was dedicated in the Metroön in Athens (Roller, 1999: 145). It was in the Hellenistic period that small-scale works derived from major sculptural pieces were especially popular, and the Arsinoe figure reflects that tendency well.

Close to the Cybele figure were found a fragmentary figure of a lion's paw resting on a plinth as well as a separate animal paw. Both objects might be associated with additional Cybele representations at Arsinoe. Known as a potent goddess who had power over the natural environment, she was also credited as mother of all gods and humans. Her cult could be public and state sponsored, as is known from several cities in Greece and the East where Metroa and temples were dedicated to her (Roller, 1999: 161, 163). Cybele also inspired private devotion as literary sources and small dedications attest, and the fragments of lions and the enthroned goddess from Arsinoe likely reflect veneration that took place within the home.

Also in the same area were found a small number of heads of female figurines (Fig. 5.7), each coiffed with a different hairdo with no two made from the same mould. Certainly during the Hellenistic period, the availability



FIGURE 5.6 R22694 + R22697 + R22969 – Figure, Cybele Throne, Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2

PHOTO: AUTHOR



R23036 - Figurine, Female Head



R22658 - Figurine, Female Head



R31830 - Figurine, Female Head



R31425 - Figurine, Comic Actor



R22663 - Figurine, Comic Actor



R22661 - Figurine, Child Head

FIGURE 5.7 Hellenistic Figurines from Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2

PHOTO: AUTHOR

of moulds and the common workshop technique of creating moulds from existing sculptural products led to an increase in diverse representations (Uhlenbrock, 1990b). The context of these particular figurines is not secure; there is no evidence of a Hellenistic cult site yet associated with Arsinoe, and in the case of these three heads, their proximity to domestic structures suggests they were used privately.

Significant, too, was the recovery of the figurine heads of two comic actors from the same area (Fig. 5.7). The appetite for the representation of actors derived from Middle Comedy that started in Athens and then spread elsewhere, along with the appreciation for the literary genre (Becq, 2010: 70; Csapo, 2010: 29). With the development of New Comedy after the death of Alexander the Great and the pleasure taken in the works of the playwrights Menander, Philemon, and Diphilos, the popularity for figurines that paralleled the comedic craze grew as well. Either mementos of a theatre visit or a humorous jab at the foibles of a hapless character, such figurines would be appropriate for private enjoyment in the home. Similarly the head of a smiling child (Fig. 5.7) might have been an appropriate keepsake within a domestic setting. It was during the Hellenistic period that studies of children and representations of youthful figures became far more common (Besques, 1994: 31–32).

Of the Hellenistic period figurines from Arsinoe that possibly derived from domestic contexts, the number is very small. That can be explained by the fact that no sanctuaries or cult sites were excavated that date exclusively to this period, where an abundance of terracotta votives would have been the norm. Likewise, the areas that were residential were ephemeral, and the contexts where one might expect the presence of more terracottas were lacking. Several late fourth century votive figurines were, however, recovered from the Polis-Maratheri sanctuary and date to the very last decades of the sanctuary's existence; they will be discussed in the section on Typology that follows.

3 Typology

Comparing the terracottas from Archaic and Classical Marion to that of Hellenistic Arsinoe, there is a noticeable difference in types. For the two Marion sanctuaries, typology was dictated by the nature of the divinity who was worshipped (Fig. 5.8). In the earlier, Archaic period, Peristeries sanctuary, worship was offered to a female divinity who was associated with fertility, and the recovery

of an Astarte figurine holding her breasts confirms the Eastern aspect of the cult. The Astarte type has been found elsewhere in Cyprus, particularly at Amathous, where the Phoenician character of the ancient city is seen in numerous votive objects of Oriental type (Karageorghis, 2005: 75–112). In the Marion Peristeries sanctuary, of the thousands of votives that represented human figures, the predominant type was the goddess with uplifted arms. It has been argued that the origin of the goddess with uplifted arms derives from Crete, and the type first appears in Cyprus during the 11th century (Karageorghis, 1993: 58; 1998: 1). The presence at Marion of an Astarte figurine along with the goddess with uplifted arms, speaks well of the dynamism of cultural influences at play in the votive corpus in a single sanctuary (Serwint, 2008). The eastern direction from where cultural influence and stylistic inspiration came was seen in many votives – an Assyrianising male figurine, the *dea gravis* type, hands with multiple rings, sacred trees, phalloi, masks, and statue heads showing Nubian and Levantine influence (Serwint, 2008).

The other Marion sanctuary, the Archaic-Classical, Maratheri complex was dedicated to Aphrodite, as the statuette of the goddess with her son, Eros, attests (Serwint, 1993) (Fig. 5.8). Other votives appropriate to the goddess were Eros figurines, the head of a child, and draped female dedications. Numismatic and textual evidence suggests that a sanctuary jointly dedicated to Aphrodite and Zeus existed at Marion, and some of the other terracotta votives from the Maratheri sanctuary corroborate worship to a male deity (Serwint, 1993: 209; Childs, Smith & Padgett, 2012: 171). Male figurines and heads with pointed caps, horses, charioteers, and horse-and-riders all reflect the typological choices available to dedicants. Two late figurines of the bearded male type may be a copy of Herakles Epitrapezios by Lysippos, and the younger male may be another copy of a Lysippian work, a portrait of Alexander (Fig. 5.9). That small-scale versions of larger sculptural works should find popularity at Marion in the late fourth century is mirrored by the terracotta repertoire of Hellenistic Smyrna which reflects an appreciation for replicas of known statue types (Uhlenbrock, 1990c: 77; Hasselin-Rous, Laugier, Martinez, 2010: 134–135) that included the *Diadoumenos* of Polykleitos. Although the Smyrna material likely derived, in part, from a domestic setting, the Marion figurines, discovered in a religious context, certainly reflect a growing sophisticated taste for works by celebrated artists. It is likely that such pieces first emanated from Athens and, by means of the mould, could be mass-produced to satisfy an avid market that traversed the Eastern Mediterranean.



FIGURE 5.8 Archaic and classical votives, Polis-Peristeries and Polis-Maratheri sanctuaries

PHOTO: AUTHOR

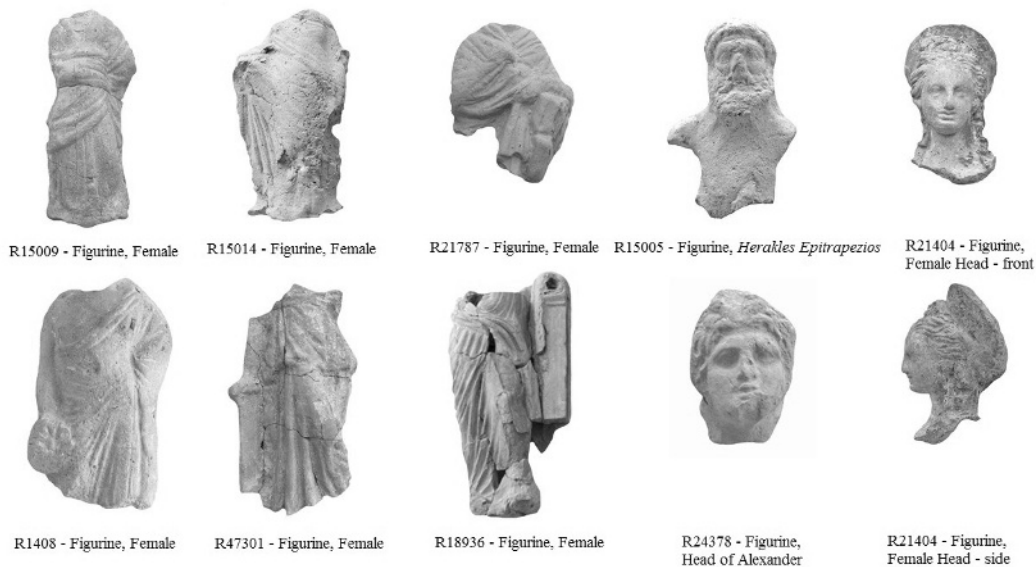


FIGURE 5.9 Late fourth century – early Hellenistic votives, Polis-Maratheri sanctuary

PHOTO: AUTHOR

The scores of draped female figurines that had served as dedications in the Maratheri sanctuary, reflective of figure types offered to a female deity, also record the gesture of hand to breast holding an offering (Fig. 5.8). The gesture as well as the typical dress, either a peplos or a chiton with himation, are well attested in figurines emanating from the East Greek islands and, slightly later at Athens (Higgins, 1967). Analysis and categorisation of the Marion Maratheri female figurines revealed seventy-seven

different moulded draped types; of those that could be dated stylistically on the basis of a garment type, twenty-five dated to the Archaic/Classical period. Stylistically late female figurines were also discovered in the sanctuary, and eleven different moulded types were identified with some displaying distinctive poses and elaborate drapery motifs (Fig. 5.9). Among the latest figurines to have been dedicated, the figurines date stylistically to the second half of the fourth century, and a few reveal pose and

drapery arrangements typical of Tanagra type figurines. Perhaps more striking than the few draped late female figurines is a head of a young woman beautifully coiffed and wearing a *stephane* (Fig. 5.9). The particular hairstyle and softened, delicate facial features are indebted to the Tanagra style. The subtlety of the painted decoration that is still visible reflects well the colouristic treatment of Tanagra figurines; here traces of white slip serve as the ground for pink paint on the neck and face, red for the hair, and blue for the headdress, while the discolouration on the side of the neck is evidence of the conflagration that overwhelmed the sanctuary. Given the fact that the Maratheri sanctuary was destroyed in 312 BCE, the presence of Tanagra-inspired votives indicates the rapid diffusion of the type from Athens and Boeotia within a few years of the impetus of the style on the Greek mainland and reveals that the fashionable style had reached as far as the city of Marion.

It is evident that Early Hellenistic votives in very small numbers were found in the Maratheri sanctuary. That number certainly would have been larger if ancient Marion had not suffered destruction at the hands of the soldiers of Ptolemy I. Because the sanctuary was sited just to the West of the city wall of Marion (Fig. 5.3, right) and the archaeological evidence indicates that the wall was constructed quite late and, in one stretch, used votive materials from the sanctuary that date to the fourth century in its construction, it is clear that the sanctuary was located in a vulnerable position (Childs, 2012: 90–106). Prior to its final destruction, Marion may have been the *locus* of at least one other military confrontation that dated to the fourth century: a dispute between Ptolemy and Perdikkas in 321 BCE recorded by Arrian (Childs, 2012: 93). The hostilities engaged in by the *Diadochi* after Alexander's death in 323 BCE put many areas in the eastern Mediterranean in peril, and it would seem that the siting of the Marion Maratheri sanctuary adjacent to the city wall might have made worship more precarious in the latter days of the sanctuary's existence, thereby accounting for the paucity of Early Hellenistic figurines that were dedicated as votives.

The range of types of Early Hellenistic figurines at Marion and Arsinoe is restricted to the specific contexts in which they were discovered. Female and male representations appropriate as votives in the Maratheri sanctuary reflect the latest stylistic trends that were *au courant* elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Within what appear to be domestic contexts, figurines of a more idiosyncratic nature appear, with representations of children, comic actors, and even the powerful Cybele appreciated privately.

4 Production

Certainly the quality of the Hellenistic figurines that have been discovered at Marion and Arsinoe reveal a market for and appreciation of figurines that indicate a finesse of craftsmanship and a discerning taste on the part of those who purchased them. What is even more telling is that there is ample evidence that a local coroplastic industry was active at the site, which satisfied, at least in part, the demand for small-scale terracottas. The evidence for coroplastic production in the Mediterranean world becomes more bounteous in the Hellenistic period (Uhlenbrock, 1990b), and Arsinoe joins the list of sites where such production can be documented. There is data, however, to suggest that the coroplastic industry was active at the site already in the Classical period, and it is clear that production resumed with the founding of Hellenistic Arsinoe after the destruction of the earlier city of Marion.

The sheer number of terracotta votives that were found in the Archaic/Classical sanctuaries at Marion argues for local production. The recovery of 30,000 sculptural fragments in excavation would suggest that they were crafted in the near vicinity of where they were found, rather than being the products of a more widespread industry that may have traversed the island or spanned the Mediterranean, and the scholarly assumption is that most terracottas do not travel long distances from where they were made (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 15). Preliminary study of the fabric of the Marion/Arsinoe terracotta material reveals a general homogeneity in the degree of levigation of the clay, a relative uniformity in the range of inclusions within the matrix, and a comparative consistency in the colour of the fired product. A select and representative sample of terracottas from the site has been submitted for archaeometric analysis, although the results are still pending. Visual assessment has been undertaken by use of a handheld microscope capable of 30x magnification, and an evaluation of the clay is based on that means with examination of the surface of the object as well as along breaks and fractures, when possible. Of course, the visual aspect of clay is dependent upon many factors, not only on its physical composition but also on the various conditions present in the kiln during firing (Rice, 1987; Shepard, 1995: 95–181). Gross surface colour of the Marion/Arsinoe terracottas presents itself within a restricted colour range (Munsell¹ 5 YR reddish yellow 6/6 – yellowish red 5/6 and 7.5 YR reddish yellow 7/6 and 6/6) and is distinctly different in colour from the deep red local clay used in the production of the cache of terracotta figurines found recently

1 Munsell Soil Colour Charts, 2000 (Revised washable version).



FIGURE 5.10 R1547 – terracotta patrix, Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2
PHOTO: AUTHOR

in a rural shrine at Yialia, some 11 km North-East of Polis Chrysoschous (personal observation) and the clay characteristic of Kourion production (Young & Young, 1955: 185).

Within several trenches associated with the Archaic Peristeries sanctuary, numerous separate fragments of red and yellow ochres were recovered, and it is not clear whether they may have been intended as part of the votive paraphernalia of the sanctuary or rather are evidence of coroplastic production nearby. During excavation of the Maratheri sanctuary, more pigments were discovered, not only within the Classical temple, but more abundantly within that structure's open forecourt, where yellow ochre was collected along with red, blue and yellow pigment. Analyses of the pigments have not yet been undertaken, but the quantity that has been retrieved, as well as the limited range of colours, suggest purposeful use in the colouration of terracotta sculpture. In the area of E.F2 (Fig. 5.4, right) where evidence for craft workshops has been plentiful, even more pigments were retrieved in excavation, including yellow and red ochres, along with blue, green and purple pigments, manganese and a white powdery substance. These, of course, are the exact colours that form part of the palette of the polychrome decorative treatment of terracotta figurines throughout the Mediterranean beginning in the fifth century BCE (Higgins, 1970; Jeammet, Knecht, & Pagès-Camagna, 2007: 193–203; Bourgeois, 2010: 238–243; Jeammet, Knecht, & Pagès-Camagna, 2010: 245–249; Pagès-Camagna, 2010: 250–251).

That coroplastic production took place in Arsinoë is further suggested by one of the most significant finds to have been recovered during excavation. A terracotta patrix (Fig. 5.10) was discovered in an area where Hellenistic figurines of possible domestic context were

found, as well as evidence of craft workshops. Measuring 7.40 cm in height, it served as a prototype from which future moulds for draped female figures could be crafted. In the absence of a figurine that could, itself, serve as the basis for configuring a mould, coroplastic workshops might use instead a patrix, and the existence of patrices, although known, is quite rare (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 18). The Arsinoë patrix is damaged, but enough remains to indicate that the final figurine would have been standing frontally with the feet positioned together. Soft, arched folds drape across the figure just below waist level, and a passage of swallow tail folds hangs down the side, indicating the presence of a himation. The presence of swallow tail folds is uncharacteristic of Hellenistic female dress, and their appearance on the Arsinoë patrix might suggest an archaising treatment of the garment or perhaps is indicative of an extremely dated patrix that harks back to a style that was fashionable in the Archaic and Early Classical periods.

In addition to the discovery of the patrix, two different figurine moulds were recovered from the same area (Fig. 5.11). One (R23038) is fragmentary and preserves part of the front of a draped female figurine. Worn and damaged, the subtle drapery folds are best seen within the interior of the mould in raking light and are not visible in the prepared plasticine mould impression. A second mould (R42242) would have been used for the crafting of a nude male figurine. Also worn and incomplete, what remains of the mould preserves the torso and upper thighs, and the anatomical detail lacks precision. Because both moulds are damaged, it is not known how much of the complete figurines would have been accommodated by the preserved moulds or whether figurines would have been crafted from multiple moulds, as was the norm in the Hellenistic period (Uhlenbrock, 1990b: 17).

The presence of pigments, the fired clay patrix, and two moulds found in trenches near where other evidence of craft production was documented was further augmented by objects suggestive of the firing process. Thirty-two clay wasters were recovered along with two vitrified bricks, possibly from a kiln. Several examples of other vitrified ceramic material were identified as well as two chunks of compressed, unfired clay. A basin, with low-fired clay walls and partially filled with clay was also encountered immediately adjacent to a shallow clay trough, measuring 0.75 m by 0.33 m that fed into the slightly larger basin. The installation could well be used for the levigation of clay.

Both ancient cities, Marion and Arsinoë, offer critical information that argues for a vibrant local coroplastic industry. The terracotta corpus from Marion, with thousands of sculptural fragments that were found in votive

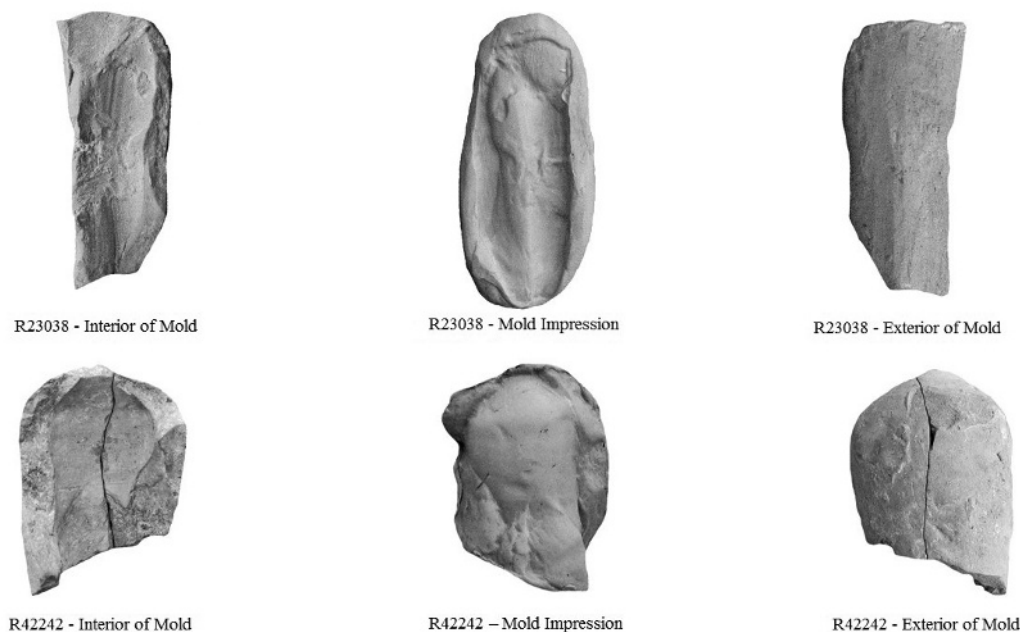


FIGURE 5.11 Moulds and mould impressions, Polis-Petrerades, Area E.F2

PHOTO: AUTHOR

contexts suggests that the demand for dedicatory votives that spanned several hundred years would have been satisfied by coroplasts active in the area. The evidence for local production becomes more convincing for Arsinoe, with the recovery of materials that are consistent with a workshop environment and with various processes involved in the production of terracottas.

5 Conclusion

The role that the coroplastic arts played in the Mediterranean basin during the Hellenistic and Roman periods affords a new perspective on how terracottas functioned and were produced throughout the *longue durée* of its existence in the ancient world. Sites in Anatolia, the Greek mainland, North Africa, the Levant, the Black Sea region, and the Greek islands have all provided critical information on the coroplastic industry over a disparate area. Now the contribution of Cyprus to that body of knowledge is augmented by the evidence provided by Marion, one of the ancient city kingdoms of the island, and its successor city, Arsinoe, which thrived during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The extraordinary amount of terracottas recovered in excavation provides significant information on the coroplastic arts in three key areas: Context, Typology and Production.

The more limited number of terracotta sculpture from Arsinoe – nearly 100 fragments as compared to the 30,000 objects recovered from Archaic/Classical Marion

– reflects the context in which the material was discovered. The Marion material was primarily derived from two sanctuary complexes which contained votive dedications offered over the course of the several centuries that the sanctuaries functioned. The presence of a *bothros*, filled with votive material from the Polis-Peristeries sanctuary, and the ash deposit that sealed part of the Polis-Maratheri complex when it was destroyed during the sack of Marion by the soldiers of Ptolemy I, were instrumental in the preservation of vast quantities of votive sculpture. The situation was entirely different for the later city of Arsinoe. The limited amount of terracottas was derived from disturbed areas, likely residential and industrial, where the amount of sculpture would have been more restricted and reflects the more reserved presence of terracotta figurines within the home.

A comparison of the sculptural types that were recovered from the two cities is also clearly indicative of context. The Marion votive corpus reflects objects that would have been appropriate to the divinity worshipped in the sanctuary – in the case of the Polis-Peristeries sanctuary, a female fertility divinity with Near Eastern associations, and a possible joint worship of Zeus and Aphrodite in the Polis-Maratheri religious complex. Female figurines, reflecting stylistic trends that changed over time, and male figurines of various types that included late fourth century representations that displayed current appreciation for sculptural types and styles that had trended in Athens and were popular elsewhere in the Mediterranean were found in the later sanctuary. Sculpture associated

with Hellenistic Arsinoe included figures of actors and children, suggesting a more personal selection of types that had wide appeal throughout the Hellenistic world but intimated the more personal taste of a resident. Even the impressive enthroned Cybele figure suggests the selection made by a person who would have honoured the figure in private worship within the home.

As impressive as the entire corpus of sculptural material is from Marion and Arsinoe, the evidence of production that was recovered in excavation during the exploration of Arsinoe is profoundly more important. The evidence for coroplastic workshops in operation throughout the Mediterranean still remains limited (Uhlenbrock, 1990b), and Arsinoe can now be added to the list of sites where documented production is assured. The fact that the most telling indication for a local industry in the manufacture of terracottas comes from an area in Arsinoe where other workshops were in operation producing lamps, and possibly glass and metal, supports the production scenario in Athens where workshops were discovered in houses in the industrial sector of town near the Agora (Young, 1951: 245–246; Uhlenbrock, 1990b: 15). The presence of a range of pigments reflecting the colours used for the decoration of Hellenistic period terracottas, the recovery of a patris and two worn moulds, the presence of wasters and kiln debris, and the existence of what appears to be a clay settling tank used for the refining of clay are exceptional discoveries. What now remains is for the materials that support the existence of a robust coroplastic industry within ancient Marion and Arsinoe to be subjected to archaeometric analysis, and certainly that data will all the more contribute invaluable information about how coroplasts practised their craft.

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About Aphrodite and Eros at Amathous: Terracotta and Sculpture

Isabelle Tassignon

Abstract

The starting point of our discussion will be a few fragmentary Hellenistic terracotta statuettes from the acropolis of Amathous that depict a woman holding a young child against her shoulder. The type has been interpreted as a variation on the theme of Aphrodite with Eros. However, recent excavations in the storage area of the palace unearthed a limestone statuette of Aphrodite, resting on a column, holding a child. Stone statuette and terracotta fragments seem to evoke the same original. Another work, from the sanctuary, adds to the attempted reconstruction of the original: it is a curious limestone bust of a woman, headless, but in a pose that seems to derive from the same iconographic model.

As we shall see, the analysis of the archaeological contexts of the respective finds suggests close links with the sanctuary of Aphrodite. We propose to place this iconographic type in the overall context of the *kourotrophos* goddess in Cyprus and thus determine the influence of local traditions on the type. Locally produced for a very special sanctuary, these terracottas have some specific characteristics but are based on a limestone model, which itself adapts a Hellenistic model to local demands. Can the reconstructed image be that of a cult statue coming from the very sanctuary?

1 Introduction

If the presence of images of Aphrodite is expected at Amathous, the place of her venerable shrine, the image of Aphrodite with Eros is also, naturally, expected there; even though, to this day, the couple is relatively infrequently attested in Cyprus. However, on the acropolis of Amathous, several terracottas represent the goddess and the child in a tender duet. This study, therefore, aims to address the main iconographic features of Aphrodite with Eros on the acropolis, to measure the importance of coroplastic data in the debate and to highlight the place of the Amathousian group in this artistic context.

During the Hellenistic period, the image of the goddess of Amathous is essentially known from terracottas, if we except the beautiful marble female head, possibly the *Kypria* found near the walls (Hermay, 2006b: 101–115). These Hellenistic terracottas mainly come from the

acropolis and especially from the deposit near the gate of the wall (deposit MX 318) (Fig. 6.1), known for its 10,000 or so fragments of figurines, mostly of goddesses – amongst which Aphrodite occupies a prominent place – and women (Queyrel, 1988: 35). Attested on about ten fragments in deposit MX 318 (Figs. 6.2–6.5), the theme of Aphrodite and Eros is however, not found amongst the terracottas from the palace and the sanctuary. It belongs to a group of varied depictions of Aphrodite, where the goddess is represented alone, leaning with her left elbow on a pillar, with her bosom or her left breast exposed (Queyrel, 1988: pls. 5–6, nos. 19–25 and nos. 40–42), of figurines of Isis, Artemis, of dancers and other devotees; one also finds some male deities, such as Attis or the Dioscuri. Both the number of terracottas made from the same moulds, as well as the homogeneity of their fabric, deriving from local clays, confirm the existence of a purely local production (Courtois & Velde, 1980: 821–822; Queyrel, 1988: 15; Connelly, 1990: 95). Produced using a bivalve mould, these figures are baked at moderate heat (Courtois & Velde, 1980: 821–822). If one is to judge from the wear of the reliefs, and therefore of the moulds, the theme of Aphrodite with Eros must have been particularly popular among worshippers.

2 Representations of Aphrodite with Eros: Terracotta Figurines and Limestone Statuettes

Known solely through fragments, only the upper part of the terracotta group of Aphrodite and Eros can be reconstituted. Aphrodite stands and carries on her left shoulder a tiny winged Eros. He huddles the neck of his mother, placing his left hand on the top of her throat. The goddess, who has a very youthful face, wears a *stephane* and a veil, from which emerge at long strands of hair falling on the shoulders. Large earrings dangle against her lower jaw. Since none of the fragments preserves the lower part and sides, it is difficult to certify that the goddess leaned on a pillar or a colonnette, but there is every reason to think so, given the position of the bust with a contrapposto to the left. The goddess was probably dressed, as on the one bust fragment belonging to this type, the folds of the garment between the breasts are still visible. From the same set comes a fragmentary bear bust of a woman (Queyrel, 1988:

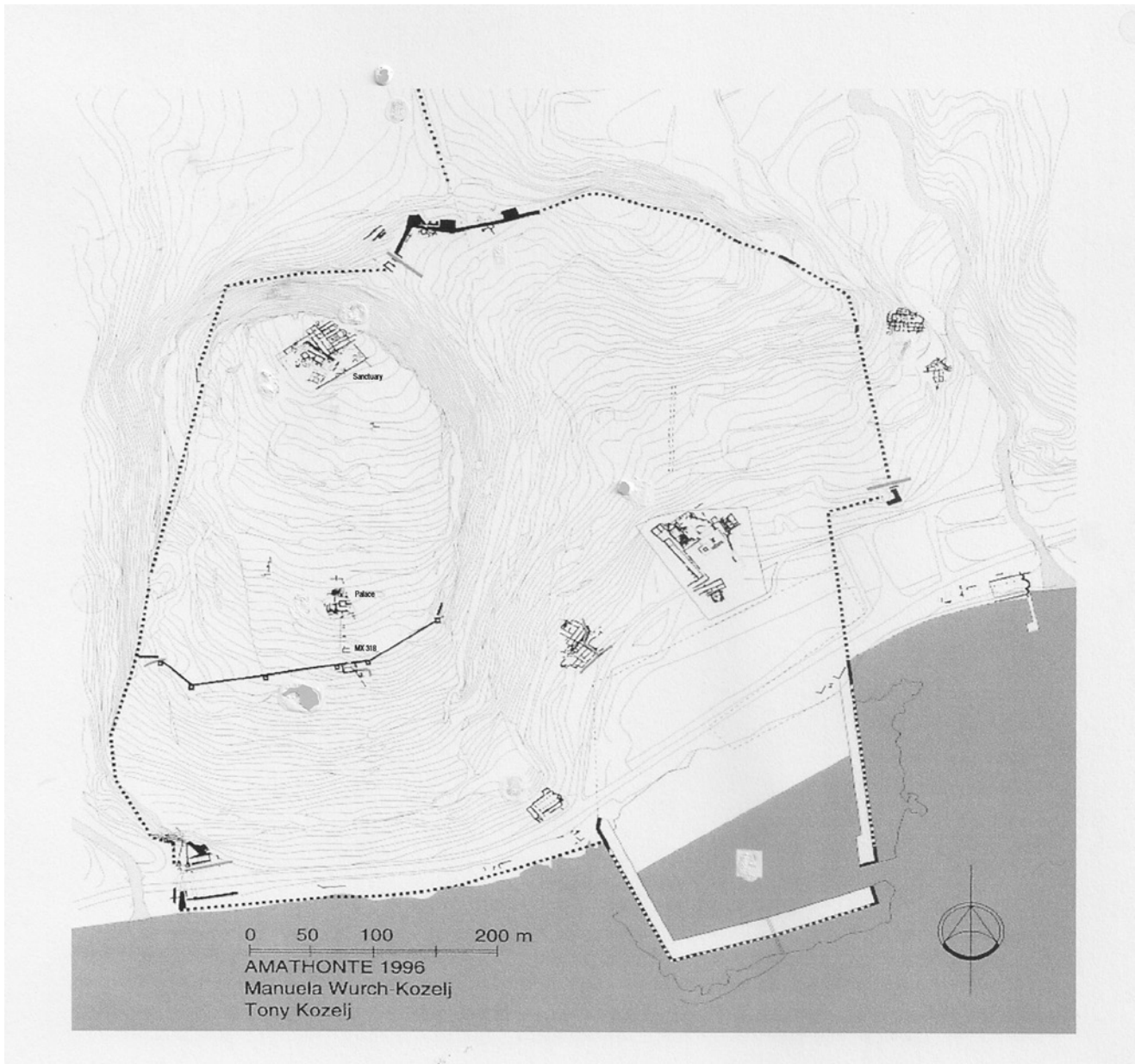


FIGURE 6.1 The topography of the acropolis at Amathous

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no. 112), but it is of a similar iconographic type: the torso is turned to the right, not to the left. It is in this case an Aphrodite of another type, which cannot be included in the group of Aphrodite with Eros. The Aphrodite with Eros is thus not a naked goddess (Aupert, 1981: 379; Queyrel, 1988: 44), but clothed. At Amathous, this significant feature distinguishes the goddess with Eros from other coroplastic representations where Aphrodite is sometimes dressed, but with the left breast bare, sometimes half-naked, a cloak wrapped around the hips, or sometimes even completely naked. Like other figurines, these statuettes have preserved traces of pigments: the flesh parts of the goddess were orange-pink, her hair red-brown, her

diadem pink and her cloak yellow-orange (perhaps to suggest a golden coat). The wings of Eros included red, blue and green (Queyrel, 1988: 44).

Aphrodite with Eros is an extension of the ancient motif of the *kourotrophos* known more or less everywhere in Cyprus both in terracotta and in limestone statuary. If the goddess is not breastfeeding the baby here, she carries it on her arm – or more precisely on her left shoulder – following the iconographic tradition of the *kourotrophos* carrying the baby on the left (attested, for example, among the terracottas of deposit MX 318: Queyrel, 1988: 93–94, nos. 260–270). This fidelity to tradition needs to be underlined because it does not hold



FIGURE 6.2 Upper part of the terracotta group of Aphrodite and Eros

PHOTO: I. TASSIGNON



FIGURE 6.3 Upper part of a terracotta group

PHOTO: I. TASSIGNON



FIGURE 6.4 Terracotta bust with Eros

PHOTO: I. TASSIGNON



FIGURE 6.5 Side view of the group

PHOTO: I. TASSIGNON

true everywhere in Cyprus; other terracottas of the fourth and third centuries BCE indeed exhibit large variations from the initial type of *kourotrophos*. Thus, in a group without doubt from Larnaca, the child sits astride the left shoulder of his mother, who holds him with her right arm behind his back (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 515–516, no. 830), while in several other terracottas, Eros is a teenager or an adult in miniature (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 517, nos. 833 and 960, 575–576).

Other groups of terracottas found in Cyprus are instead imported types such as “Aphrodite with a book” and Eros (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 576–577, no. 961). It is in Asia Minor that we meet the coroplastic forms closest to those of Amathous: in Tarsus, an “Aphrodite-Ariadne *kourotrophos*”, which owes its name to the Dionysian crown of ivy around her head, is almost its exact iconographic equivalent. But here, besides the fact that the balance of the body is different, the right breast is semi exposed and the child is set more or less high on the left arm of the goddess, depending on the series. The dates proposed go from the middle of the second century BCE to the first century CE (Besques, 1971–1972: 273); these dates correspond to the same period as that of the group of figurines from deposit of MX 318. Among the other figurine types close to that of the Amathousian group, we can mention those of Myrina (Besques, 1971–1972: 30, pl. 33f), dated to the second half of the second century BCE. Aphrodite, flanked by small Erotes, leans on a pillar to the left as she draws her coat with her right arm. Comparisons are also possible with some Isis *lactans* figurines from Cyrenaica and Egypt, but in these cases it is a true *kourotrophos* with the plentiful body of a matron (Besques, 1992: 34, D 4215).

This theme would have remained yet another Aphrodisian subject, like those found at Tarsus or Myrina, if the recent excavations at the palace of Amathous had not brought to light an object that can clarify our composition of the pair of Aphrodite and Eros. It is necessary to give some details on the context of this discovery. Several rooms are found along the western wall of the palace stores; and in the southern part of this area, the walls of these rooms reach to just under the modern ground level. This whole area was covered with a relatively homogeneous fill, which is not a *favissa* since the deposit was not sealed, and which is probably one of the consequences of the abandonment of the building – these areas, now devoid of a roof, were used as dumps. The fill contained mainly rubble, pottery and votive offerings dating from the Cypro-Archaic II to the end of the Hellenistic period (from sixth century BCE to first century BCE). The main feature of these ex-votos is their evocation of the feminine world, and that of Aphrodite, in particular.

These offerings consist of many clay and limestone *korai*, various pendants (including a gold crescent of Astarte and two representations of the hippopotamus goddess of childbirth, Thoueris), doves in stone, and Tonna galea shells – material traditionally associated with Aphrodite. Many of these objects also have their exact equivalent in the finds from the sanctuary (Hermay, 2000: 87–91, nos. 555–595, 94, nos. 601–606, 99–101, nos. 655–688 [moulded *korai* in terracotta], 119, nos. 778–816 [limestone *korai*], 139–140, nos. 920–936 [sphinx]). These offerings evoke devotion to a goddess – the great goddess and her hypostases – in her prerogatives as the queen of the Amathousian pantheon and protector of women, and especially women in labour. As for the origin of these Aphrodisian “bric-a-brac”, the hypothesis of a sanctuary of Aphrodite located within the palace walls seems rather unlikely: indeed, the palace was abandoned around 300 BCE, and several artefacts are clearly later. Moreover, the quality, quantity and variety of offerings found there suggest that they come from an important sanctuary. This is why we can assume that the sanctuary of Aphrodite on top the acropolis may be the original location of these offerings even if it is relatively far from the palace, located some 400 m lower; the empty rooms of the palace stripped of its roof and walls could be convenient receptacles for getting rid of cumbersome material. But another hypothesis is equally plausible: during construction, these objects would have arrived there after being discovered in a *favissa*, closer to the sanctuary.

It is in this filling layer that an object of the highest interest for our purposes was unearthed since it is, as we will demonstrate, the exact iconographic equivalent of the Aphrodite and Eros terracotta from deposit MX 318. This is a group, 15 cm high, carved in a soft and slightly chalky limestone. On a small rounded base stands an Aphrodite *kourotrophos* (Figs. 6.6–6.7). Despite its small size and breakage, this statuette an impression of majesty, which is probably due to the posture of the goddess and the fullness of the garment she wears. This is a fine sculpture that stands out from the usual production for its attention to detail. It is also remarkable for its unusual volume, in the production of such ex-votos. On the back, which is less detailed than the front, one can discern the veil on the nape of the neck and the belt on the back of the goddess.

The goddess, headless today, leans with her elbow on a colonnette with a moulded capital placed to her left. She carries Eros on her left arm and turns her head slightly toward him. The child preserves one of its long ringlet locks on the left-hand side of its head.

A break at the level of the shoulder blades and the upper back took away the wings of the toddler. His right



FIGURE 6.6 Limestone group from the palace, front view
PHOTO: I. TASSIGNON

arm passes behind Aphrodite's neck, while the folded left arm tries to reach the maternal breast. The space between the head of the child and his mother's neck is occupied by a cloak covering her back and the back of her head. A long strand of hair resting on top of the shoulder is still visible on the left of the neck. High on her chest there is a large circular necklace made of twenty pendants. Wearing a long chiton with mid-length sleeves, she retains her mantle with her right hand poised on the hip. The long chiton seems thin and skin-tight on the upper part of her body, and through it the small round breasts are shown wide apart. The neckline of the garment is not detailed, but to



FIGURE 6.7 Limestone group from the palace, side view
PHOTO: I. TASSIGNON

the left one can distinguish a mark suggesting a V-line between the breasts. On the right side, a few vertical folds are incised, and light oblique folds cross the abdomen from right to the left breast. The right arm, held close to the side, is covered down to the elbow by a slit sleeve held together with three buttons, a detail which also characterises the clothing of Aphrodite on the Panathenaic frieze, the Aphrodite and Eros from Marion (Serwint, 1993: 212) and the fourth century BCE Golgoi Aphrodite in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Hermay & Mertens, 2014: 263–264, no. 357), but not that from Idalion (Hermay, 1989: 378, no. 768). The body balance is rather unnatural since although the goddess leans on a pillar on her left, she also stands with her weight on her left hip. It is the right leg instead which deviates slightly from the body and which, folded, is visible under the tunic. This kind of weight thrust, in combination with the presence of a high pillar, seems to be a peculiarity. The cloak, gathered at her belly in a wide pleated waistband, forms a sort of

“cabbage” between her hip and her left hand, and wraps around the left forearm that leans on the colonnette, to fall into three vertical folds on the side. The fabric of the bottom of the dress, heavy and stiff, follows the shape of the right leg, and forms a broken fold in front of the right foot. The left leg, which was not rendered in detail, is hidden by the regular folds of the chiton falling vertically from the waist to the base.

The dating of this type of statuette, which blends a Hellenistic model and the Cypriot tradition of richly dressed goddesses adorned with heavy jewellery, can only be based on iconographic and stylistic criteria. The hairstyle of Eros, traditionally associated with a braided tuft, is characteristic of the Hellenistic period, but cannot be assigned to a particular given century. It is attested in the Hellenistic sculpture of Cyprus from at least the late third century BCE, since it is worn by a child from Golgoi (Fitzwilliam Museum, GR 1 1917; Connelly, 1988: 4, pl. 3, fig. 9; Karageorghis *et al.*, 1999: 88, no. 156). This is how Eros appears in later times, as on two Amathousian terracottas of the late first century BCE or early first century CE (Queyrel, 1988: pl. 13, 127 and pl. 83) or in the Eros and Anteros group in the Louvre (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 579, no. 967).

As for Aphrodite, she is an Aphrodite with a pillar, an iconographic type which certainly goes back to the Classical iconographic tradition, although here the weight of the body, the position of the legs and the draped garment are altogether different since they relate to a Hellenistic statue type derived from the Aphrodite of Arles (which will strongly influence Aphrodite Anadyomene). This original type is a half-naked Aphrodite whose left forearm is covered by a flap of a cloak wrapped around her waist, copies of which are known in Priene and Delos (Delivourias *et al.*, 1984: 64, nos. 533 and 534 respectively), dated to the period between the middle and the end of the second century BCE. Finally, the broken fold on top of the foot associated with vertical folds between the legs can be seen on several statues sculpted in the Alexandrian environment (Linfert, 1976: 105, figs. 242–247). Thus, despite the heavy garment making her a *pudica*-type goddess, it is probably a statuary type of the half-naked goddess that was adapted to the needs of Aphrodite at Amathous. In other words, this is a specific and new statue type, specific to Amathous, inspired on the one hand by types popular in the second half of the second century BCE, but also, on the other hand, by the traditional image of the “Great Goddess” of Cyprus.

This limestone statuette is therefore the almost exact equivalent – but more carefully executed – of the terracottas found in deposit of MX 318. Through the wealth of its

details, this small group confirms the existence of a high pillar also on the terracotta series of Aphrodite and Eros, a support which is also present under the left arm of the half-naked Aphrodites (Queyrel, 1988: type 4, pl. 10, nos. 86–87). It allows the completion of the lower part of the terracotta figurines: it is also quite likely that the lower part of the goddess’ dress was the same as in the small limestone group. The goddess bent her right leg slightly, which was visible under the heavy folds of a tunic with four wide vertical pleats at the front; wrapped around the hips, her himation formed inverted pleats at the height of the right groin.

This kind of posture and drapery also occurs on another series of terracottas from deposit MX 318: the one where Aphrodite is alone, leaning with her left elbow on a pillar, the left breast bare (Queyrel, 1988: pl. 5, 19). Her right leg is similarly folded, her tunic falling between the legs in wide vertical folds, and the himation wrapped in the same way around her hips and forming several vertical folds on the left side of the statue. Queyrel (1988: 37) considers that this type, characterised by an “attitude sobre et mesurée”, which “ne présente ni hanchement excessif, ni croisement contourné des jambes”, can be dated to the second half of the second century BCE, a date which accords well with that of the statue type. We will therefore retain the second half of the second century BCE as the date of the iconographic type of Aphrodite and Eros, be it made of terracotta or limestone.

However, the question of the images of “Aphrodite with Eros” in Amathous might be enriched by further evidence that could clarify the origin of the Aphrodisian ex-votos found in the palace and in deposit MX 318. It also makes it possible to define the place held by the group in its artistic and religious context. This is the bust of a life-size statue, which comes from the fill near the early Christian wall adjacent to the sanctuary of Aphrodite (Hermay, 2000: 154, no. 989) (Fig. 6.8). This must have been a polychrome statue since it preserves traces of red paint on the left shoulder. It is made of a dense and fine-grained limestone. Containing very little chalk, it is one of the best quality limestones that can be found locally. This was originally a large statue, a rare enough feature worth mentioning since the sculpture of Amathous is generally rather small (Hermay, 2000: 163).

The above-mentioned statue of a woman, which could be an Aphrodite, and to which belongs the marble head found near the walls, is a notable exception of the Hellenistic period (Hermay, 2006b: 102). Their dimensions would therefore be approximately the same as those of the statue of the Aphrodite of Idalion (1.68 m; Hermay, 1989: 378, no. 768). However, what distinguishes



FIGURE 6.8 Bust from the sanctuary

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the bust of Amathous from the offering of Idalion is its sculptural quality. Its back is certainly more summarily treated than the rest, but it is not flat. The fine chiton forms complex folds around the breasts, subtly emphasising subtly their form. The unrealistic appearance of these folds is the result of the juxtaposition of V-shaped folds on the chest and of a bundle of tight folds which, starting from the right breast, winds over the left breast towards the left side. This bust is badly damaged, however: several losses are detected on the shoulders. On the neck, which turns left, there is a necklace with long

pendants. As noted by Hermay (Hermay, 2000: 154, no. 989), the left breast is placed higher than the right one, and the left shoulder is also raised; moreover, at the back of the statue, the left shoulder blade comes slightly forward as if the left arm protected a now lost element, placed between it and the torso. On the left, the cleavage plane is vertical and regular: the arm was attached to the left side and should deviate slightly at the height of the abdomen since the pleated fabric is visible here. The left arm probably leaned on a high support. The statue therefore stood in contrapposto pose to the left. On the



FIGURE 6.9 Arm of a statue from the sanctuary

PHOTO: I. TASSIGNON

right, the arm would have been extended slightly away from the body.

A fragment of a right arm (Fig. 6.9), belonging to a statue of a woman – found not far away, closer to the sanctuary of Aphrodite, that is to say in the pronaos of the Roman-period temple (Hermay, 2000: 155, no. 990) – could be the upper part of the missing arm. Its dimensions could match those of the bust, and it is made of the same material and treated in the same way, with particular care given to the folds of the medium long-sleeved of the chiton, which preserves two buttons with the slits between them exposing the arm itself. If these comparisons are correct, we would then have another image of the goddess with Eros on the left shoulder, wearing a tunic with slit sleeves, in a contrapposto pose to the left, where she leans with her forearm on a pillar. The head of the goddess was turned to the left, as shown by the remains of the neck and the cloak: the goddess probably leaned her head

against that of her child. This bust appears then as unique evidence, with its closest parallels being on hand the small limestone group from the palace, and on the other, the terracotta groups of Aphrodite and Eros from deposit MX 318. Their similarities are striking, the only variations being the exact location of the baby – higher or lower on the shoulder –, the necklace and the appearance of the folds of the chiton.

From both an iconographic and a stylistic point of view, one realises the great distance that separates the Amathousian Aphrodite and Eros group from that from Golgoi, in the treatment of the anatomy, gesture and volume. Of course the statue from Golgoi, hieratic and frontal, has some things in common with that of Amathous: as well as the same dress, with elbow-length split sleeves, forming pleats at the neckline, one also notices the same strands of hair on the shoulders, as well as the necklace with elongated pendants. Eros, whose body is treated like

that of an adolescent in miniature, is represented again attached to the goddess' bust, pressing her left breast. The group emanates no affection or complicity between the goddess and the child. From this point of view, the statue of Amathous appears as a modernised reinterpretation of that of Golgoi.

The statue of Idalion mentioned above, is another interesting point of comparison, both in terms of style and iconography (Hermay, 1989: 378, no. 768). The goddess is still hieratic and leans with her right hand on a low pillar that reaches to the height of her hip, and with her left holds a bird against her folded arm. Between her hip and her left arm there is a disk with a large stem, which could be a mirror (Hermay, 1989: 378, no. 768). She wears a tunic (but here with short sleeves) and a cloak wrapped around her head and back, drawn around the waist in a pleated bundle and covering her thighs like an apron. Besides its also stiff appearance, this statue, dating from the third century BCE, differs from the Amathousian Aphrodite in the treatment of the fabrics, which have stiff and regular folds; and are actually still far removed from the styles and techniques of Hellenistic art. In other words, this statue is closer to the Classical tradition than the one of Amathous, which appears to have fully assimilated the achievements of Hellenistic art in terms of volume, drapery and the sensuality that can emanate from a statue of a goddess, whether she is a mother goddess or the great goddess of the oldest sanctuaries of the island.

Stressing the closeness of this statuary type with that of the sculptures from the sanctuary of Arsos, Hermay (2000: 154–155, no. 989) cautiously proposed dating it to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The treatment of the drapery, and what is possible to deduce from the pose of the bust (by comparison to the terracottas and the limestone statuette), lead us to propose a slightly later dating. The particularity of this bust is the drapery of the garment, particular in its form and extremely detailed, with re-grooved pleats, which is echoed in a bust from Miletus (but there the fabric also has vertical pleats on the breasts: Linfert, 1976: fig. 112) and the terracottas from Tarsus mentioned above; the drapery is in fact altogether similar to that which characterises the clothing of the Aphrodite-Ariadne, except that in these representations, the right breast is nearly exposed while on the bust of Amathous the breast is covered with the thin fabric of the tunic. In both cases, however, the breasts are emphasised by the undulating band of tight and irregular folds, going from above the left breast to below the right. Both could derive from a common archetype that may date back to the first half of the second century BCE, in which the goddess rests her foot on a bird, her cloak wound around the

chest in a band of tight folds, but revealing her right breast (Delivorrias *et al.*, 1984: 75, 660–664).

The main known variations – including the Heyl Aphrodite – date from the middle or the second half of the second century BCE (Delivorrias *et al.*, 1984: 76, 665–666). Finally, the naturalism with which the breasts of the female figure of Amathous are rendered is another indication of a date in the second half of the second century. This rather mannerist treatment contrasts with the restraint of the treatment of the chest in older works, including the statue of Idalion, and is characteristic of works dating from the second half of the second century BCE (e.g. the Tyche, with the features of Arsinoe III, leaning on a pillar, probably coming from Myrina: Uhlenbrock, 1990: 135–135, Cat. no. 23). In conclusion, a date in the second half of the second century BCE seems then to be argued for this bust, a date similar to that of the small limestone group of the palace and of the Aphrodite and Eros type terracotta of deposit MX 318.

3 The Geographical Origin of the Influences in the Artistic Representation of Aphrodite with Eros

As for the geographical origin of the influences that contributed to the creation of the statuary type of Aphrodite and Eros of Amathous, it can be glimpsed through this series of images all of which evoke the same archetype. The terracottas provide valuable information in this respect because they alone preserve the hair of the young goddess. Her long cloak is drawn over her head and the terracottas reveal that this head, with the hair in bands separated by a central parting, is crowned by a *stephane*. This hairstyle is reminiscent of that of the Ptolemaic princesses, especially of Berenice II and Arsinoe II, who because of their beauty were assimilated to Aphrodite. For this reason and given the fact that the statuary types of the Aphrodite of Arles and Aphrodite Anadyomene appear to have been particularly popular in Alexandrian Egypt, the sculptor behind the type of statue of Aphrodite and Eros of Amathous could be of Alexandrian origin, or at least could have sought inspiration amongst the examples that could be seen in Alexandria.

Amathous, in effect, as shown by other statuary types appears to have had her eyes turned towards Alexandria (Connelly, 1990: 96). As mentioned above, the flap of the tunic that breaks on the right foot (as it appears on the small limestone group) seems to be characteristic of Alexandrian works (Linfert, 1976: 105, figs. 242–247). Several contextual elements also suggest, if not a close

relationship with Egypt, at least the inclusion of this group in an Egyptian ambiance. First of all, deposit MX 318 included, alongside various representations of Aphrodite, several statuettes of Isis, made in the same workshop, indicating that a cult to the Egyptian goddess was probably practised in the same place as that for which the various images of Aphrodite were destined: there, Isis and the other divinities were honoured as “visiting gods”. Then an inscription on an altar found at the sanctuary mentions a gift made under Ptolemy VIII and his two wives, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III, to the gods Serapis, Aphrodite, Isis and the deities sharing the same temple, the *synnaoi theoi* (Hellmann & Hermary, 1980: 268–272; Hermary, 1987: 736). The inscription dates to either the period between 142/141 and 132/131 BCE, or to the end of the reign of Ptolemy VIII, between 119 and 116 BCE (Hermary, 2006a: 163–164). These two periods could also apply to the representations of the goddess and Eros at Amathous. It is therefore tempting to consider the goddess with Eros as a form of the goddess mentioned in the Ptolemaic inscription; and perhaps the Aphrodite of Amathous borrowed her features from those of a Ptolemaic princess, as did amongst others, the Tyche with the features of Arsinoe III (Uhlenbrock, 1990: 134–135, n. 23). Let us note, however, that to date, no other Aphrodisian terracotta type from deposit MX 318 has found an echo in small-scale statuary, and, in this respect, the variety and number of examples of the theme of Aphrodite and Eros give to this group a special place in the cult of Amathous.

The provenance of the two large statuary fragments – the sanctuary and its immediate vicinity – and the similarity between this statuary type and that of the terracottas and the group support the above hypothesis: the terracottas of deposit MX 318 as well as the “Aphrodisian” objects found in the western area of the palace could well come from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at the top of the acropolis. One would then have here three echoes – terracottas, statuette, and statue – of the same statuary type that, given its popularity, was probably a cult statue; unless the bust itself was that of the cult statue. Its dimensions and the care with which it was sculpted plead for this hypothesis, but, unlike the female head found near the city walls, which could belong to an Aphrodite, also dated to the second half of the second century BCE (Hermary, 2006b: 106–110), it is not made of marble.

Perhaps, the financial difficulties that Amathous may have been facing a few years earlier, as reflected in the Ptolemaic decree of 170–164 BCE found at Argos (Aupert, 1982: 263–280; Papantoniou, 2012: 221), could partially explain the humble material used. Finally, it should be noted that, if this image of Aphrodite and

Eros was, during the second half of the second century, a cult statue of Aphrodite of the sanctuary, it is free of any signs of syncretism. Aphrodite has neither the ivy crown that would make her an Aphrodite-Ariadne, as at Tarsus, nor the funerary character that she seems to have at Soloi-Cholades (Papantoniou, 2012: 173), where an adolescent holding a lowered torch lends its features to Eros. Furthermore, there is nothing that would characterise her as an Isis. In her sanctuary on the acropolis of Amathous, she remains true to the Cypriot tradition, with long locks of hair, as in the ancient images of the goddess, modest and bejewelled. It appears that the maternal element is important at Amathous: she is an Aphrodite in her role as a mother, a character echoed by other ex-votos (e.g. the amulets of Taweret), which reflect the image of her as a protectress of women, be they potential mothers, parturient or *kourotrophoi*.

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Underneath the Veil: Terracotta Figurines from the Amathous Eastern Necropolis

Elisavet Stefani

Abstract

Among the tombs excavated by the Department of Antiquities in 2008 at the eastern necropolis of Amathous, Tomb 916 produced a group of Hellenistic terracotta figurines. Terracotta figurines found in their primary mortuary context are rare at the necropolis of Amathous and can provide significant insights for their use as grave goods. Did they preserve their cultic function as tomb gifts or were they imbued with some other significance? What is their relation to their counterparts found in different contexts? Can iconography and quality of execution be linked to their distribution, social practices, or gender roles? This article addresses these questions providing at the same time additional information regarding their possible commercial networks in Cyprus and in the wider Mediterranean region.¹

1 Introduction: Tomb Discovery, Finds

In July 2008, Tomb 916 was discovered during rescue excavations carried out by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities at the eastern necropolis of Amathous, where over the course of five years (between 2005–2010) a total of 138 tombs were excavated. The tomb was cut into the natural limestone bedrock and had a roughly square shaped chamber and a rectangular stepped dromos to the south (Fig. 7.1). Part of the roof, on the eastern side was destroyed during bulldozing operations prior to excavation. The skeletal remains with the grave goods were dispersed in the tomb chamber and the stratigraphic evidence was significantly disturbed by flood water, rendering it impossible to trace the sequence of any burial activity. Thus, no

association between the skeletal remains and artefacts could be identified.

After the removal of the washed-in soil, a different layout of the chamber was revealed: some stones, limestone bases and funerary stelae were found in a North-South alignment on the west side. The presence of another limestone slab on the east side implied the existence of a similar alignment, forming a separated central rectangular zone. The rearrangement of the tomb chamber by reusing funerary material (stone bases and stelae) might have taken place during the last phases of its use in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Examples of such a rearrangement in tomb chambers have also been documented in other tombs at the same necropolis (personal communication with the excavator, Y. Violaris, April 2013).

The skeletal assemblage recovered from Tomb 916 was in a highly commingled state and elements were assessed individually. Anthropological analysis has revealed the presence of at least three adults: one young, one fully grown and one mature; and two subadults of less than ten years old. Two of the adults were identified as males and one was probably a female, while the subadult skeletal remains did not allow any sex estimation using standard osteological procedures.

Tomb 916 contained a considerable number of Hellenistic terracotta figurines. The coroplastic assemblage comprises six complete or almost complete female figurines and one fragmentary seated figure. A miniature theatrical mask, a bearded head, two female heads, body fragments, a torso and arm, and three bases give a minimum total of twelve terracottas. Some drapery fragments and body parts are still unmatched with the rest of the material and, after a closer study and restoration, they might increase this number. It should also be mentioned that the majority of the terracottas, when found, were fragmentary and only some could be restored.

Apart from the terracottas, Tomb 916 has yielded a large number of finds: 68 well-preserved registered artefacts and many unregistered ceramic sherds covered a wide chronological range. This indicates its continual use from the Cypro-Archaic to the Roman period (c. 700 BCE–150 CE). The ceramic assemblage consists of over

¹ The excavation was directed by Y. Violaris, to whom I am grateful for the permission to study and publish the material. I would also like to extend my gratitude to D. Aristotelous of the Department of Antiquities for the anthropological analysis of the skeletal material, and to N. Ioannou, conservator at the Limassol District Museum, for her painstaking work and her helpful insights. I am also thankful to A. Destrooper-Georgiades for the identification of the coin found in the tomb and to A. Hermary for the helpful insights and suggestions regarding the identification of terracotta no. 50.

Tomb 916- Amathous

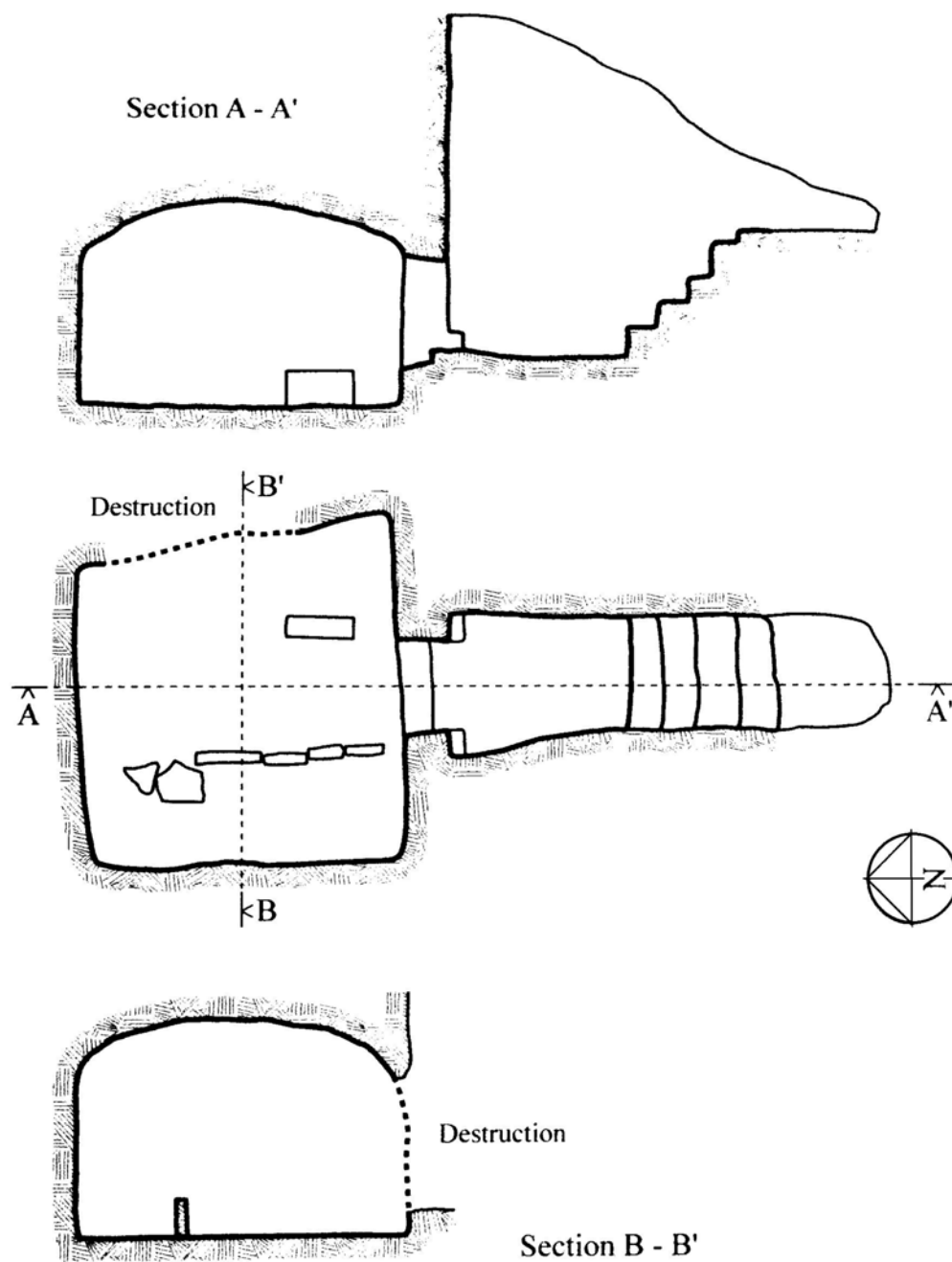


FIGURE 7.1 Tomb 916 plan

40 complete or almost complete vessels, drinking cups, perfume bottles and lamps, the majority of which belong to the Cypro-Archaic and Classical periods and were locally produced: Plain White, White Painted, Bichrome and Black on Red wares. Two hydriae with painted decoration, some fusiform unguentaria of Plain White and Red Slip ware and a small spout vessel, probably baby-feeder, seem to be chronologically coherent with the coroplastic assemblage.

A bronze coin of Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II, dated to 137/6 BCE, represents an important chronological marker for at least one of the burials during the Hellenistic period and it seems to be associated with the coroplastic assemblage too (for Ptolemy VIII and the way he became ruler of Cyprus see Fraser, 1972: 119–124 and Hatzioannou, 1975: 263–275). Faience beads and amulets representing the Egyptian gods Anubis and Horus, a silver earring, a silver ring, fragments of bronze bracelets, fragments of a gold leaf band with impressed decoration and a fragmented bronze mirror were among the personal ornaments of the deceased. Whether these personal ornaments match with the rest of the Hellenistic assemblage remains a matter of further study.

2 Types of Terracotta Figurines Present in Tomb 916

With the exception of the theatrical mask, the bearded head and two figurines of unidentified type, all the other terracottas represent female figurines in different poses falling within the general Tanagra type. The figurines can be divided into three groups based on size: small figurines with a maximum preserved height of 10 cm, medium-sized between 20–25 cm, and large-sized figurines over 26 cm tall.

2.1 Large Size Group

The large-sized group consists of two almost complete standing draped female figures, nos. 16 and 51, a fragmentary seated figure, no. 50, and the lower part of a standing draped female, no. 67–14. None of these figures shows special characteristics associating them with any divine representation. The two almost complete figurines are represented in a similar posture standing with the weight on the right leg in a frontal position (Fig. 7.2). They both stand on bases integral to the rest of the figurines; a type that is considered to be characteristic of Alexandrian coroplastic art (Kassab-Tezgör, 2007: 248). Both are dressed

in a chiton and himation that covers one or both shoulders. The front half of the face of figurine no. 51 is missing but a part of her thick wreath is preserved, while no. 16 is crowned with a crescent shaped stipple *stephane* decorated with added ivy leaves on the side. Their left hands are outstretched on the side, holding the loose end of the himatia. The right arm of no. 51 is extended in front with the hand in a gesture for holding something. Unfortunately, the tips of the fingers are lost and no trace of the object she was holding remains (Fig. 7.3).

The preserved lower part of no. 67–14 can be used to estimate her large size. She stands with the weight on the missing right leg and was originally leaning on the pillar to the left. The drapery hangs down indicating a long chiton and probably a himation, and she wears a forked sandal on her left foot. She was probably associated with one of the two identical mould-made stepped bases, since its maximum width corresponds to the width of the base (Fig. 7.4). Traces of the same red colour preserved on the top surface of the base, also evident on the bottom of this fragmented figurine, support this assumption. The isolated female head no. 49 (Fig. 7.5) could be part of terracotta no. 67–14. The head leans slightly to the left; the hair is centrally parted, combed back at the sides in loose waves and brought into a bun at the back, in the Knidian hair style.

Another large-sized figurine, no. 50, has been partly restored from many fragments. Despite its fragmentary state, it appears to represent a seated figure of an uncommon type, whose character is yet to be defined (Fig. 7.6). One leg is outstretched while the other seems to have been lifted towards the torso. The terracotta wears a V-shaped chiton girded at the waist and a himation that covers the head and falls down from the left shoulder to the left arm. The left hand leans on a surface, of which only a matching fragment has been recovered, while the right arm is missing. A separately modelled right arm, bent at the elbow, is still unmatched with the fragmented right shoulder of the terracotta, but there is a strong possibility that the arm appertains to it.

The way the figurine is sitting recalls representations of seated figurines on rocky outcrops. The head is slightly turned to the left looking downward and strands of short hair that were visible below the broken himation surround the face. The robust lower left leg, the short hair below the himation and the very small, almost flat breasts are suggestive of a male character. At first glance, the chiton seems to be short but some slight incisions below the knee indicate long transparent drapery, pulled tight on



AM. T.916/16



T.916/51

FIGURE 7.2 Terracotta figurines no. 16 (left) and no. 51 (right)

COURTESY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, CYPRUS



FIGURE 7.3 Terracotta figurine no. 51 (detail of the coloured decoration)

COURTESY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, CYPRUS

the lower leg. The iconographic theme of this figurine is not attested in any of the other Amathousian terracottas and it seems to be a unique representation, unknown until now. Apart from the uncommon position and the remarkable size, this figure's eminence is stressed by its three-dimensional character. Unlike the other figurines,

the back seems to be well modelled and details of the drapery are equally rendered on the reverse, which was most likely intended to be seen. This observation raises the question of whether this terracotta figure had a main role among a bigger group composition, and if the answer is positive, who is the depicted character?



FIGURE 7.4
Terracotta figurine no. 67-14 (base and preserved lower part)



FIGURE 7.5 Terracotta female head no. 49



FIGURE 7.6 Seated terracotta figurine no. 50



AM. T.916/53

FIGURE 7.7 Semi-nude terracotta figurine of Aphrodite type, no. 53
COURTESY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES,
CYPRUS

2.2 Medium Size Terracottas

The medium-sized terracotta figurine, no. 53, was restored from numerous joining fragments (Fig. 7.7). She represents a semi-nude Aphrodite type leaning against a pillar to her right, with her right hand resting on top. Her

left hand, enveloped in the drapery, rests on her left hip. She stands on a low unmodelled base with her weight on her left leg. She is nude above the waist and a himation is loosely draped around her hips. Her head is slightly inclined to her left and she wears a crescent-shaped *stephane*. Her hair is centrally parted and pulled back to a bun at the nape of the neck.

The drapery fragments of the lower body of another standing figure, no. 5, have been identified as belonging to the same type of Aphrodite, cast from the same mould as no. 53. The back half of a detached head with a 'melon' coiffure, no. 20, is probably associated with the fragments belonging to no. 5, since its size corresponds to that of no. 53.

The medium-sized group also includes a torso with a "twisted" right arm, no. 67–18, whose type is still unidentified (Fig. 7.8). Its unusual gesture renders it very difficult to understand the posture and to suggest eventual parallels to the figurine. It might have been associated with some other figurines as part of a group composition, but no clear evidence supports this assumption.

2.3 Small Size Group

The small-sized group consists of three female terracotta figures in different poses. The heads of all three figurines are missing (Fig. 7.9). The winged figure no. 15 was most likely crouching on the low plain block base, mended from several fragments. This assumption is supported by the traces of attachment on the surface of the base, as well as by the iconographic type of the knucklebone players, usually depicted crouching on a small low plaque base. No. 15 is presented in the typical pose of the knuckle-bone players (Fig. 7.9). Her head, one of the wings and the fingers of the right hand are missing. Her left arm rests on the left knee holding an unidentified circular object. Her right arm is slightly extended from the body, bent at the elbow, very close to the ground indicating that she is about to pick up the knucklebones she failed to catch, representing the game in progress. She is dressed with a chiton pinned on her shoulders and a himation wrapped around the left shoulder and the waist.

The semi-nude female figure, no. 10 is seated on a rocky outcrop with the left hand leaning on top and the right one resting on her lap. Her torso faces the viewer but her missing head would have been turned to the right, in the same direction as her legs (Fig. 7.9). The third example of the small sized figurines, no. 11, depicts a standing female musician holding a rectangular kithara in her left hand and plucking it with her right (Fig. 7.9).

A miniature theatrical mask, no. 9, is also part of the terracotta assemblage of this tomb (Fig. 7.10). The mask is preserved isolated, but probably it was originally attached to another figurine that was holding it. In the wider



FIGURE 7.8 Torso and right arm of terracotta figurine, no. 67-18



FIGURE 7.9 Small group terracotta figurines: no. 10 (left), no. 11 (centre), no. 15 (right)



FIGURE 7.10 Terracotta of miniature theatrical mask (*hegemon therapon*), no. 9

Hellenistic world female terracotta figurines, at times defined as muses, winged Erotes and young boys hold a mask in their hand (Females/Aphrodite/Muses: Winter, 1903: Typen III, 2, 81, 5–6; Mollard-Besques, 1972: 20, pl. 20, no. D89, 22, pl. 24, no. D105; Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2002: 224, 258–259, no. 259; Erotes: Mollard-Besques, 1963: 58, pl. 71c; Huguenot, 2008: 147, pl. 76:5c; young boys: Mollard-Besques, 1972: 32, pl. 39, nos. D170 and D174; Uhlenbrock, 1990: 114, no. 7). The facial features of the mask correspond to the image of the older principal slave, the leading servant, *hegemon therapon* (on the character and his role in the plays see Bieber, 1939: 189). The asymmetrical eye-brows, of which the right is excessively raised, the bulbous prominent eyes, the flatted wide nose and the protruding trumpet-like mouth with round beard are distinguishing characteristics of this New Comedy character (Bernabò-Brea, 1981: 200; Meyza, 2011: 383).

The fragmentary bearded head, no. 67–15, is probably that of a Dionysos herm. It looks like a sculpted head with archaistic facial features and the back is flattened (Fig. 7.11). The hair is parted in the centre and drawn back in straight loops to the sides, forming a triangular forehead. Only a part of what was represented above the head has survived but is not identifiable; however, it is very similar to the drapery from other terracotta figurines, preserving also traces of pink colour. The herm might have therefore been next to a leaning figurine whose drapery was falling above the herm's head. Such examples are found in Greece from the fourth century BCE and in Asia Minor sites mainly during the second and first centuries BCE (Mollard-Besques, 1972: 276, no. D2211, pl. 345h; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 118, no. 2276).

A terracotta group from Amisos (Reeder, 1990: 83, fig. 71) representing a herm flanked by four children bears

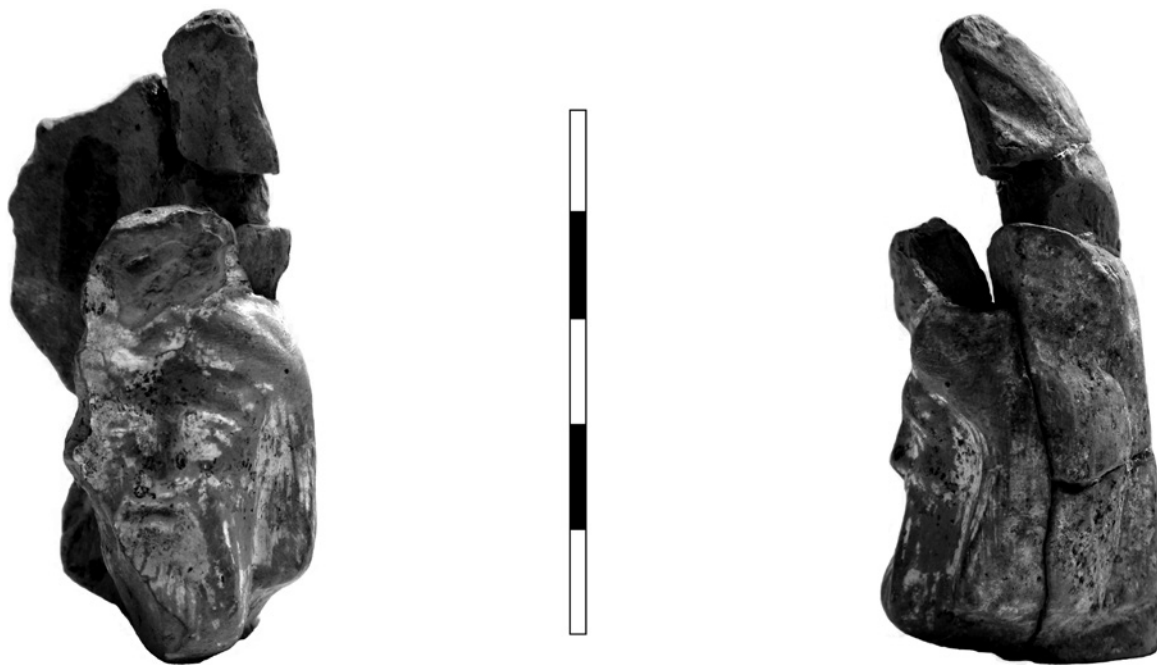


FIGURE 7.11 Terracotta of (Dionysos?) herm, no. 67–15

similar facial characteristics to the herm of Tomb 916. The square-cut beard and the long drooping moustache of the latter also resemble other examples from Melos and Myrina, both dated around 100 BCE (Burn & Higgins, 2001, 112: no. 2268, 118: no. 2276). Herms usually have strong Dionysiac characteristics, like the bearded heads, and their identification is not always precise, unless they bear clear Dionysiac elements such as the bunch of grapes. Isolated herms of Dionysos were found in the Olynthos graves (Robinson, 1952: 26) and the Agora of Athens where the examples increased in quantity and variety during the second century BCE (Thompson, 1966: 9). Terracotta herms imitate real herms, made of bronze, stone or marble.

3 Parallels

The coroplastic assemblage from Tomb 916 can be paralleled with material deriving from non-mortuary contexts in Amathous and is crucial for defining the terracotta figurines' role and function according to their contexts. The terracottas found in Tomb 916 are dated according to stylistic criteria, the artefact correlations and the numismatic evidence to the second half of the second century BCE. They are contemporary with the coroplastic assemblage from deposit MX 318 on the Amathous acropolis, from which a great number of terracotta figurines was recovered (Aupert, 1981: 389–390; Queyrel, 1988: 22). This coroplastic assemblage, found during excavations of the

French School of Athens, constitutes the majority of the Hellenistic terracotta figurines from Amathous. They are interpreted as discarded material from Aphrodite's sanctuary or from another area of the acropolis. The greatest part of the deposit's material represents divinities and female worshippers (Queyrel, 1988: 27–29; Hermary, 2012: 18; Papantoniou, 2012: 245–246).

Parallels to the tomb figurines can also be found in the terracotta figurines deriving from the Amathous tunnel, excavated by P. Flourentzos (2004: 2–4) and interpreted as a subterranean cult place. The material from the tunnel is also dated to the Hellenistic period and covers a wider chronological span, from the fifth to the first century BCE (Flourentzos, 2004: 32–33).

Aphrodite is the most frequently represented divinity among the terracotta figurines from Amathous and despite being depicted in a variety of types, the most common are directly associated with and fully conform to the Hellenistic *koine* style, influenced by its transmission to the island via Alexandria (Connelly, 1990: 97–98; 1991: 97; Papantoniou, 2012: 246; 2013: 46). The same type of semi-nude Aphrodite leaning on a pillar, cast in a mould deriving from the same prototype, was found in the Amathous tunnel, where two variants of the same type are also attested (Flourentzos, 2004: 11–12, pl. xxvii, no. 130, pl. xxx: 141). Aphrodite figurines of the same and of slightly altered types are the most frequently attested within the acropolis deposit assemblage (Queyrel, 1988: 39–41, Aphrodite Types 2 and 3; Hermary, 2012: 22). Despite their strong resemblance, the differences

in execution and dimensions, as a result of the linear reproduction of generations with diminishing size, can be observed. The sharp-featured head with carefully finished small details, including those added free-hand, as well as the accentuated details of the drapery of the Tomb 916 Aphrodite are evident, compared to those from the acropolis. Apart from Aphrodite, three more examples of divine representations occur in Tomb 916: the winged female figure, no. 15, the semi-nude figure seated on a rock, no. 10 (Fig. 7.9) and the bearded head, no. 67–15, probably of a Dionysos herm (Fig. 7.11).

The iconographic theme of the *astragalizousai* is attested in the coroplastic production of the Greek world by the middle of the fourth century BCE and became popular in the next centuries due to the rise of the Tanagra style production and its diffusion across the Hellenistic world (for examples from different geographical areas see: Winter, 1903: Typen III, 134–135; Robinson, 1952: 192, nos. 253–254; Mollard-Besques, 1972: 30, pl. 36, no. D160; 1992: 118, no. D4512; Higgins, 1986: 145, fig. 175; Uhlenbrock, 1990: 118–119; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 235, no. 2748; Jeammet, 2003: 164, no. 111, 248, no. 184, 284, no. 221; Chidioglou, 2012: 495–497). Female terracottas representing knucklebone players are mostly found in funerary contexts but they are also encountered in sanctuaries. Some of the knucklebone players are represented holding a pouch, *phormiskos*, in one hand, containing the *astragaloi* for the game (on the terracotta representations of *phormiskos*, see the article of Brocato & Zhara-Buda, 1996).

The game of the *astragaloi*, or *pentelitha*, consisted of tossing up five knucklebones and catching them on the back of the same hand. The knucklebones that fell down were then picked up with the same hand without letting the knucklebones on top fall down (Uhlenbrock, 1990: 118; Tahbere, 2012: 6). This simple form of the game was generally played by children. Adults, however, played a different game of knucklebones (Uhlenbrock, 1990: 118; Chidioglou, 2012: 498).

The depiction of young women playing knucklebones implies the symbolic function of the game, with religious connotations, related to the fate that controlled their destinies (Musumeci, 2012: 267). When found in tombs of young females, this depiction might have symbolised the passage from adolescence to marital status and the premature death that suspended it (Jeammet, 2003: 164). This passage is also related to Aphrodite's circle and the best throw of the *pentelitha* game was called *Aphrodite kale* (Robinson, 1952: 197). Notably, the gesture of figure no. 15 who is about to collect the knucklebones she failed

to catch might recall not only the loss in the game but also the premature loss of a life (Chidioglou, 2012: 495–496).

The representation of a winged female, with the iconographic characteristics of Nike, playing knucklebones is not very common in the coroplastic art. Two gold earrings from Kalymnos, dating between the fourth and third centuries BCE represent Nikes playing knucklebones, with a suspended doll on the one wing and a veiled dancer on the other (Jeammet, 2010: 66, fig. 24). Jeammet sees clearly the protective character of these female representations, especially associated with young girls. The closest parallel found, a figurative vase representing a winged Nike in the knucklebone player position comes from the Cave of the Nymphs in Penteli and is dated to the fourth century BCE (Steinhauer, 2001: 129, no. 188).

The semi-nude female figure no. 10, seated on a rocky outcrop with the left hand leaning on top and the right one resting on her lap, resembles representations of deities, Nymphs and maenads (Thompson, 1962: 251–252; Jeammet, 2010: 66). Muses are also depicted on rocky seats but they are usually fully dressed (Merker, 2000: 117). Female figures and Aphrodite appear in vase painting sitting on rocks from the fifth century BCE onwards and the motif becomes more popular in sculpture and coroplastic art during the Hellenistic period (Scheurleer, 1991: 73; Uhlenbrock, 1990: 113; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 236). The position of the body of no. 10 shows a remarkable resemblance to a fully dressed seated figurine from Alexandria, dated to the half of the third century BCE (Kassab-Tezgör, 2007: 106, no. 112, pls. 41c and d). The semi-nude figure from the tomb could have been identified as an Aphrodite if the traces of the wings' attachment on her shoulders had not existed. Another winged goddess is therefore represented and her identity is not clear, since winged semi-nude female figures are not frequently attested in this seated position.

Two terracotta figurines from the necropolis of Myrina, representing seated Psyches could provide some parallels to the tomb figurine. One of the two Psyches, dated to the first century BCE is dressed with a chiton that has slipped off her right shoulder, exposing one breast, and she bears butterfly wings. (Mollard-Besques, 1963: 48 no. MYR 640, pl. 57f). The other Psyche is seated on a rock in a posture more similar to the Tomb 916 figurine. Her wings are also lost but the two holes on her shoulders indicate their existence (Mollard-Besques, 1963: 47, no. MYR 175, pl. 57a). She is dated to end of the second century BCE, coinciding chronologically with the tomb 916 figurines. Psyche represented as a young girl bearing the wings of a butterfly (Sismondo-Ridgway, 2000: 124), becomes a popular image of Hellenistic sculpture in the second century BCE and is

often displayed in a group with Eros. She is a symbol of the human soul purified by passion and misfortune, prepared for pure and eternal happiness, thus her occurrence in funerary contexts is not surprising. Unfortunately, the wings of the tomb figurine are lost, depriving us of the evidence of this characteristic iconographic element that could have been indicative of the figurine's identity.

The female musician playing a kithara is also a figure that could be associated with the cult of the dead. Aphrodite terracotta figurines playing the lyre suggest the promise of the continuity of the music, delighting after death, while Muses were often depicted playing musical instruments (Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2002: 226). Terracotta musicians, as cult participants associated with divine images, and isolated terracotta representations of musical instruments, are well attested within the material of Amathous deposit MX 318 (Queyrel, 1988: 95–101, pls. 29–30).

The musicians from the acropolis deposit are all female and their instruments are divided into two categories: tambourine and *trigonon* (a triangular harp). The great majority of the separate musical instruments represent kitharas of a similar type to the Italiote kithara from Tomb 916 (Queyrel, 1988: 98, pl. 31). Standing terracotta figurines holding a kithara with their right hand are also attested within the material of the Amathous tunnel (Flourentzos, 2004: 11–12, nos. 129, 138, 148). According to the excavator, two of the terracottas represent Apollo *kitharodos* and only one, of bigger dimensions, is a representation of female musician (Flourentzos, 2004: 23). The way that the standing musicians from Amathous hold the stringed instruments, resting on one shoulder, is characteristic of the Egyptian Hellenistic and Roman terracotta representations (Kassab-Tezgör, 2007: 213), while a similar example to the Tomb 916 musician, of the late 2nd/early 1st century BCE, comes from Troy (Thompson, 1963: 107, pl. XXVI, no. 102).

4 Manufacturing Technique

The terracotta figurines from Tomb 916 are fairly homogeneous in the appearance of their fabric, indicating a common local source of material. Microscopic examination has shown that the same fairly coarse clay, very light brown to beige, with numerous inclusions of various colours, appears to have been used for the production of the figurines from the subterranean tunnel and also from the Amathous acropolis (Aupert, 1981: 389, Queyrel, 1988: 15). This similarity indicates that coroplasts were most likely using the same clay source located in the vicinity of

Amathous. The existence of a local coroplastic centre is also supported by the consistency of the terracotta types.

All of the terracotta figurines found in Tomb 916 are hollow, mould-made and open underneath. The moulded back of the terracottas is slightly modelled and always bears a vent hole. The shape of the vents is variable, probably according to the size of the figure: circular for the small-sized group and rectangular for the medium- and large-sized groups. The size of the vents of the tomb figurines is generally larger compared to those from other Amathousian contexts (Queyrel, 1988: 17; Flourentzos, 2004: 11, no. 130). Their fragility is related to firing, since they were generally fired in lower temperatures than vases (Courtois & Velde, 1980: 821).

All the heads found in Tomb 916 are solid and separately cast in two halves, the front and back. A projection of clay below the neck served for the insertion of the head into a hole between the terracottas' shoulders. The disproportionately big right arm of figure no. 51 (Fig. 7.2), the wings of the Nike and her right arm were also cast separately and added later on the figure. The same technique was used for the body parts presented in movement of the terracottas from Amathous deposit MX 318 (Queyrel, 1988: 16). Other small details such as the ivy leaves, the wreath and the *stephane* were added free-hand and the coroplasts' finger-marks are still clearly visible on some of them. Finger-marks are also evident on the interior surface of the terracottas. The accentuated features and the small details of the tomb figurines were obtained by using a sharp tool after casting and before firing. The use of such tools for the final retouching of the terracottas is not very common in Amathous (Hermay, 2000: 110, pl. 53, no. 745).

After firing, the figurines' surface was covered with a white coating on which the multi-colour decoration was added. The colours are very poorly preserved and this is probably due to the bad adhesion of the coating on the figurines' surface and also to the soil conditions in which they were deposited. The colour decoration of the terracottas from the other Amathousian contexts is also poorly preserved (Courtois & Velde, 1981: 1032). Unlike the figurines from the Amathous acropolis, of which the back was left unpainted, the tomb figurines seem to be entirely painted with vivid colours of a rich variety (Queyrel, 1988: 17). A different colour corresponds to each part of the figurine: the crowns are pink or light blue, the hair is brown or brownish red, the flesh is light pink, the lips are red, the shoes are red or greenish blue, the bases are red and white with the upper part black and the pillars greenish blue, while the colours of the clothing are varied. The most frequently used colour for the clothing is the light blue,

sometimes alternating with the pink, as on the himation of figurine no. 51 (Fig. 7.3).

5 Amathous and the Hellenistic *koine*

All the terracotta figurines found in Tomb 916 in relaxed, standing and crouching poses, with elaborately fashioned hairstyles and draperies and careful meticulous details are directly linked to the Hellenistic cultural *koine*. Various elements of Greek influence in Hellenistic culture were widespread throughout the Mediterranean, and were transplanted to Cyprus under the rule of the Ptolemies. This influence is reflected in the artistic representation of the terracotta figurines (Papantoniou, 2012: 246). Amathous, as a port city and coastal centre where the new trends and styles arrived, must have been particularly receptive to these influences (Connelly, 1990: 96–97; Papantoniou, 2011: 42). Thus, it is not surprising to see the combination of artistic elements deriving from different geographical areas. The majority of these new elements, expressed both in style and iconography, are related to the Alexandrian and Asia Minor coroplastic production, still retaining close connection to the Greek cult tradition (Connelly, 1990: 96; Papantoniou, 2012: 257).

6 Function as Grave Goods

Hellenistic terracotta figurines are not part of the common burial gifts in the Amathousian funerary record and more meticulous investigation of the graves containing these examples is required. An early Hellenistic terracotta group representing the seated goddess Demeter next to her daughter Persephone was found in Tomb 352 in the Amathous necropolis (Karageorghis, 1982: 700, fig. 48). A standing draped figurine dated to the third century, a fragmented female standing figure of the second and first centuries, and a standing youth dated to the first century BCE were all found in Tomb 105 at Amathous during the British excavations and are considered to be locally produced (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 259, no. 2859, 263, no. 2875, 277, no. 2929). During the same excavations another standing youth holding a bunch of grapes was found “in shaft outside door” of Tomb 37 (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 278, no. 2931), as was a sleeping Eros in Tomb 208 (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 283, no. 2950), both dated to the first century BCE, as well as a theatrical mask in Tomb 175 dated between the second and the first century BCE (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 287, no. 2966). Two fragmentary standing female terracottas

and two female veiled heads with body fragments were found in association with a coin of Ptolemy VIII in Tomb 427 while two identical standing female terracottas holding a bunch of grapes dated to the end of the Classical/Early Hellenistic period were found during rescue excavations in Tomb 423 in the eastern necropolis of Amathous (Nicolaou, 1985: 262, 264, 280, pl. XLVI, no. 24, pl. XLVIII, no. 94, LIII, nos. 4–12). Among the material from the last 138 excavated tombs at the same necropolis, the evidence for the existence of Hellenistic terracotta figurines is also very scarce (personal communication with the excavators, Y. Violaris and K. Papanikolaou, April 2013). Only a few sherds have been identified as belonging to Hellenistic terracottas of which the types are unidentified. One should bear in mind though, that this is not a representative proportion for their frequency in the Amathous tombs, since the greatest part of the tombs was found looted.

Since terracotta figurines are not utilitarian objects, unlike the locally produced pots and drinking vessels, their artistic and symbolic value is particularly accentuated when appearing in certain contexts. The question of their role and function during the burial practices and their correlation to the contemporary beliefs for life and death remains unanswered. The type of the standing draped female figure is frequently attested in sacred contexts and is usually associated with divine worship, as representations of the deity itself or of the dedicators. Their function as grave goods tends to be similarly interpreted with the symbolic associations prevailing over the secular, related to deities that assumed the role of the protector of the deceased within an afterlife belief system (Papantoniou, 2012: 235).

In this perspective the figurines could have been images of formalised divine representations or gifts to the underworld gods or even symbolic representations of the female mourners, dedicated to the chthonic deities in order to ensure grace for their dead (Bell, 1981: 64; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 21; Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2002: 218–219). It has also been suggested that they represent the deceased themselves, as prayers to the underworld goddess or even as reminders of the social identity of deceased young women. They have also been interpreted as representations of the deceased child as a grown woman reaching and expressing in this way her unfulfilled social identity: to become wife and mother (Higgins, 1986: 86; Graepler, 2003: 280; 2010: 219; Musumeci, 2012: 273–274; Verhagen, 2012: 49).

The presence of terracottas as grave goods from all around the Hellenistic world tends to be closely linked to children and female burials, with certain types of

terracottas considered to be representative of the marital status of the deceased (Graepler, 1994: 297–298; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 21; Pisani, 2012: 379). Graepler's study of the necropoleis of Taranto provides valuable evidence for the distribution of the terracottas in burial contexts and their connection with specific ages and social groups (Graepler, 1994: 283–299; 1997: 195–244).

The occurrence of Aphrodite-type terracottas within the funerary record gives strong support for the chthonic character of the deity (Drougou & Touratsoglou, 1980: 182; Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2002: 219–222). However, this is not to be considered a novelty of the Hellenistic period, since from the 8th century and more commonly during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE terracotta plaque figurines of Astarte, with emphasised sexual attributes are frequently attested among the grave goods of Amathous (Karageorghis, 2007: 98–100; Papantoniou, 2011: 37). The discovery of both types of figurines ("Astarte plaque" and Tanagra style terracotta) in a single tomb in the Limassol region, used from the Cypro-Archaic to the Roman period is of particular significance and might be indicative of the same symbolism that the figures were imbued with during the different periods (Karageorghis, 1982: 703–704, figs. 58–59). The newly Hellenised image of Aphrodite replaced the older iconographic representations of the same goddess in Greece as well (Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2002: 223–224). Thus, the terracotta figures seem to provide continuity in the means of the communication between the mortals and the divine.

Apart from the terracottas thematically focused on the world of Aphrodite, some elements related to Dionysos imagery are also attested within the repertoire of Tomb 916. If the bearded head is indeed part of a Dionysos herm, it gives strong support for this reference. Further elements such as the ivy leaves on the wreath and the presence of a theatrical mask are also linked to the Dionysiac imagery and cult. The ivy plant was directly associated with the cult of Dionysos and his followers are often depicted wearing ivy crowns (Graepler, 1994: 289; Petit, 2006: 71). The ivy leaves on the wreath of the theatrical mask are well matched with Dionysos imagery, as patron of the theatre, while their presence on the head of the draped female terracotta conjoins the circles of Dionysos and Aphrodite (Drougou & Touratsoglou, 1980: 172; Uhlenbrock, 1990: 114). Moreover, female terracottas seated on rocks, like no. 10 of Tomb 916, are associated with the Dionysiac world since the rocks are considered as the symbol of the wild, natural world of the god Dionysos (Jeammet, 2010: 66).

The use of the iconographic elements related to the Dionysos cult is to be associated with the god's two-fold

nature: as god of life and death who dies to be reborn (Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2002: 224, 228; Jeammet, 2010: 66). The occurrence of theatrical masks in burial contexts is connected with their symbolic significance as sacred offerings to the complex personality of Dionysos who, as god of jollity attended also the passage from life to death ensuring afterlife salvation and happiness (Bernabò-Brea, 1981: 21; Ammerman, 1990: 40; Isler-Kerény, 2001: 234; Meyza, 2011: 383; Musumeci, 2012: 272). Apart from their apotropaic character, it has also been suggested that their deposition in the graves was related to the interest on behalf of the deceased in the initiation into particular mysteries of the cult of Dionysos (Ammerman, 1990: 44; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 21; Burn, 2004: 128). Although unconfirmed, both suggestions could be compatible with the real function of the theatrical terracottas in funerary contexts since the repertoire of the grave goods is supposed to be closely related to the beliefs and activities of the dead.

A completely different interpretation concerning the presence of theatrical masks in tombs is given by Pisani (2012: 382), who studied the masks found in a boy's tomb at Thebes, in conjunction with figurines of seated young boys with diptychs and *styloi*. She considers them as an explicit revocation to the theatre, as part of the Greek education (*paideia*), and the occurrence of these two types of terracottas in a single tomb accentuates the significance of the Greek theatrical culture during the rites of the passage from adolescence to adulthood.

Terracotta masks found in different contexts, most commonly sacred, related to the Dionysos cult, could have assumed a different function. Once related to the sanctuaries, places for gathering and celebration, they were associated with the festivity (Green & Handley, 1995: 72–76). Terracotta theatrical representations were also found in the sanctuaries dedicated to other gods, like the one of Demeter and Persephone at Morgantina, where they invoke religious associations as dedications to the goddesses by actors or theatre fans, but also as ritual elements in the cult (Bell, 1981: 97). Two terracotta figurines, related to Dionysiac imagery, were also found in the subterranean tunnel in Amathous, one depicting an actor wearing a mask and the other a Silenos (Flourentzos, 2004: 11–12, pl. XXIX no. 136, pl. XXXII no. 152). These two figurines are of particular interest, for they could attest to the worship of Dionysos in this subterranean cult place or somewhere else in the Amathous territory (Hermay, 2012: 27). When found in domestic contexts, they might assume a ritual role connected with the private worship of the God or could even have been regarded as collectors' items, in the case of importations from other areas (Bald-Romano, 1995: 47–48).

The fact that two theatrical masks have been found in the Amathous tombs and that other images from these tombs are directly or indirectly related to the Dionysos sphere (ivy leaves and bunch of grapes in the hands of terracotta figurines), is of great importance. Even the presumed representation of the god Pan within the terracotta assemblages of Tomb 427 (Nicolaou, 1985: 282) evokes the presence of god Dionysos. Considering the small number of terracottas found in the Amathousian funerary record and despite the variation presented in their iconography, the religious symbolism they were imbued with seems to be quite unequivocally alluding to the Dionysiac world. This is not surprising considering the popularity of the god's cult during the reign of the Ptolemies, who wanted to be related with Dionysos (Fraser, 1972: 201–207). The correlation of Dionysos and Aphrodite circles represented in the terracotta figurines could be related to female burials of high social status, probably initiated into the gods' mysteries (Huguenot, 2008: 147).

The presence of two winged goddesses in this funerary assemblage cannot be coincidental either. Despite the rich thematic repertoire of the Amathous coroplastic production regarding divine representations, with the presence of at least six divinities (Aphrodite, Eros, Dioskouroi, Attis, Artemis and Isis), no representation of winged goddesses were known until now. Is there any possibility that the winged goddesses through their association with Aphrodite became part of the local religious identity or were they just a symbolic reference related to the afterlife? The occurrence of winged terracotta figurines, mainly of flying Erotes, is well documented in funerary contexts of the Hellenistic world, while winged figures representing Psychai and Erotes appear earlier on the white-ground funeral *lekylthoi* of the Classical period (Huguenot, 2008: 151–152). The presence of these winged figures in funerary contexts is to be explained with their semantic role, as allusions to the soul's immortality that flies to the celestial sphere after death (Huguenot, 2008: 153). On the other hand, if other goddesses, such as Isis and Artemis, were either adopted and associated with the local goddess or adjusted to the local religion matching the respective interests, culture and needs, is there any possibility that these winged goddesses were treated the same?

Another figurine whose type is undefined is also to be discussed. The seated terracotta figurine no. 50, bears characteristics which are not common among the coroplastic material from Amathous or elsewhere (Fig. 7.6). This figurine has a prominent role not only because of its large size and three-dimensional character, but also because of its iconographic components. Despite not having

been yet identified, some suggestions regarding this character can be made: a figurine that bears male characteristics regarding stature and position, but whose face bears young female features, could be associated with Adonis, a beautiful youth, beloved by Aphrodite and Persephone, who died prematurely and spent half of the year above ground and half in the underworld (Servais-Soyez, 1981: 222–229). Until recently, information about Adonis worship at Amathous was known only by literary evidence, but the discovery of an inscribed bronze *oinochoe* in a cistern close to the North Wall, provided strong archaeological evidence for his worship in the city (Aupert, 2008: 355; Hermay, 2009: 83).

According to Aupert (2008), Adonis, as a secondary god, was rarely represented and his presence must have been suggested via symbols such as the veiled terracotta figurines, which allude to the mourners of the god, or the *hydrophorai*, who bear a jug on their head and also allude to the rituals related to his death during the *Adonia* (Aupert, 2008: 365, 368; Karageorghis, 2005: 108). His cult was practised in Aphrodite's sanctuaries and he may have been worshiped both on the acropolis and the secondary sanctuaries of Amathous, along with the other *synnaoi* gods Isis and Serapis, as well as at the subterranean cult tunnel (Aupert, 2008: 367, 383; Karageorghis, 2005: 108). Under Ptolemaic rule, Aphrodite was associated with Isis, and Adonis with Osiris, the two last having similar roles as lovers of the goddesses, both related to the underworld (Ribichini, 1981: 26, 34; Karageorghis, 2005: 228).

Some interesting information preserved by Photius (*Photii Bibliotheca*, 190), regarding the nature of Adonis – which consequently must have influenced his representations – wants him to be androgynous, with both male and female characteristics acting as a man for Aphrodite and as a woman for Apollo (Ribichini, 1981: 24; Karageorghis, 2005: 24, 111). This information coincides with the representation of the Tomb 916 terracotta, no. 50, bearing both male and female characteristics. Karageorghis (2005: 105) has already noted the evocation of Adonis represented on the terracotta figurines of youths found at Amathous but no other clear representation of the god was known until now. That the terracotta figurine found in Tomb 916 depicts a male youth related to Adonis and his cult remains an assumption and requires further evidence and study in order to be verified. However, the presence of Adonis in a funerary context that also includes Aphrodite representations would be compatible with the beliefs of death and rebirth and would shed more light on the practices of Adonis cult in the city of Amathous.

7 Conclusions: a Contextual Analysis

The two hydriae found in the same funerary context with the terracottas are of great importance, since not only do they provide additional evidence for dating, they may also function as a decisive indicator of the identity of the deceased. Hydriae are barely attested among the Amathousian funerary contexts and their scarcity accentuates their role as exceptional offerings or as offerings during exceptional funerary practices and/or even as offerings during funerary practices for members of an exceptional social status. Three hydriae of Glazed Ware were found in an isolated tomb, Tomb 26, on the edge of the western necropolis of Amathous, excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (Gjerstad *et al.*, 1935: 36–139). The tomb in which they were found was laid beneath a tumulus of unusually large dimensions, where evidence of the unusual burial custom of cremation was found in an alabaster vase. This led the excavators to conclude that the tomb may have contained the remains of some Ptolemaic official of Amathous (Gjerstad *et al.*, 1935: 138, 140). The three hydriae and a stone scarab were the only related finds; they are all dated to the first half of the third century BCE, based on their resemblance to similar artefacts from Alexandria.

The hydriae found in Tomb 916 seem to be of local production, and they bear traces of red painted decoration, directly applied on their surface, resembling in this way the Alexandrian painted hydriae that were used as funerary urns. Their shape is similar to that of two painted hydriae found at the necropolis of Hadra in Alexandria (Adriani, 1940: 113, pl. XLVII), where the production and use of these vases is limited to a short period between the second half of the third and the beginnings of the second century BCE (Enklaar, 1985: 111–115, 1986: 63, 1990). However, this type of vessel, if locally produced in Amathous during the second half of the second century BCE, gives strong evidence of the links that Amathous kept with the city of Alexandria, by importing artefacts earlier in the Hellenistic period and imitating them later in the same period. The fact that the hydriae were found in a pair is also of particular significance since amphorae and other types of vessels are also encountered in pairs in Hellenistic tombs at Paphos (Michaelides, 1990: 189, 191; Raptou & Marangou, 2008: 377). This practice might have been imbued with a particular symbolism, related to the pair of ceramic pots found in contemporary funerary contexts.

A small spout vessel, probably feeder vase is also among the grave goods and could be chronologically coherent with the terracotta assemblage. It has a carinated piriform body and a small central opening. Its lower part tapers to

a high foot and a narrow tubular tapering spout projects horizontally from the belly while the vertical strap-like loop handle is missing. No remains of decoration are preserved but for a groove at the rim. Probable feeder vases of similar shape occur in funerary contexts all around Greece from the fourth century BCE and they are usually covered with black glaze or decorated in the black-figured technique (for parallels see Robinson, 1950: 264–268, pl. 178–179; Michaelides & Szyner, 1985: 250–251, fig. 1, no. 4 with further bibliography). The fusiform unguentaria are also a common burial gift among the Hellenistic funerary material from Amathous. They are found in many tombs and they are covered in a Red Slip or they are left unpainted.

The coin of Ptolemy VIII must have also been deposited in Tomb 916 with a burial which is at least chronologically coherent with the terracotta assemblage. Coins are scarcely evident within the grave gifts from the Amathous necropoleis, but tomb looting should be considered as an important factor of their scarcity. Coins are found in graves all around the Hellenistic world and this practice is linked with the beliefs of the passage to the afterlife which was furthered by such grave goods, known as “Charon’s fee” (Kurtz & Boardman, 1971: 204, 211, 216). Coins are found in both adult and child burials and they are not considered indicators of the deceased’s sex or age. Nevertheless, the occurrence of the same coins, of Ptolemy VIII, in two different tombs (Tomb 427 and 916) from the same necropolis which also contained terracotta figurines among the other contemporary grave gifts, should not be considered as a mere coincidence.

The terracotta figurine group found in Tomb 916 seems to have been produced in the same period, sometime during the second half of the second century BCE. The clay resemblance may indicate that these terracottas were locally produced, probably at the same workshop. These important parameters may suggest that they were intentionally acquired to accompany the deceased buried in this tomb. Unfortunately, it was impossible to trace the sequence of the disturbed burials and to associate the skeletal remains with any of the artefacts, so the identity of the deceased that was or were accompanied by the terracotta figurine group remains unknown. Nevertheless, when seen in a group with their associated finds, one may assume that their presence in the tomb could imply certain social distinctions.

The coroplastic assemblage from Tomb 916 is typologically the richest found until now within the Amathous funerary context and needs to be studied in relation to other terracotta figurines from Amathous and similar material within the overall coroplastic production of the Mediterranean. Apart from adding valuable information

to the Amathousian coroplastic corpus, it also provides a chance to examine the various aspects of the influence that arrived on the island under the rule of the Ptolemies, in order to trace the ideological elements that accompanied the new artistic trends. In Ptolemaic Alexandria the religious and cultural syncretism was developing fast and it could be equally spread in the surrounding territories, such as nearby Cyprus. (Bakowska-Czerner, 2011: 97).

The relation between the types of the terracottas, their associated finds, and tomb types could clarify their possible function in life and afterlife. The fine quality of these figurines, the rich imagination in the composition of their types, and their masterly execution, may indicate that Amathous supported a local coroplastic industry that was well integrated into the Hellenistic *koine*. The discovery of this group of terracotta figurines offers a unique opportunity to study different iconographic themes in their entirety within their archaeological context, allowing us to raise the veil on the mystery of their existence and occurrence in the tombs while offering at the same time a rare glimpse into the funerary rituals of the Hellenistic period at Amathous.

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Contemplating Issues of Historical Continuity: The Case of the Figurines from Erimi-Bamboula, Cyprus

Polina Christofi

Abstract

The paper focuses on the most recent finds from the investigative excavations of the Department of Antiquities at the site of Erimi-Bamboula, in Cyprus. The new data collected from the site raise new questions relating to the beliefs and the society of the Hellenistic period, for the reason that Hellenistic (and earlier) terracottas were found together with Chalcolithic material on the floor of a Chalcolithic building. Besides a typological presentation of the figurines, the discussion deals with the context of the discovered assemblage. An attempt is made to relate the presence of the figurines in an extra-urban environment with the socio-political upheaval characterising the Early Hellenistic period and its possible implications attested by the archaeological material.¹

1 Introduction

When reading the title of this article, the reader wonders about the inclusion of a prehistoric site in a conference dedicated to Hellenistic and Roman terracottas. This is only natural, since when an archaeologist mentions the site of Erimi-Bamboula, it is always associated with the Middle Chalcolithic period (3400–2800/2700 BCE), a period outside the scope of the conference. But it seems that archaeology has many more mysteries to unveil and the Erimi-Bamboula case is one of them.

Before focusing more on the various issues brought to light by the recent excavations of the Department of

Antiquities, a short introduction is required regarding the site, in order to place it in its historical, chronological and spatial contexts. Erimi is a village on the south coast of Cyprus, about 4 km east of the acropolis of Kourion and about 24 km west of Amathous (Fig. 8.1). The Bamboula site is situated on the eastern edge of the modern village, on a fertile plateau, only some hundred metres east of the Kourris River, used until very recently for the cultivation of cereals, and planted with olive and lemon trees. As its name implies, Bamboula, a manmade tell, is situated on the highest point of the plateau overlooking the entire plain and even the Episkopi coast.

Excavations carried out in the 1930s by Dikaïos brought to light only a small fraction of the estimated 15-hectare Chalcolithic settlement. Erimi, as the first discovered site of the period, gave its name to the entire period, the “Erimi culture” (Dikaïos, 1936). After receiving a series of applications for building purposes, the Department of Antiquities undertook a large-scale survey in the area, which has been led by the author for the past years. The results of this new preliminary investigation, since it is not a systematic excavation, is in accordance to a great extent with Dikaïos’ findings.

It is a single-phase settlement of the Middle Chalcolithic period, consisting of circular structures made of cobblestones and limestone, ranging in diameter from 2 to 5 m, in very close proximity to one another. The floor of these structures is commonly covered with a thin white lime layer, while on it, stone tools, pottery and hearths are commonly found. In between the houses other semi-permanent structures can be found, and these are associated with the outdoor activities of the settlement. The Chalcolithic strata are found at a depth ranging from 0.20 to 1 m from the present surface. Almost all strata are undisturbed, have very rich material, and, as with Dikaïos’ excavation, there exists no indication of later use of the site beyond exploitation of the arable land – or so it was believed.

In the autumn of 2011 work was undertaken at a plot of land which hosts the nucleus of the Erimi settlement. An area in the centre of the plot was chosen for the sinking of a trial trench with dimensions of 3.5 × 3.5 m. As expected,

¹ I would like to thank the organisers of the conference ‘Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas’ for inviting me to present my work, and the Department of Antiquities, especially the former Director of Antiquities M. Hadjicosti, for entrusting me with the excavation of such an important site. I would also like to thank my colleagues, D. Aristotelous, K. Papanikolaou and Y. Violaris, for allowing me to use information deriving from unpublished material, but especially E. Stefani and A. Satraki for all their help. Without the help of the staff at the Limassol District Museum, this work would not have been possible: D. Theodorou assisted me throughout the duration of the excavation, E. Thrasivoulou provided assistance during work conducted at the Museum and N. Nicolaou conserved all the artefacts. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to G. Antoniou and H. Paraskeva for their assistance and support.

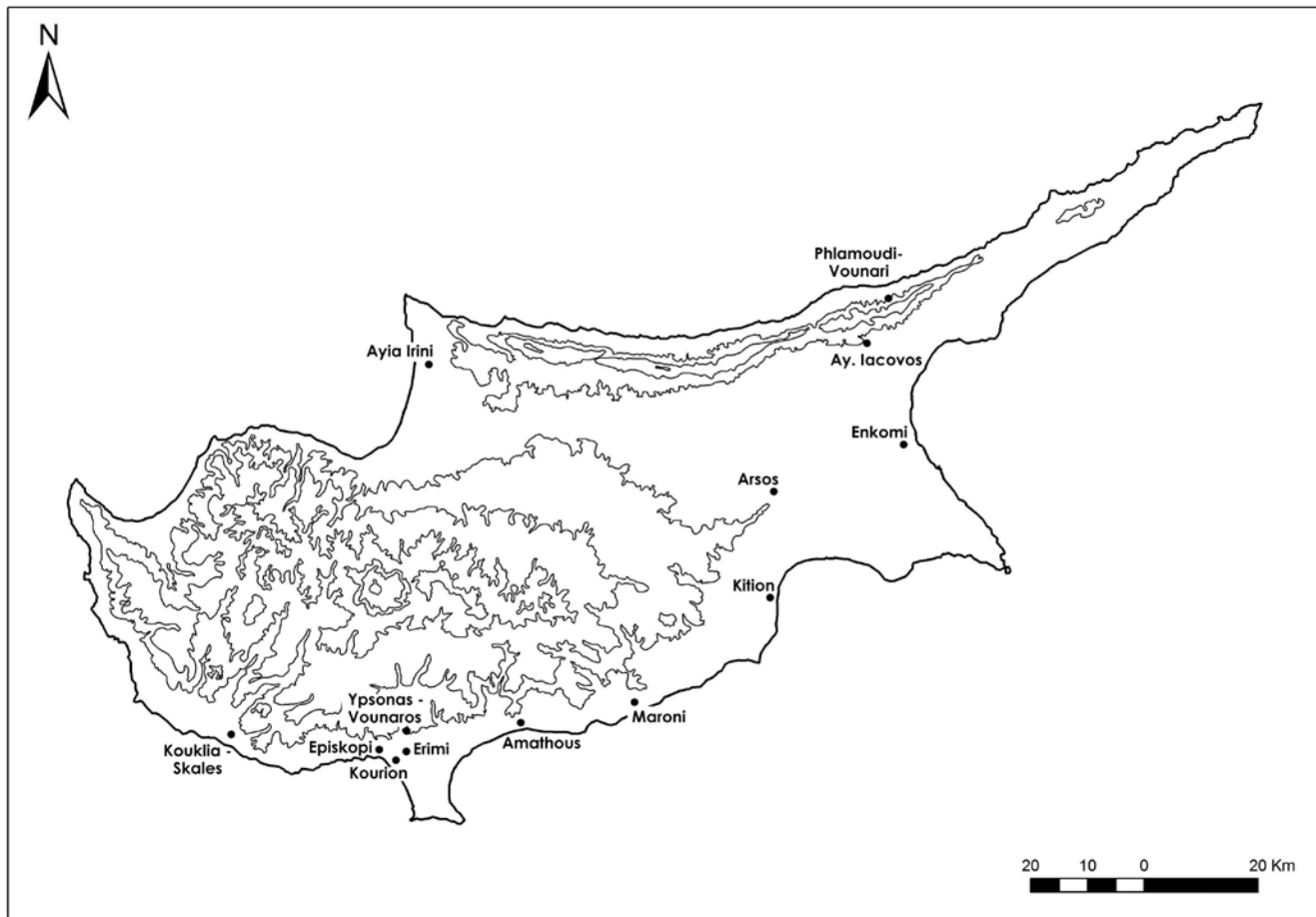


FIGURE 8.1 Map of Cyprus with all the sites mentioned in the text

only about 0.30 m down, a lime floor was unearthed with part of its circular hearth (Fig. 8.2). Lying on the floor were sherds of a Chalcolithic pithoid jar with its typical red-on-white decoration and a few stone tools. It was decided to expand the trench in order to find the walls, since it was evident that we were excavating the interior of a house. This was the first and, so far, the only instance where evidence has been recorded indicating a later use of the site. On the Chalcolithic floor amongst a cluster of cobblestones, probably ruins of a construction, Hellenistic sherds of cooking vessels, a stamped amphora handle and fragments belonging to more than fifteen terracotta figurines were unearthed. Within the same accumulation, a stone Chalcolithic phallic idol, Chalcolithic tools and pottery sherds were found. To the south of the pithoid jar mentioned above, deposited on the floor, the fragments of the most complete terracotta figurine (E8) were all found together (Fig. 8.3).

2 The Figurines

Only female representations, of a number of different types, are present within this figurine group. Their

chronology spans from the fifth century BCE to the Late Hellenistic period. Three of the figurines seem to belong to the fifth/early fourth century BCE. They are all fragmentary: one torso (Fig. 8.4) and two bases (Figs. 8.5–8.6) preserving the lower part of the figurine.

2.1 *E12*

The torso E12 (H. 8.3; W. 7.3; Th. 3.7²) (Fig. 8.4) belongs to a type typical of the Cypro-Classical period. It is from a solid figurine of a female. She stands with her right arm bent and held across her chest, holding an unidentifiable offering (a fruit or a flower?). With her left arm she holds an elongated object, possibly thyrsus, or a sceptre or even a torch. She wears a necklace of oblong beads. The figurine belongs to the group identified in Amathous as a *kore* of the Cypriot type (Hermay, 2000). Parallels, with the same pendant with oblong beads, were found at Arsos (Fourrier, 2007: 35, pl. v). Further distinctions within the group, though, cannot be made since Fourrier bases many of her conclusions on the facial features of the figurines.

² The dimensions, all given in cm, are always those of the preserved fragment.



FIGURE 8.2 General view of trench AE31, with the hearth in the north-east corner and the sherds of the pithoid jar in the centre of the trench

2.2 *E10 and E21*

The two bases (E10: H. 6.4; W. 6.1; Th. 4.7 and E21: H. 6.2; W. 4.3; Th. 4.3) (Figs. 8.5–8.6) are solid. They belong to standing draped figurines, wearing a long chiton with its folds engraved in detail and a himation falling on top. They have been coated with a white slip, possibly an undercoat for additional colouring. Traces of a dark pigment are evident on E21.

The remainder of the diagnostic fragments are all of Hellenistic date. They belong to a minimum of twelve female figurines. Their fragmentary state might be due to taphonomic and excavation conditions. Most have worn breaks with calcified material implying that they were deposited after being broken. Some of the fragments were still in situ and it was possible during conservation to reassemble them. Is what we excavated a *bothros* of the Hellenistic period or might the cobblestones be part of a Hellenistic construction and we excavated its destruction layer? For the purpose of this discussion I will focus on the most diagnostic fragments, but one must be aware that more fragments were found, which should be the focus of

another study, on the technology of the coroplastic art at Erimi (if found to be local).

2.3 *E8*

The female figurine E8 (Fig. 8.7) is the most complete (H. 20.5; W. 8.3; Th. 6.8). She wears a himation drawn over her head and a “wet” chiton that clings to the body. The chiton is pinned on the right shoulder and its folds are only visible when falling horizontally over the right thigh. The himation is tugged around the waist, falling diagonally to the right, while her left leg is slightly bent at the knee. With her left hand she holds the ends of her himation while she embraces an elongated object, possibly a thyrsus or a torch. Her right arm falls to her side with a slight movement, and holds a circular object, a tympanon or a *phiale*.

The iconography of the figurine as well as the technique with the “wet” chiton with the horizontal drapes on the lower part, and the himation drawn over the head greatly recalls the “Groupe des deux Aphrodites” (no. 957) or no. 1015, both found at the Louvre, which are associated with Kition (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998).



FIGURE 8.3 Close-up of the cobblestones with the terracotta figurine E8 as it was discovered



FIGURE 8.4 Figurine E12



FIGURE 8.5 Figurine E10



FIGURE 8.6 Figurine E21

2.4 *E13*

Another female figurine, E13 (H. 20.5; W. 8.3; Th. 6.8) is possibly of the same type as figurine E8. Only the head and a small fragment of the left hand have survived. The figure embraces the torch or thyrsus in the same way as the more complete figurine. The characteristics of her face are more detailed and elaborate. Moreover, there are traces of dark paint.

2.5 *E18*

The fragment of the base of a female figurine, E18 (Fig. 8.8) (H. 7.6; W. 6.9; Th. 3) recalls as before no. 957 at the Louvre (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998). The figure bears her weight on her right leg and crosses her left leg in front of it. Her posture is betrayed by the movement of the folds of her himation.

2.6 *E20*

In the case of figurine E20 (H. 5.1; W. 5.6; Th. 1.4) only a fragment of the rear side has survived (Fig. 8.9). One can trace its exact parallels in type 2 of the hunter Artemis from Amathous (Queyrel, 1988: 78, pl. 214). The pin of her chiton is evident, with the large round button on her right shoulder, while on her left shoulder there is the tip

of her quiver. Her hair is combed in a knot and she wears a wreath.

2.7 *E16–17 and E19*

Three fragments, E16 & 17 (H. 5.1; W. 5.4; Th. 2.3) and E19 (H. 5.6; W. 4.3; Th. 3.1), seem to belong to the same female figurine (Fig. 8.10). She wears a sleeveless chiton, forming a V in front of her chest, and locks from her hair fall on her shoulders. Her right arm is bent and held across her chest diagonally, holding what I believe to be a torch. Representations of torches of the same type with vertical and horizontal lines representing the construction elements of the torch can be seen on a marble urn and a terracotta figure, both from Rome (Fol, 1988: pls. 902–903). Fragment E19 belongs to the lower body. The figure bears her weight on her left leg, while her right leg moves slightly behind, silhouetted by the folds of her chiton.

A small fragment found with the same concentration of material reinforces the primary assumption that the figurines hold a torch. The tip of the torch has survived with the spiral incisions representing the flames. The way the incisions of the torch represent flames, as well as the posture of figurine E16–17 greatly recalls Artemis no. 127

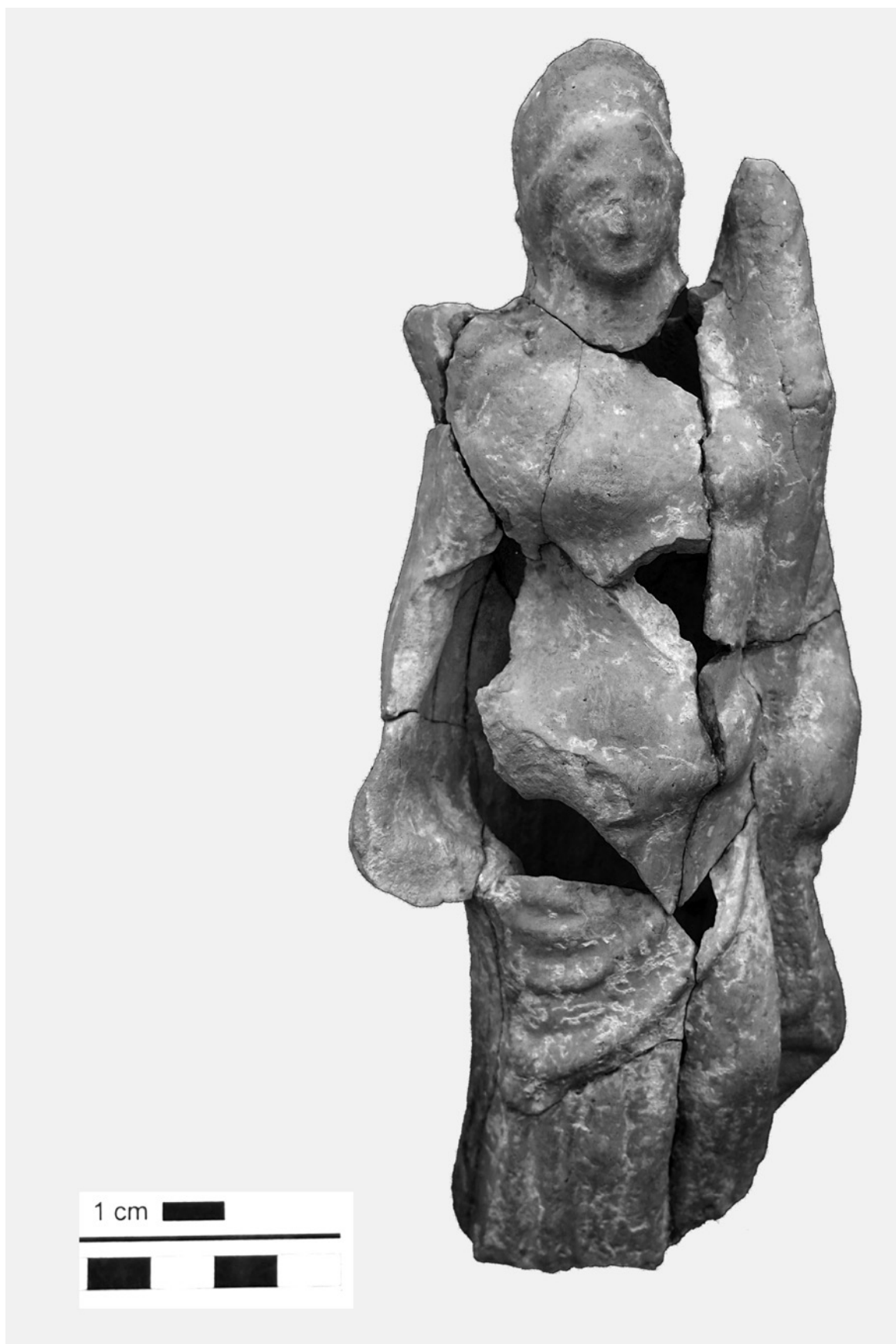


FIGURE 8.7 Figurine E8

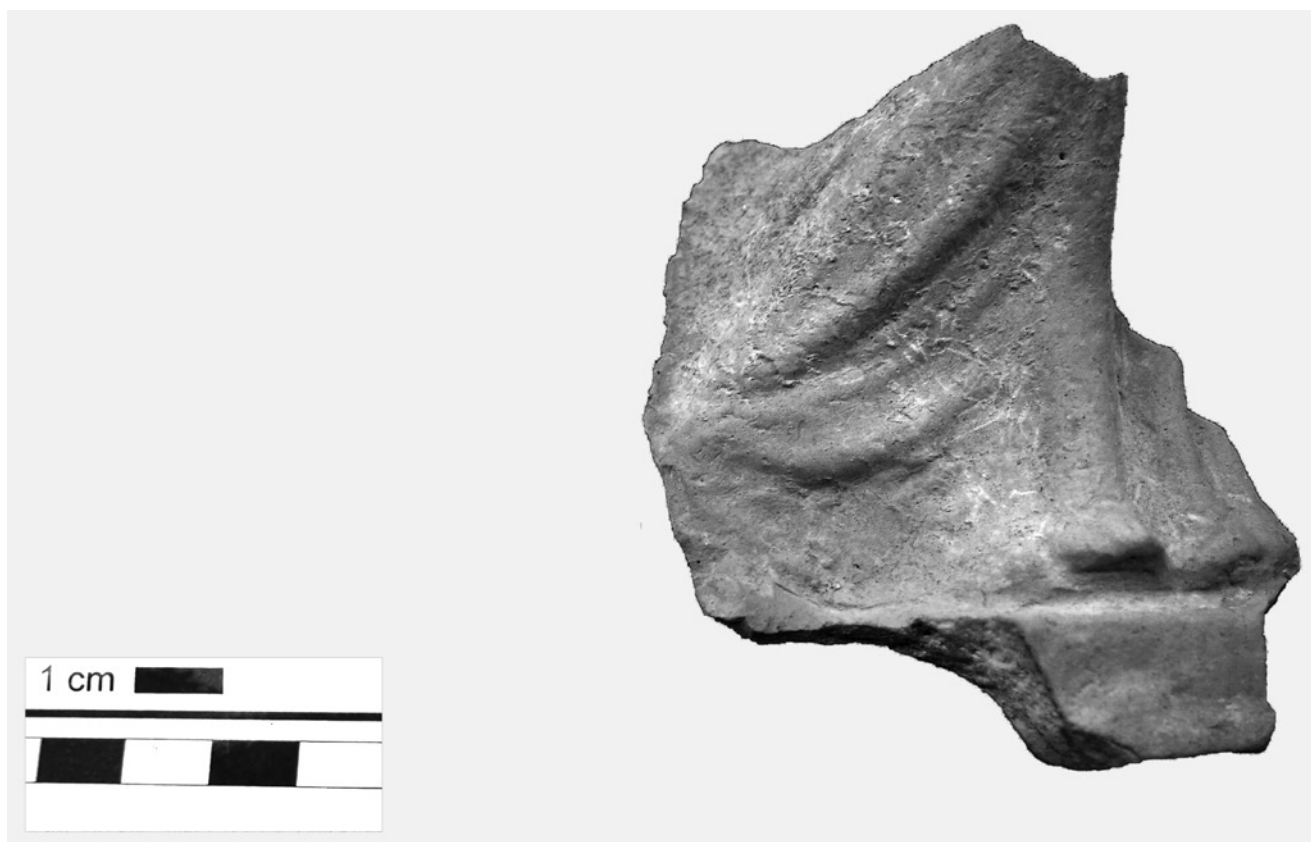


FIGURE 8.8 Figurine E18



FIGURE 8.9 Figurine E20



FIGURE 8.10 Figurines E16–17, E19

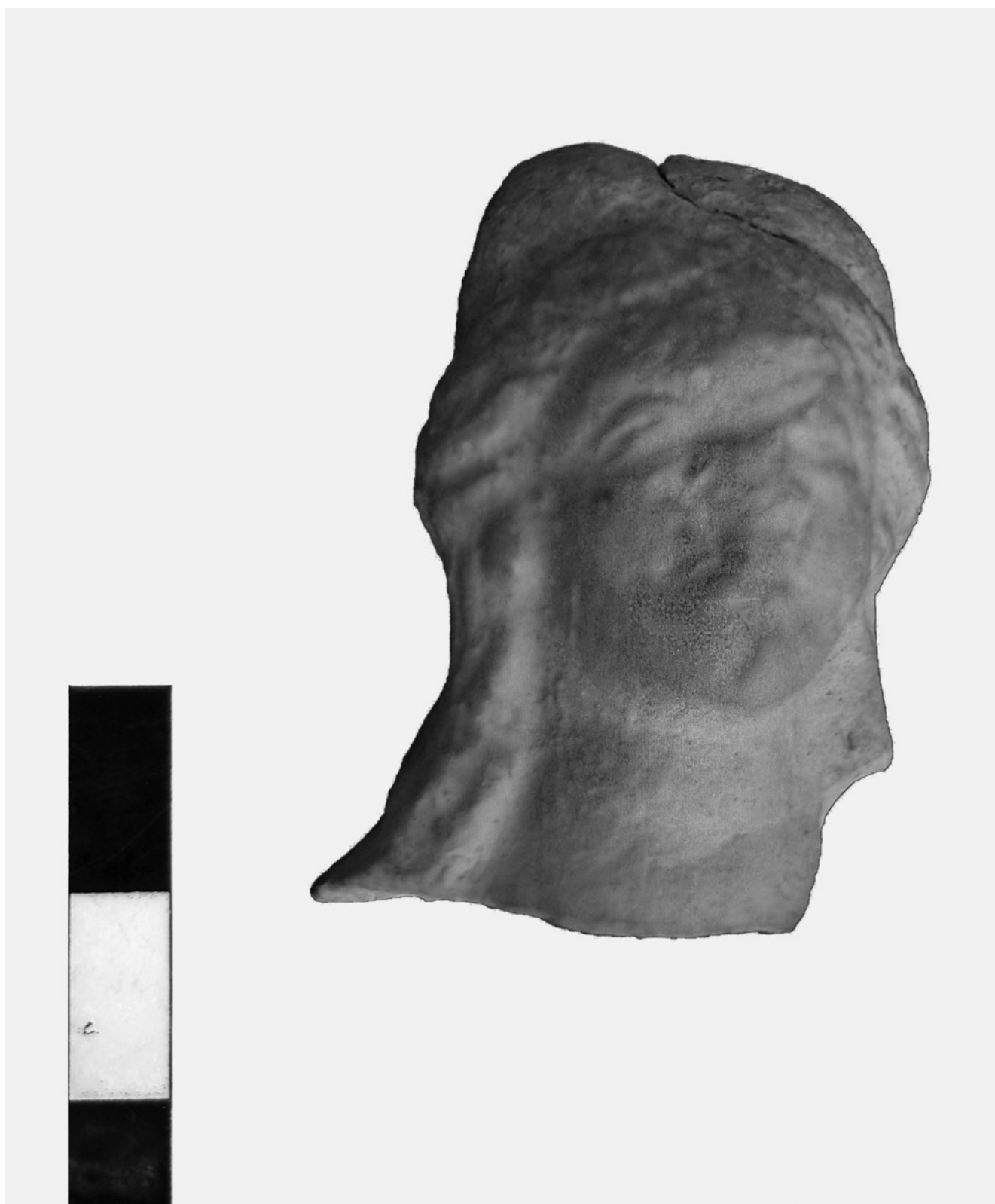


FIGURE 8.11 Figurine E14



FIGURE 8.12 Figurine E4



FIGURE 8.13 Figurine E5-6

published by Flourentzos from the Tunnel of Amathous (Flourentzos, 2004: 11).

2.8 *E14 and E4*

Parallels for two fragments of heads from Erimi-Bamboula can be found in the Amathous corpus. The first, E14 (H. 4; W. 3.6; Th. 1.9) (Fig. 8.11), inclines to the left, the hair tied in a high knot, almost like a *lampadion*, the rest falling freely on the shoulders, is similar to an example from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite (Hermay, 2000: 52). The second, E4, (H. 3; W. 1.9; Th. 2.2) (Fig. 8.12) recalls remarkably Queyrel's no. 531, belonging to the group of draped women, type 8 (Queyrel, 1988). She inclines her head to the right, glancing downward. The poor preservation of the facial characteristics could be the result of a worn mould.

2.9 *E5–6*

The last figurine under study, E5–6 (H. 9.6; W. 6.1; Th. 3.1) (Fig. 8.13) is of a very popular Late Hellenistic type, that of the crouching or kneeling Aphrodite (for extensive bibliography see Bell, 1981: 160). Of the lower part, only the folded right leg survives. Her left hand is held across the chest to support her right breast. Her right hand is broken off. On her right shoulder, above the height of her missing arm, a tip is protruding possibly attesting to the existence of another physical feature.

3 Context

Before moving on to a theoretical analysis of the context in which these terracottas were found, the reader should be reminded that the excavation at the site is investigative and that it was not possible to explore that specific point any further. Once systematic research is undertaken, then, possibly, more fragments of additional or even of the same figurines may be found, as well as a Hellenistic architectural phase. It is important to stress that, with the exception of a handful of surface finds, which may have originated from the same point and due to erosion or cultivation were brought to the surface and moved a couple of metres, no other phase was excavated on the site other than the Chalcolithic. As I have mentioned before, there are no indications, found thus far, of a Hellenistic phase in the vicinity of the Chalcolithic settlement which may suggest that the Hellenistic material was transported in the plateau, nor any evidence of a flood strong enough to transfer the material from elsewhere to the site.

If not in their entirety, most of the figurines found at Bamboula seem to belong to a female goddess. Based

on the figurines from Tarentum, Harden (1927) offers a convincing argument on the use of torches as “ritual” attributes of chthonic goddesses. The torch is the most common attribute represented in the Bamboula group. At least three figurines hold or rest on a torch.

In trying to identify the female deity present at Erimi one must seek parallel examples from the terracotta corpus of identified goddesses. In the same pose as the E8 figurine there are a number of examples associated with Artemis resting on a long torch (Fol, 1988: nos. 495–503), but they all hold the torch in their right hand and wear a short chiton. The only example of an Artemis in the same stance holding the torch in her left hand, published in the same article by Fol (1988, no. 477), is a terracotta lamp from Delos. The standing Persephone draped in a long chiton holding a torch in her left hand and possibly a *phiale* in her right is a type found at Morgantina (Bell, 1981: 132). Yet, the arms of this type are extended while holding the attributes. In a similar, more static, pose to the Erimi example are the figurines of Persephone with piglet and torch from Morgantina (Bell, 1981: 134–137). The torch as an attribute for the standing Persephone is also attested at Lindos, but there she is also holding the long torch in her right hand (Mendel, 1908: 73). In Egypt, Demeter is presented draped in a long chiton, standing, holding a torch in her right hand (Dunand, 1990: 50–52). The closest example I have come across is the marble statue of Hekate from the Athens National Museum. The goddess is depicted standing, a long torch resting in her left hand, holding a *phiale* in her right (Sarian, 1992: 995).

Nudity is an element closely connected to another female deity, Aphrodite. The figurines of kneeling or crouching women taking their bath are always identified as representations of Aphrodite since bathing is connected with her. However, in the paper presented at this conference by Haxhi, it has been proposed that the specific type represents simple mortals taking their bath, their *nymphikon loutron*, and is in fact connected with the worship of Artemis. The wide dispersal of the type in the whole of the Hellenistic world, from Egypt to the Greek islands and Italy, leaves no possibility of differentiation in the ideological meaning for the contemporary society of a widely recognisable type.

The evidence thus far, with a number of other trenches excavated in the vicinity, seems to distance the possibility of the existence of an architectural Hellenistic phase of a rural sanctuary in the area, since nowhere else at the site has such phase been attested. It has been proposed that Aphrodite's “... universal and multifaceted power and the ubiquity and predominance of her cult until Roman times” has led to a situation that “[o]ther goddesses, such

as Athena, Artemis, Demeter, and Hera and Egyptian Isis, introduced under Ptolemaic rule in the Hellenistic period, had very few sanctuaries and were often worshipped together with Aphrodite" (Ulbrich, 2012: 101). Although this might be the case for other examples, epigraphic and archaeological evidence point to the existence, at nearby Kourion, of distinct sanctuaries and knowledge of the worship of the possible goddesses identified in the Bamboula group (Mitford, 1971; Bennett, 1980). Therefore, the use of the Erimi site as a rural sanctuary used for the worship of several deities, rather than the use of a unique sanctuary for the worship of a distinct deity, as attested at Kourion, seems rather distant.

I am fully aware of the fact that the limited number of terracottas in conjunction with the restricted visibility might and should prevent one from making assumptions, especially on subjects related to religion and ritual, but I believe that all the evidence, even the surface finds, point to a ritual use of the figurines. As demonstrated above, the iconography of all the figurines is either associated with goddesses like Aphrodite, Artemis, Persephone or Hekate, or, if not, the attributes that the terracottas are holding (the thyrsus or the torch) are closely linked to ceremonial functions. Beyond this point, in close proximity to trench AE 31 (the find-spot of the accumulation of terracottas), only a couple of hundred metres to its south, a gold coin was found, identified by Destrooper-Georgiades (personal communication, 2012) as a *triobolon* of Ptolemy I (305–285/4 BCE), which I hardly think was misplaced or randomly lost during the early third century. What is more, all the other surface finds from the site are fragments of figurines. I believe that all these data, when combined together, stress the possibility of ritual activity taking place at the site during the late fourth–early third centuries BCE.

The wide variation of types of different goddesses found in this very small group of figurines may possibly point to the intention of the people who deposited them there. It could be proposed that their main intention, moving from offering to and worshipping a specific goddess, was to emphasise the religious or ritual significance of the place where they had deposited the figurines.

Even though it is not possible with the percentage of the excavated area in Bamboula to determine the wider, surrounding context of this assemblage at the site, in the overall context of the island the results might be quite intriguing. No previous Hellenistic phase has been attested at Erimi, whether residential, funerary or religious. The close proximity of Erimi to Kourion should imply that, at least until the mid-fifth century, when the sources confirm the existence of Kourion as a city-kingdom (Iacovou, 2002: 78), Erimi was part of its periphery, most probably covering

the agricultural needs of the city-kingdom. The area of control of Kourion should have exceeded significantly the limits of Erimi and I do not believe that Bamboula was on the borderland between the two kingdoms of Kition and Amathous. The geographical proximity of Erimi and Kourion would suggest that the political 'destiny' of both sites was common in the sense that if Kourion was absorbed by another city-kingdom by the fourth century its neighbouring territory would have had the same fate. On the basis of these points a rural sanctuary founded in the fifth century at Erimi would not have served the same function as other contemporary "frontier" sanctuaries, which were mainly used as landmarks and "buffer zones" between the different city-kingdoms. A sanctuary at Erimi would have served, far beyond the control or the political interest of the *basileus*, the religious needs of its rural, local society.

Even the earliest figurines from Bamboula date to a period when discontinuities are attested at sanctuaries all over the island. Quoting Papantoniou (2013: 41): "According to Ulbrich's catalogue, 41 sites do not supply any evidence beyond the Cypro-Classical period; in many cases, this discontinuity can be dated to even before the end of the Cypro-Classical period. The abandonment of many of these sites should be attributed primarily to the political acts of the city-kingdom *basileis* and secondarily to consequent Hellenistic social developments and memory trends".

It is in this period of instability that ritual activity is identified for the first time at Erimi. Could this be due to a disruption in the religious centres that had traditionally served the needs of the Erimi society? The Hellenistic period is also viewed as one of "possible population displacements or extensive migration, (of) increased urbanisation or the arrival of new – mainly military – settlers" (Papantoniou, 2013: 43). It is in this context that the Bamboula assemblage was deposited there during a single episode. The evidence of the micro-archaeological perspective of this case-study may provide glimpses of the way local societies and people reacted to the introduction of the new socio-political system of the Ptolemaic administration.

Was the correlation of the figurines with the Chalcolithic strata and architectural phases intentional? In a more recent paper co-authored with Stefani and Bombardieri (Christofi, Stefani & Bombardieri, 2015: 130–169), new evidence of excavated tombs from the Early/Middle Bronze Age cemetery site of Ypsonas-Vounaros were presented that show evidence of re-use and possible intended association of the Hellenistic society with the prehistoric tombs. A tomb of Bronze Age architecture

contained a Hellenistic unguentarium and an additional entrance to the original prehistoric *stomion* had been carved, while only metres away another Hellenistic tomb was excavated. What was suggested was the possibility of a further connection, associated with the reuse of tombs in the Hellenistic/Roman world. Was this a conscious effort to establish a connection with the tombs of their ancestors through the use of a common burial, and henceforth through this connection reserving the notion of a familiar/recognisable ground? The importance of ancestral lineage in Roman society is attested in both written sources of the period as well as in the material record (Hekster, 2009). This proposal should be viewed in conjunction with the present evidence from tombs excavated at the nearby cemeteries of Erimi-Kafkalla and Erimi-Pitharka. Inside some tombs of the Middle Bronze Age at Kafkalla, artefacts of the Hellenistic-Roman period were also found, while at Pitharka there is a tomb of Hellenistic-Roman date, with prehistoric architectural features. Radiocarbon dating of a prehistoric tomb at Erimi-Kafkalla has produced a date ranging from the third to the sixth centuries CE (Scirè Calabrisotto *et al.*, 2012).

The reuse of long-term cemeteries in the Hellenistic period was a phenomenon documented in a number of sites all over Cyprus. These cemeteries continued to be used undisturbed from the Cypro-Classical to the Hellenistic period. A rather infrequent practice was the reuse in the Hellenistic period of tombs of an earlier date that had ceased to be used for a considerable period of time. Besides the Vounaros tombs, this practice is recorded at the Cypro-Geometric tombs of Kouklia-Skales (Papantoniou, 2012: 127).

Ancestral worship, though rare, is not a term unfamiliar to Cypriot archaeology. Instances of this have also been more or less firmly implied for the Late Bronze Age sanctuary of Ayios Iacovos-Dhima (Webb, 1999: 34), the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Acropolis of Amathous, a small sanctuary at Maroni, and for the Archaic offerings found in the Late Bronze Age Enkomi tombs (Hermay, 2006: 160–162). One should note, though, that in all cases mentioned above the sanctuaries and the possible theories of ancestral worship are directly linked to the presence of tombs/burials. It could be claimed that all these examples date to periods earlier than the late fourth century BCE.

If the above examples suggest the possibility of the existence of ancestral worship of some kind, a question is raised for the accumulation of the figurines at Erimi. Could the evidence imply that, in a rural society, on an island characterised by its cultural introversion, these practices had survived in the social memory and had been expressed when needed? The case of Erimi-Bamboula is

unique in the sense that the Hellenistic figurines were deposited on a settlement site of Chalcolithic date. It can be viewed, though, in the same spectrum and ideology of a Hellenistic Cypriot society that was seeking to express the same ideas. These revivals can be understood as serving the same needs and aspirations of the societies that reused the sanctuary/burial sites mentioned above but also the sanctuary sites at Ayia Irini and at Phlamoudi-Vounari. Borrowing a line from Papantoniou (2012: 132), who comments on the revival of cult at the sanctuary sites: “The phenomenon could directly be associated with memory in the employment of resistance, especially on behalf of the Cypriot non-elites. By dedicating objects in monuments known to be from a past age, dedicants tie themselves into the powers of ancestors, usually claiming continuity and belonging”. The act of depositing the figurines on a prehistoric floor chronologically very distant to them needs not necessarily to be directly connected to the concept of ancestral cult as has been determined and retraced from the end of the Late Bronze Age to the Cypro-Classical period, as possibly the case at Amathous or Enkomi, but rather, as the effort of the Erimi society to act upon its need of tying itself and asserting its continuation and belonging into the power the ideas of ancestry possessed.

In conjunction with the evidence presented above, and retaining my reservations about future findings that might disprove the current assumptions, perhaps what is observed at Erimi is a society trying to establish a connection with the ancestors. By depositing figurines on Chalcolithic architectural remains, possibly obvious to them, since they can be found very close to the surface, they could claim belonging to the land. As there was some population instability during the Hellenistic period, the society of Erimi, by worshipping and connecting with its ancestors, linked its presence with the land and with the natural resources of the area.

4 Conclusion

This proposal may be strengthened by the three fragments of earlier date described above. Their presence in the same accumulation cannot be incidental. Through the stratigraphy of the site it is clear that all the figurines were deposited in a single episode. The earlier figurines were kept for at least a century, possibly as heirlooms, keepsakes treasured as vivid reminders of the Hellenistic people's past and origins. These same heirlooms, at this specific instance, were used as a means to connect the inhabitants of Erimi with their ancestors on their ancestors' land and place of origin. The same concept, of deposited

heirlooms carrying notions of cultic continuity, has long been proposed by Uhlenbrock (1992) about the seventh century BCE Rhodian terracottas recovered from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene.

In times of turbulence this rural society might have sought direct connections with its ancestors in two of its most important ideological aspects and belief systems, those of burial and death and of religion and worship. To the Hellenistic society the dating of the prehistoric sites was of no relevance, since these sites were viewed in the scope of worship as the works of their fathers and rightful owners of the land and its resources.

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Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas in the Cypriot Collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Contexts, Iconography, Meaning and Mediterranean Connections

Anja Ulbrich

Abstract

This article discusses Late Classical to Hellenistic and possibly Roman terracottas in the Ashmolean's collection of Cypriot antiquities, most of them hitherto unpublished. Presented in rough chronological order by provenance, context and iconographic types, their production techniques, iconographies and styles will be analysed. This reveals that on the one hand, deeply rooted Cypriot traditions, which had incorporated influences from neighbouring regions of the Mediterranean for centuries, were maintained, while, on the other hand, new Late Classical and Hellenistic influences from the wider Greek world were adopted and adapted selectively. By the end of the Hellenistic period, terracotta figurine production in Cyprus was firmly integrated into the eastern Mediterranean Hellenistic *koine*.

1 Introduction

With some 6800 registered objects, the Ashmolean's collection of Cypriot antiquities is one of the biggest and most important Cypriot collections outside Cyprus. Not only does it cover all periods of Cypriot antiquity from Neolithic to late Roman times, but more than 70% of its material is provenanced, coming from documented British and British-Cypriot excavations and surveys on the island from 1888 to the early 1970s (Fig. 9.1). While the majority of the Ashmolean's Cypriot material dates to the Middle and Late Bronze Age, the first millennium BCE is well represented by pottery, terracotta figurines, limestone sculptures and jewellery (cf. Brown & Catling, 1986; Ulbrich, 2012: 26–27). Most pieces are dated to the Archaic, fewer to the Classical and even fewer to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, which did not receive much interest or systematic scholarly attention until quite recently (cf. various articles in Guimier-Sorbets & Michaelides, 2009; Papantoniou, 2012; Scherrer, Koiner & Ulbrich, 2012a).

The transition from the age of the city-kingdoms, which were abolished by the end of the Cypro-Classical period (c. 310 BCE), to the Hellenistic period brought substantial changes to the political organisation, structure, society,

culture and economy of Cyprus, some sudden, others evolving more gradually throughout the third century BCE. The changes in Cypriot material culture, particularly on a local and non-political or -official level, came about even more slowly until as late as the second century BCE, eventually integrating the Ptolemaic province of Cyprus more fully into the eastern Mediterranean Hellenistic cultural *koine*. Throughout the Hellenistic period, particularly in the third century BCE, pottery wares, shapes and styles as well as sculptural and coroplastic techniques, styles and iconographies continued to draw primarily on earlier local, regional and pan-Cypriot as well as adopted and adapted Classical Greek traditions, only gradually adopting and adapting new Hellenistic influences. This makes stratigraphic and purely stylistic dating of Cypriot Hellenistic material even more difficult than that of purely Greek Hellenistic objects. Therefore, until further systematic research has been conducted, only rather wide date ranges or several alternative dates can be suggested for many Cypriot antiquities of the Hellenistic and/or Roman period, including the terracottas presented in this paper.

2 Funerary Terracotta Figures from Marion/Arsinoe

Five hitherto unpublished terracotta heads, three mustached and bearded males with leafy wreaths on their heads and two veiled females, their faces fully visible (Figs. 9.2–9.3), were excavated by the Cyprus Exploration Fund in the necropoleis of the ancient city-kingdom of Marion and its Hellenistic successor foundation Arsinoe in 1889 (reports by Munro & Tubbs, 1890: 1–82; Munro, 1891: 298–333; summaries in Nys, 2009: 188, fig. 1, map 189; Smith, 2012: 32–33). They belong to funerary terracottas depicting either seated or reclining men, the latter most probably banqueters, or invariably seated women (cf. Flourentzos, 1994; Raptou, 1997; all with plates; Childs, Smith & Padgett, 2012: 50–57 nos. 2–5), iconographically and stylistically derived from Classical Athenian funerary sculpture (cf. Karageorghis, 2001: 125 with references).

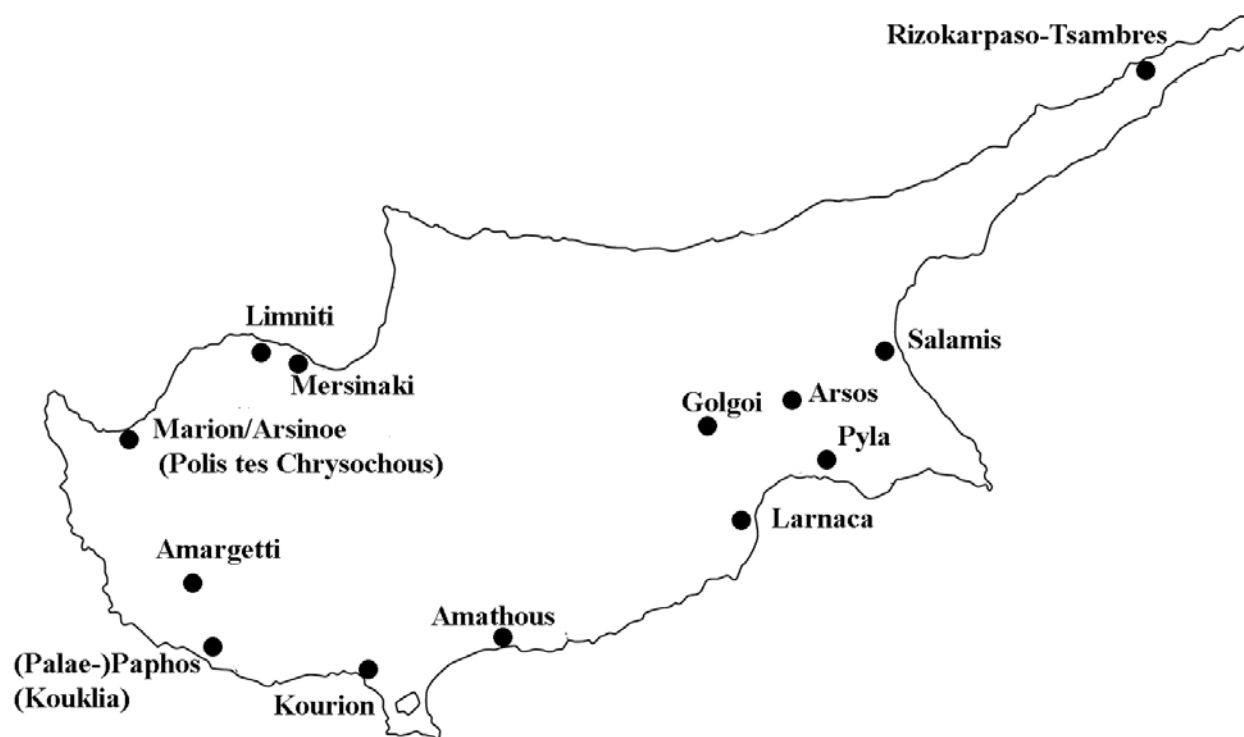


FIGURE 9.1 Map of Cyprus with all sites mentioned in the text



FIGURE 9.2 Heads of funerary terracottas from ancient Marion/Arsinoe. From left to right: a. AN1890.696 (H: 15.2 cm), b. AN1890.698 (H: 13.8 cm), c. AN1890.696x (H: 13.5)

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FIGURE 9.3 Heads of funerary terracottas from ancient Marion/Arsinoe: a. AN1890.697, b. AN1890.699

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In Cyprus, such terracottas are almost exclusively attested for the necropoleis of Marion/Arsinoe, where most of them were found in the dromos areas of only some of the tombs (cf. Munro & Tubbs, 1890: 52–53; Nys, 2009: 194), clearly referring to funerary rites (banquets) and mourning. Hollow, made from a combination of handmade and mould-made parts and at least finished by hand, they are generally dated to the Classical period, the great majority of them to the fourth century BCE (cf. Flourentzos, 1994: 164–165; Raptou, 1997: 225–226; Childs, Smith & Padgett, 2012: 50–57, nos. 2–5). It is to the latest of this series (e.g. Karageorghis, 2002: 189, no. 250) that the Ashmolean heads refer most closely by their style and depiction of facial features, of the hair and the beard. These characteristics can be observed in contemporary funerary limestone stelae showing banquet scenes as well as seated figures, dated by Pogiati (2003: 129–137, nos. 31–38, pls. XIX–XXIII) to

the late fourth or even the third century BCE. Equally, Karageorghis (2001, 123–124, no. 124) dated the entire funerary terracotta production of Marion, including a seated female with the same type of head-veil as the Ashmolean head in Fig. 9.3b, to the fourth and third centuries BCE, as he did with comparable, larger terracotta heads from Limniti, east of Marion (Karageorghis, Vassilika & Wilson, 1999: 76–78, nos. 138 and 140–142).

Stylistically, the female head depicted in Fig. 9.2b is also close to Hellenistic limestone sculptures (cf. Karageorghis, 2002: 207, no. 267). All this places the Ashmolean heads either in the late fourth or in the third century BCE. However, the Ashmolean's index cards for its Cypriot collection, compiled during the late 1960s by Ann Brown in collaboration with Hector Catling, suggest an even later Hellenistic date for all five heads, i.e. the second or even first century BCE. This date is probably based on the well

documented and generally accepted phenomenon that during this period stone sculptures and terracottas in the wider Greek world reverted to Classical styles; often it is only the genre (e.g. representation of old people) or a new structural concept (e.g. a purely frontal aspect), which distinguish them from Classical sculptures of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

It is equally difficult to establish a more accurate date for the Ashmolean heads in either the Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period through their find contexts and associated find assemblages, because none of the tombs at Marion/Arsinoe, excavated by the Cyprus Exploration Fund, and their associated finds now dispersed in different museums, have been properly documented with find lists, or systematically and completely published. The five Ashmolean heads come from four tombs situated in neighbouring areas south of the present town of Polis tes Chrysochous: the so-called Oven Site and Site A. Both are generally dated by the excavators as quite late, according to the attested tomb plans and structures as well as finds, “not earlier than the end of the fourth century BC” (Munro & Tubbs, 1890: 7–8 for the Oven Site, 11–12 for Site A – “quite late”; map in Nys, 2009: 188, fig. 1). The male heads in Fig. 9.2 come from chamber tombs E and L at the Oven Site (cf. Munro & Tubbs, 1890: 53, list). Tomb L produced a red-figured *askos* (Munro & Tubbs, 1890: 49, list) as well a plain black-glaze vessel (Munro & Tubbs, 1890: 51, list), both mentioned without accompanying photograph or drawing and therefore theoretically dated to the fifth or the fourth century BCE. The tomb was re-used in the Hellenistic or Roman period, as was tomb E (Munro & Tubbs, 1890: 34). The female head with the veil covering the hair and wrapped closely around her throat (Fig. 9.2b) was found next to tomb 5 of Site A, the site being dated equally “quite late”, definitely post-Archaic, with partial reuse in Hellenistic and Roman times (Munro & Tubbs, 1890: 11–12). Both the male and the female head depicted in Fig. 9.3 are recorded as coming from Site A, tomb 12, which also produced a Greek alphabetic funerary inscription, giving a *terminus post quem*, as this script is not commonly attested in Cyprus before the late fourth century BCE. It also yielded pottery with a red-coloured wash recorded as predominant in late tombs (Munro & Tubbs, 1890: 33–34), most probably referring to locally made Hellenistic pottery. All those patchily recorded finds would equally support a fourth or third century BCE date for the Ashmolean heads.

For a more traditional fourth century BCE date speaks the fact that none of the hitherto published funerary terracottas from Marion/Arsinoe, uncovered during the Cyprus Exploration Fund and later excavations, e.g.

the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (cf. Smith, 2012: 27–44), have ever been explicitly dated to the Hellenistic, or the Roman period. However, no systematic stylistic study of all funerary terracottas of the site has been undertaken or published to verify or correct this assessment. As already mentioned above, some comparable terracotta as well as limestone heads from funerary or votive figures from Limniti, Paphos or Golgoi have tentatively been dated to the third century BCE by Karageorghis and Pogiati respectively; Karageorghis even dates the last phase of funerary terracotta production in Marion/Arsinoe that late (see above). Furthermore, the motif of a female head with the veil wrapped around her head and neck, covering the throat and almost all of the hair (Fig. 9.2b), finds parallels not only in Late Classical but also in Hellenistic terracottas of the Tanagra type in the Greek world, including Cyprus during the third and second centuries BCE (for the Greek world see e.g. Jeammet in Jeammet [ed.], 2010: 96–99, nos. 68–69, 71–72; Mathieu in Jeammet [ed.] 2010, 200–201, no. 166; for Cyprus see Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 606, no. 1012, 616–618, nos. 1038–1041; Burn & Higgins, 2001: pl. 8, no. 2046, 49, pl. 11, no. 2059, pl. 13, no. 2068, pl. 17, no. 2095, pl. 142, no. 2871).

Moreover, there is strong evidence that pottery and terracottas in early Ptolemaic Cyprus continue to draw on earlier, particularly Late Classical traditions of shapes, wares and fabrics or types, something that was already observed in the analysis of the finds from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (cf. Vessberg & Westholm, 1956, *passim* particularly 53–55 for pottery and 104–105 for terracottas).

In addition, we cannot exclude the possibility that after the destruction of Marion by Ptolemy I in 312 BCE and the subsequent transfer of the population to Paphos (Nea Paphos), both recorded by Diodorus Siculus (XIX, 79.4), some families stayed on in Marion or came back from Paphos to carry on with this local funerary custom in their old family tombs throughout the third century BCE. Furthermore, this very custom might even have been revived after the re-foundation of the city as Arsinoe by Ptolemy II Philadelphos sometime after 270 BCE by old Marion families moving back from Paphos.

Considering all those stylistic, iconographic, contextual and historical arguments and possibilities, a more accurate date for each of the Ashmolean heads between the late fourth and the third centuries BCE, or possibly even later, cannot be determined at present. This could only be provided by a full publication of all tombs at Marion/Arsinoe and a systematic stylistic and iconographic analysis of Cypriot terracottas between the third and second centuries BCE.

3 Terracotta Figurines from Tombs in Rizokarpaso-Tsambres

Luckily, there is a much more satisfactory publication of some 28 tombs excavated in the Late Classical to Early Hellenistic necropolis at Rizokarpaso-Tsambres on the northern shore of the Karpas peninsula in north-east Cyprus, from which some 19 terracottas (Figs. 9.4–9.6) and 149 other finds, mostly pottery, are registered in the Ashmolean, (Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949 – including map on 26, fig. 1). Those tombs as well as 19 other tombs in the necropolis of Aphendrika, some 7 or 8 km east of Tsambres, were excavated in 1938 under the direction of Du Plat Taylor for the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus with funding from the Ashmolean, which was apparently keen to extend the date range of its Cypriot collection into the Hellenistic period. All tombs at both sites were quickly published with their associated find-assemblages to a relatively good standard for the time – most of the objects documented by drawings and fewer by photographs in the *Report of the Department of Antiquities* in 1949, delayed by World War II. The Ashmolean was allocated at least four tomb groups from Tsambres (tombs 10, 12, 15, 16), most of which were already accessioned in 1938. Others went to London, even to Sidney, or stayed in Nicosia (Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: 24).

All of the Ashmolean's 19 terracottas come from Tsambres and from the only two of all 28 rock-cut tombs excavated there which actually yielded terracotta figurines at all: tombs 10 and 16. Both tombs featured a long, stepped dromos leading to a single roughly rectangular chamber with three benches along its three sides (Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: 36, fig. 7, pl. XIX:4, 45, fig. 11, pl. XX:2–3), a tomb-type often used in Cyprus since the Archaic period if not earlier. While tomb 10 produced evidence for only one burial and two terracotta figurines, tomb 16 yielded bones of eight burials, including a child, and 17 terracottas depicting animals, horse-and-riders and mothers with child, i.e. *kourotrophoi* (Figs. 9.4, 9.5 a–c and 9.6). The vast majority of the pottery found in the dromos and chamber of tomb 16 can be dated to the fourth century BCE, but the same shapes and wares seem to have been produced and used far into the third century BCE (cf. Vessberg & Westholm, 1956: 53–55). Tomb 10, however, also produced exclusively Hellenistic pottery types, namely *lagynoi* and fusiform *unquentaria*, so it must have been closed later in the third century BCE than tomb 16.

The Late Classical and/or Early Hellenistic pottery found in both tombs included wide-necked small amphorae, larger trade amphorae, plain and brown-washed small bowls with inturned rims (salt-cellars) imitating

Attic prototypes, Plain White and plain jugs, jars and so-called *pithoi* as well as so-called palm-leaf pottery (Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: 36–38, fig. 7, 45–47, fig. 11, with inventory lists and outline drawings. For pottery see 80–110 including figs. 36:1.3, 40:3–6, 42:9–10, 46:1–3.5, 50:2, 52:1.3–4, 53:2.7–9.11, 59:1–5, pls. XXIV:2–4, XXVI:2.6 and XXVII:4). The palm-leaf style pottery is represented by so-called “lamp-fillers”, which could also be feeders, and *amphoriskoi*. They were decorated with palm-leaf-shaped tongues in chocolate brown or red paint running from the rim or from a horizontal band around the neck of the vessel towards the bottom, where they become thinner and pointed; some of those “leaves” were further adorned with dots of white paint on top of them (Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: fig. 36, pl. XXIV:2–4).

All versions of this palm-leaf decoration, either with or without the white dots, can be found on all animal and horse-and-rider figurines, all handmade and solid, from tomb 16 (Figs. 9.4, 9.5a and 9.5c). Among the animals one can identify rams with their thick, curved and forward-pointing horns, a goat with its diagnostic beard and short straight horns, a bull with its upturned curved horns, and a horse with a coloured mane and possibly some painted harness on its forehead (Fig. 9.4, Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: pl. XXIX:3.5). The riders (Fig. 9.5a and 9.5c, Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: pl. XXIX:1) are invariably bearded and wear a floppy cap, hood or “tiara” familiar from the so-called Persian riders in Cyprus. Those and older horse-and-rider figurines are particularly numerous, well attested and documented votive offerings in the Apollo Hylates sanctuary 3 km west of ancient Kourion (cf. evidence summarised in Ulbrich, 2008: 365–367, KOU 3) which yielded a complete series of horse-and-riders from at least the sixth century BCE onwards, if not earlier, down to at least the first century BCE, if not later (Young & Young, 1955: 57–169, pls. 19–36, 38–46, moulds; Winter, 1996: 100–117, pls. 19–28).

All bodies of the animals and the horse-and-rider figurines are solid and handmade, often rather flat, consisting of just a thick sheet of clay from which the equally flat splaying legs are pulled out so that the figurines can stand on their own. While the animal heads are all handmade, the faces of the riders are imprinted by a mould. As regards motif and technique, both the animals and the horse-and-riders stand in the long tradition of small Cypriot tomb and votive terracottas, invariably handmade, with solid bodies and limbs and very popular throughout the Archaic period (for horse-and-riders cf. Karageorghis, 1995: 61–100, pls. XXIX.4–XLIX; for bulls, goats etc. see Karageorghis, 1996: 23–39, pls. XI–XXIII:2). They are also attested for the Classical period, but in much smaller numbers, and



FIGURE 9.4 Animal figurines from Rizokarpaso-Tsambres, tomb 16. From left to right: a. AN1938.1340, horse (H. 10 cm), b. AN1938.44, goat (H: 6.4 cm), c. AN1938.46, bull (H: 10.6), d. AN1948.1341, ram (H: 11.4 cm)

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FIGURE 9.5 Horse-and-rider figurines from Rizokarpaso-Tsambres. From left to right: a. AN1938.1335, tomb 16 (H: 13.6 cm), b. AN1938.1415, tomb 10 (H: 10.5 cm), c. AN1938.1334, tomb 16 (H: 14.3 cm)

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FIGURE 9.6 *Kourotrophos* figurines from Rizokarpaso-Tsambres, tomb 16. From left to right: a. AN1938.1348 (H: 16.3 cm), b. AN1938.1347 (H: 18.9 cm), c. AN1962.41, head (H: 5.5 cm), d. AN1938.1349 (H: 12.3 cm)

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it is only from the very end of the sixth century BCE onwards that the riders have mould-made faces (cf. Young & Young, 1955: 76–78, 79–147; Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 482–398, nos. 743–792).

The horse-and-riders from Tsambres, featuring oversized riders with long plank-shaped torsos and long limbs sitting on relatively small horses, find their closest technical, typological and stylistic parallels among the Late Classical and Hellenistic figurines from Kourion. The face of an early Hellenistic rider made from mould 39 seems to be the closest to the faces of our riders from Tsambres (Young & Young, 1955: 128–129, nos. 2868–2870, pl. 45).

Such rider figurines including Persian riders are known from various sites outside Cyprus, mostly tombs and *favissae* in the Near East, all through the former Persian Empire far down into the Hellenistic period (cf. Ühlinger, 1999: 705–707; Stern, 1982: 167, fig. 285, 168–169 and 171; see also Jackson in this volume).

Tomb 16 also yielded three solid mould-made terracotta figurines of standing *kourotrophoi* and the head of a probable fourth one (Fig. 9.6, Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: pl. xxx:1–4). The women are shown with their cloak or veil pulled over their hair, and carrying a rather tall, long-limbed naked child (toddler?), sitting on their left lower arm close to their body. While one figurine is more rounded, with the back largely unworked, and therefore made to stand on its own (Fig. 9.6d), the other two and the head are basically plaques with a mould-made relief image on the front and a slightly convex unworked back. The women are shown in Greek-style clothing and jewellery known from Classical terracottas and sculptures in Cyprus. However, their large eyes with sharply rimmed lids prominent in their wide round or elongated, heavy-chinned faces can rather be compared to some terracottas of the third and second centuries BCE, including *kourotrophoi* from various sites in Cyprus (e.g. Caubet,

Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 627, nos. 1066–1069; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 266, no. 2888, pl. 144), including Amathous (cf. Queyrel, 1988: 93, nos. 260–262, pl. 28, 98, no. 271, pl. 29, 143–144, nos. 500 and 512, pls. 52–53). Similar facial shapes and rendition of the eyes and other features can also be observed in Cypriot limestone sculptures of the third century BCE, both funerary (e.g. Poyiadji-Richter, 2012: 84–85, figs. 15–16) and large scale honorary or dedicatory sculptures (e.g. Koiner, 2012: 143–144, figs. 25–26), possibly even in small votive sculptures including those of the so-called impressionistic style with minimal detail (cf. Ulbrich, 2012a: 39–53, figs. 6–17 with references; see also Koiner & Reitingen in this volume).

The *kourotrophoi* from Tsambres continue the long-standing Cypriot tradition of handmade terracottas of this type, attested as tomb figurines since the Bronze Age (e.g. Karageorghis, 1993: 5–13, pls. III:4–VII:2). However, such figurines are attested most numerous as votive or burial gifts in the Archaic period, with fewer examples in the Classical periods, when they were either partly wheel-made or wholly mould-made, mostly in the eastern part of Cyprus (cf. Karageorghis, 1998: 28–30, nos. 1–6, pls. XXVI:8–XXVII:2, 63–65, nos. 1–14, pls. XLIV:4–XLV:3; 1999: 244–257, nos. 1–36, pls. LXIV–LXVI). Most of the sanctuaries which yielded *kourotrophoi*, often alongside mould-made nude, veiled or fully clothed so-called Astarte figurines and equally flat Astarte plaques (cf. Karageorghis, 1999: pls. I–LXVI), and few figurines of pregnant females, mostly of the Near Eastern type of the so-called *dea Tyria gravis*, with or without child (254–256 nos. 26–32 with further references, pl. LXVI:3), were dedicated to Cypriot Aphrodite. It is to her aspect as goddess of human female sexuality and fertility that the iconographies of all these types of figurines, whether as votive or burial gifts, clearly refer; the Astarte figurines through their nudity, pseudo-nudity and/or gestures, and the pregnant females as well as the *kourotrophoi* through their very motif (on all these types and their distribution in sanctuaries cf. Ulbrich, 2008: 70–80, with further references, 506–509, table 4a, 512–515, tables 6–7 and pls. 12–14; 2010: 175–180, figs. 9:3–5).

The type of the standing *kourotrophos* continued as a votive as well as a grave-gift throughout the Late Classical into the Hellenistic period, as several figurines from various sites in Cyprus attest; some come possibly from Larnaca (Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 514–518, nos. 828–834), others from a votive deposit associated with the cult of Cypriot Aphrodite at Amathous (Queyrel, 1988: 93–94, nos. 260–270, pl. 28; on the possibly associated site, see Ulbrich, 2008: 274–275, AM 5), from Arsos and from Salamis, one being recorded as found in a tomb there (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 266–267, nos. 2888–2891, pls. 144–145).

The deposition of *kourotrophos* figurines in tomb 16 at Tsambres could be associated with the only child burial identified among seven other burials (Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: 45–46). Though the sex of all the deceased in this tomb was not investigated or identified by a bone specialist at the time, it can be assumed that this tomb was used as a family tomb, which would also have housed female burials, as is further suggested by jewellery and the mirror found in this tomb alongside pottery and lamps (Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: 45–48 fig. 11, 117, fig. 64, T.16/384 dipping rod; cf. pls. XXIII–XXXI). Thus, the *kourotrophoi* could have equally belonged to the burial of a young woman, who had either died before marriage or thereafter, and, if married, before, during or after childbirth.

In tomb 10, which possibly housed just one single burial, only two terracotta figurines, a figure riding a horse, as well as a dove (Fig. 9.5b, Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949, pl. XXIX:2; for the dove see pl. XXI:4) were found among pottery, a piece of gold leaf and an iron strigil (Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: 36–38, fig. 7, 117, fig. 64, T.10/30 – strigil, pl. XIX:4; see also plates). The hollow figurine of a dove, being one of Aphrodite's sacred animals, could have referred to her as goddess of love, life and fertility (cf. Ulbrich, 2010: 181 with references), as suggested for our *kourotrophoi* from tomb 16. The other is a horse-and-rider figurine (Fig. 9.5b), technically, iconographically and stylistically radically different from the horse-and-riders in the slightly earlier tomb 16 (Figs. 9.5a and 9.5c) discussed above. The rider from tomb 10 sits on a horse, apparently standing still, has a round beardless face, and wears some sort of girded tunic. This apparently led the excavator to identify the figure as a female (Dray & Du Plat Taylor, 1949: 38, list). The British Museum holds a technically, stylistically and iconographically comparable figurine of a woman sitting side-saddle on a standing horse and holding an infant in her right arm, reportedly from Salamis (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 272, no. 2907, pl. 147). However, on closer inspection, our rider not only sits astride on the horse's back but also appears to wear a short tunic, the hem just visible above the knee, beneath which the figure is broken. This dress type is only attested for mould-made male rider figurines or plaques, to be discussed shortly.

Our figurine was formed from two completely separately moulded parts joined together. A slightly convex front part contained the outline of the figure and its image in relief with the finer detail, e.g. facial features, clothing etc. moulded or incised. It was joined to an entirely unworked, slightly convex back in the shape of the silhouette of the entire group, obviously just made to enable the figurine to stand without further support. The clearly visible seam between the modelled front and the plain back, partly

broken but showing the lower edge of a round to oval vent-hole, runs along the outer contour of the entire group, the horse as well as its rider, whose head and upper body are turned to the side towards the viewer. This technically as well as iconographically one-sided frontal aspect of the figurine stands in marked contrast to the previously discussed horse-and-riders from Tsambres, tomb 16, which show the same amount of elaboration and detail on all sides like their Archaic or Classical predecessors.

Frontality in composition, execution and aspect, however, is a new characteristic of Greek Hellenistic sculptures and terracotta figurines, particularly groups, adopted by the coroplasts in Cyprus during the Hellenistic period (cf. Burn & Higgins, 2001: pls. 129–133). Our beardless rider features a full round and wide face which can be observed in Cypriot Late Classical and Hellenistic figures of children in stone (e.g. Hermay, 1989: 194–200, nos. 393–406) and in terracotta (e.g. Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 628–629, nos. 1069–1071; Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose, 2000: 268–269, nos. 432–433; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 279–280, nos. 2934–2036, pl. 151), but also in women (cf. Queyrel, 1988: pl. 53, no. 513). Such chubby-faced figures include terracottas of Eros, either alone or in a group, with or without wings (cf. Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 577–580, nos. 968–968; Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose, 2000: 277, nos. 448–449; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 281–283, nos. 2943–2944, 2950, pls. 152–153). This theoretically allows several possibilities of identification for our round-faced beardless rider, but the fact that (s)he seems to wear a short tunic and sits astride the horse, favours the identification as a youthful male rider rather than a female. Comparable mould-made one-sided rider figurines of young men in short tunics from Cyprus are represented in the collections of the Louvre, probably found at Larnaca. Dated to the third century BCE, they were attributed to an “Oriental cycle” within the wider group of Greek imports and their Cypriot adaptations (cf. Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 586–590, particularly nos. 977 and 982). This eastern connection is also apparent in the catalogue of Hellenistic terracottas in the British Museum, where Cyprus, particularly Salamis, features as sole find-spot for such youths on horseback, all dated to the second or even first century BCE (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 284–285, nos. 2953–2955, pl. 154).

Apart from those young male riders, winged Eros on horseback, sporting a wide round face and short tunic, was a popular motif for terracottas in many parts of the Greek world, starting at least in the fourth century BCE, but in Cyprus and the Cyrenaica more frequent in the third and second centuries BCE under Ptolemaic rule (cf. Burn & Higgins, 2001: 247–248, nos. 2802–2806, pls.

131–132, Cyrenaica; 285, no. 2856, pl. 155, Cyprus). Thus, our wingless Ashmolean rider from Tsambres might well represent either just a youth or Eros himself on horseback.

Technical parallels to our figurine were found among the terracottas from the Hellenistic complex at Maresa in Israel. Double-moulded, and with the seam between modelled front and unworked back still visible, they depict a wider range of motifs, including riders on horses and camels, among them winged Erotes, as well as animals including horses, boars, cocks/roosters and a bird (Erlich & Kloner, 2008: 46–56, nos. 138–178, pls. 25–33; see also Erlich in this volume). Such double-moulded terracottas, with or without a base, are also known from Ptolemaic Egypt, depicting Egyptian and Greek deities, e.g. Harpocrates, Eros, Bes, Demeter, Sphinxes, cult personnel, votaries and animals, such as camels, Maltese-type dogs, cocks and a fish (Török, 1995: *passim* including 153 plates). Identical figurines of Maltese dogs (Török, 1995: nos. 279–282, pls. CXLVII–CXLVIII), a boar and a cock were also dedicated in the Apollo sanctuary at Kourion sometime in the first century BCE (Young & Young, 1955: 52–53, pl. 37).

4 Terracotta Figures from Amargetti

From the excavations by the Cyprus Exploration Fund in a sanctuary near the village of Amargetti in the mountainous hinterland some 12 km (as the crow flies) north of Kouklia-Palaepaphos in 1888 (cf. Hogarth, 1888: 171–174, 260–263, inscriptions), the Ashmolean holds only three terracotta votive figures: two show female votaries with a trunk-shaped, hollow wheel-made body and attached handmade arms and heads with mould-made faces, with garment folds indicated by incisions on only one of them; the third is a mould-made thick plaque showing the head and bust of a bearded male with a pointed cap or hood in high relief (Figs. 9.7a–c). Apart from the Greek alphabetic inscriptions (in English transcription), none of the votive sculptures, terracottas and other finds from the site, now scattered in various museums in Cyprus (mostly Paphos), Britain and even France, was ever published in lists or photographs. In 1994, Masson (1994: 262–275; see also summary of the evidence in Ulbrich, 2008: 411–412, PA 8) published the only recent summary of the evidence from the site with photographs of some of the finds and inscriptions. Hogarth (1888: 171–172) had already remarked on the crude style and ribbed, tube-shaped bodies of many of the terracottas, so evident in our female votaries at the Ashmolean, and on the crude style of the limestone sculptures, ranging from small to life-size, as well as on the late date of the site. The 18 preserved dedicatory inscriptions to the



FIGURE 9.7 Votive terracottas from the Apollo sanctuary at Amargetti. From left to right: a. AN1888.1504 (H: 17.3 cm), b. AN1888.1505 (H: 18.1 cm), c. AN1888.1511, male (H: 12.5 cm)

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god Opaon or Apollo Melanthios are all carved in Greek alphabetic script, which first appeared in coastal centres, e.g. Amathous, at the end of the fourth century BCE and was only gradually adopted by the wider population in the course of the Hellenistic period, particularly as far inland and in rural areas as Amargetti. Therefore, and because of the phrasing of the texts, Masson, like Mitford before him, dated the inscriptions from the third century to the first century BCE, the latest inscriptions mentioning the emperor Titus (Masson, 1994: 265–272 with references). The same date-range can be assumed for the terracottas and limestone sculptures, the latter often arranged in groups of three (Masson, 1994: 273–275, fig. 9), all showing a unique crude style, hitherto without published comparable pieces within Cyprus.

Our female votaries (Figs. 9.7a–b) should rather be dated early in the Hellenistic period for two reasons: firstly, their slightly upturned faces with their minimalistic, almost abstract facial features, with their cloak or veil

pulled over the hair, mirrors the so-called impressionistic style of Early Hellenistic limestone statuettes from Cypriot sanctuaries (cf. Ulbrich, 2012a, with images and further references). Secondly, the tube-like, crude bodies of our female votaries stand in the tradition of Late Archaic and Classical terracottas with such amorphous wheel-made bodies from western Cyprus, for example from ancient Marion (cf. Serwint, 2012: 212–213, no. 73; personal communication with Nancy Serwint, June 2013; personal inspection of terracottas from Marion in 1997), and elsewhere in western Cyprus, e.g. at Mersinaki (cf. Vessberg & Westholm, 1956: 105). The gesture and motif of our votary grasping the hems of her mantle together near her breasts with one of her hands is known from Hellenistic terracottas worked in the round, for example from the aforementioned votive deposit in Amathous (Queyrel, 1988: 116, nos. 347–350, pls. 36–37). The bearded male (Fig. 9.7c) with a conical hat or cap, who wraps his mantle closely around himself, might represent a priest or just a votary of the



FIGURE 9.8

Rider-and-horse plaquette from Salamis, AN1896–1908
C.559 (H: 7.2 cm)

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epigraphically attested Apollo Melanthios. Due to his almost Archaic features, iconography and style this piece could be dated anywhere in the Hellenistic and Early Roman period, when archaising styles became fashionable in the Greek and Roman world, particularly in sacred contexts.

5 Terracottas from Salamis

Two unpublished Hellenistic figurines are registered in the Ashmolean's accession books as coming from Salamis, but with no further context information. One of them, a fragmented mould-made thick plaque, depicting the right side of a horse-and-rider in profile in high relief (Fig. 9.8), was excavated by the Cyprus Exploration Fund in Salamis in 1890 (cf. Munro & Tubbs, 1891). The motif of the rider wearing a cape over a short tunic, his bare lower legs hanging down to below the belly of the horse, can be compared with two other plaquettes from Salamis (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 284–285, nos. 2953, 2955, pl. 154), a rider with Oriental floppy cap from Kition (Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose, 2000: 272–273, no. 439), as well as two plaques from the Apollo sanctuary at Kourion (Winter, 1995: 134, pl. 33, nos. 152–153), all dated to the third century BCE or later. Hellenistic terracottas of this type were also found in Ptolemaic Egypt, particularly in the eastern necropolis of Alexandria (Kassab Tezgör, 2007: pls. 17b–d). The Ashmolean piece, most

probably contemporary, could have been used equally well in funerary, sanctuary or domestic contexts.

The other figurine from Salamis shows a standing woman with her long hair parted in the middle and piled up on her head, her cloak wrapped around her and her left hand planted coquettishly on her outthrust left hip (Fig. 9.9c). An old label, already attached to the base of the piece when purchased at Sotheby's in 1946, indicates that it comes from the collection of Alexander Palma di Cesnola, who excavated in and around Salamis in 1879 and summarily published and discussed his activities and findings with some object drawings in his book *Salaminia* published in 1882. The figurine, entirely mould-made in one piece with its plinth, has an oval vent hole in the completely unworked back. Its motif, style, treatment of garment and coiffure as well as its production technique completely compare with Late Classical and Hellenistic Tanagra figurines of draped women, exported, imitated and adapted throughout the eastern Mediterranean, including Cyprus, from the late fourth century BCE onwards (cf. Uhlenbrock, 1990, including the contributions by Connelly for Ptolemaic Cyprus and Egypt; Jeammet (ed.), 2010 including distribution lists pp. 266–267; for Cyprus alone Burn & Higgins, 2001: 258). The posture of our Ashmolean piece is mirrored by terracottas from the votive deposit at Amathous, representing Aphrodite, Isis or mere female votaries, all dated to the second century BCE (e.g. Queyrel, 1988: nos. 40–41, pls. 6–7, nos. 77 and 85,



FIGURE 9.9 Greek-style Hellenistic figurines from Cyprus. From left to right: a. AN1949.1032 (H: 20.8 cm), b. AN1989.568 (H: c. 15 cm), c. AN1946.112, from Salamis (H: c. 19 cm)

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pl. 9, Aphrodite; nos. 128–130, pls. 14–15, Isis; nos. 457 and 459, nos. 491–492, pls. 46–48 and 52, votaries).

Another unprovenanced Tanagra-style figurine in the Ashmolean's Cypriot collection (Fig. 9.9a) shows a straighter posture, pulling the rich folds of her cloak modestly around her, her arms close to the body, like parallels from Amathous (cf. Queyrel, 1988: no. 513, pl. 53) and elsewhere in Cyprus (cf. Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 602–603, no. 1007, 608–609, no. 1019; Burn & Higgins, 2001: pls. 141–142). Nevertheless, she features a rather schematic butterfly-bun coiffure known from sculptures and terracottas of Greek Aphrodite since the late fourth century BCE (cf. Delivorrias in collaboration with Berger-Doer and Kossatz-Deissmann, 1984: pl. 38:404, 410, pl. 62:628, etc.) as well as of women from the Late Classical period onwards

throughout the eastern Mediterranean, including Cyprus (cf. Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 571–574, no. 957, 621, no. 1050; Burn & Higgins, 2001: pls. 145:2893). The eastern necropoleis of Alexandria in Egypt yielded quite comparable Tanagra figurines to both our Ashmolean pieces just discussed, in terms of posture and coiffures (Kassab Tezgör, 2007: pls. 1–87, e.g. pls. 39, 46–49, 62–65, 74, 76 and 79).

6 Relief Plaque from Pyla-Vikla

From an unrecorded context in Pyla-Vikla, some 15 km east of Larnaca near the shore, comes a badly worn flat relief plaquette in the Ashmolean (Fig. 9.10). It was donated in 1960 by Catling, who had surveyed the Archaic



FIGURE 9.10 Plaquette of Aphrodite or Apollo from Pyla-Vikla, AN1960.649 (H: 12 cm)

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to Hellenistic settlement site near Pyla including associated sanctuaries and necropoleis for the Department of Antiquities in the early 1950s (cf. Ulbrich, 2008: 355–358 with references). The front of the moulded plaquette shows a semi-naked figure in relief with internal detail while the slightly convex back is completely unworked. The figure features long hair done up in a bun just above the forehead, its head turned slightly to the right, and a cloak draped across the back, legs, loins and left arm as its only garment. The left elbow is propped up on a pillar, while the right hand is coquettishly resting on the hip. As the genitalia, breasts as well as the pubic zone are not clearly visible, it is uncertain whether the figure is male or female. The relatively flat breasts and the elaborate long hairdo can be compared with a fourth century BCE Apollo statuette found in Larnaca (Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel,

1998: 593–594, no. 990). The same features, however, plus the coquettishly out-turned right elbow and arrangement of the cloak equally mirror Aphrodite statuettes from the votive deposit at Amathous, dated to the second century BCE (cf. Queyrel, 1988: 49–50 nos. 37–42, pls. 6–7). As Pyla-Vikla featured a sanctuary for a female deity and another Archaic to Hellenistic sanctuary of Apollo and Cypriot Aphrodite/Artemis nearby (Ulbrich, 2008: 356–358, KI 12, KI 13), Hellenistic figurines in the images of both deities could be expected there, either as votive offerings, as grave-gifts or in a domestic context. As for the production technique, our figurine stands in the tradition of Astarte plaquettes, produced and dedicated in great numbers as votive- or grave-gifts in Cyprus during the Archaic and possibly the Classical period, as already mentioned in the discussion of the *kourotrophoi* from Tsambres.



FIGURE 9.11 Eros and temple boy figures: a. AN1938.1431 (H: 31 cm), b. 1884.233, possibly from Kourion (H: 18.3 cm)

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7 Unprovenanced Terracotta Figure of a Sitting Boy, Possibly Eros, from Cyprus

The Ashmolean collection holds a quite large, 30.5 cm high, probably Hellenistic terracotta-figure from Cyprus which depicts a sitting young boy with curly longish hair and a central plait running from the forehead to the back of his head (Fig. 9.11a). The figure was donated to the Ashmolean by R.G. Collingwood in 1938 together with other Cypriot antiquities from the collection of his father, the art professor and antiquarian W.G. Collingwood, who had first acted as secretary of the famous art professor John Ruskin. Being an avid collector of antiquities himself, he had acquired Cypriot antiquities from Ruskin's collection after Ruskin's death. Ruskin had received them directly from Luigi Palma di Cesnola in return for financing Cesnola's excavations after the sale of the Cesnola

collection to the Metropolitan Museum in London in 1872. Several of those antiquities ended up in the Ashmolean, two large limestone tomb stelae as early as in the 1870s, the others, including our figure, through the donation by Collingwood in 1938. With such an unbroken collection history from its excavation in the 1870s, when real knowledge of post-Archaic Cypriot art was non-existent, our figure is most probably genuine.

As such it was published in 1956 in volume IV.3 of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition by Westholm (Vessberg & Westholm, 1956: 108–109, pl. XXIV:6), but no comparative piece from Cyprus has been recorded or published ever since. Three quarters of the figure, formed from dark red clay with a square vent hole in its unworked back, are partly mould-made, all of which complies with production techniques of Hellenistic and possibly even Roman terracottas. When Westholm published this piece in his

discussion of Hellenistic and Roman terracottas in SCE iv.3 he did not give it a more specific date within those periods. He identified the figure by its posture first and foremost as a temple boy, known from earlier periods, and possibly as Eros. Temple boys, predominantly made in limestone, were dedicated in many Cypriot sanctuaries, e.g. in the Apollo Hylates sanctuary in Kourion, used until Roman times (cf. Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose, 2000: 268–270, nos. 432–433; 2002: 208–220, nos. 270–285; Ulbrich, 2008: 365–367, KOU 3). Our large terracotta mirrors the posture of a much smaller limestone statuette of a temple boy in the Ashmolean's Cypriot collection (Fig. 9.11b), probably dating to the third century BCE according to the "impressionistic" style of its facial features (cf. Ulbrich, 2012a: 39–53, figs. 6–17 with references). Bought by Greville Chester for the Ashmolean in nearby Limassol in 1884 – according to a marking underneath its base as well as the museum's accession books – it might well have come from the Apollo sanctuary at nearby Kourion, first exploited on a larger scale by Cesnola from 1868 onwards.

Arguments for the identification of our terracotta as Eros are the chubby, full-cheeked face and the curly longish hair with the central plait. Both features can be observed in Greek-style terracotta figures of winged or wingless Erotes attested in the Greek World from the Late Classical period onwards and in the entire eastern Mediterranean, including Cyprus and Egypt throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but are also used for boys (cf. Hermay, Cassimatis, Vollkommer, Augé, Linant de Bellefonds, 1986: pls. 611–612, nos. 35a, 36h, 41a, pl. 619, no. 192, pl. 671, no. 31; for Cyprus see Burn & Higgins, 2001: 283, no. 2950, pl. 153, 286, no. 2961, pl. 155; for Egypt see Török, 1995: pls. XXVI–XXVIII and XXX). Due to its size and iconographic type, our figure was most probably a votive offering, but as long as we do not have a comparable piece from a well-documented context, which can be clearly identified iconographically either as Eros or as a human boy, its original context, date, function and meaning remain conjectural.

8 Unprovenanced Terracotta Figurine of an Old Woman, from Cyprus

A typical Greek-Hellenistic genre in terracotta figurines, the grotesque or over-naturalistically depicted human (cf. Uhlenbrock, 1990: 120–124, nos. 13–17), is represented by another unprovenanced terracotta figurine in the Ashmolean's Cypriot collection (Fig. 9.9b). It depicts a seated old woman or possibly nursing maid with almost negroid features. A comparable piece from Cyprus exists

in the Louvre (Caubet, Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 643–644, no. 3754).

9 Conclusions

The Ashmolean terracottas presented here cover a wide range of motifs, styles and production techniques and can be dated to the Hellenistic rather than the Roman period. However, a Roman date cannot be completely excluded for the terracottas from Amargetti and our large sitting possible Eros. As regards motifs, styles, techniques and contexts of use, the tomb and votive figures from Marion, Tsambres and Amargetti clearly refer to Archaic and Classical local and regional traditions in Cyprus. A new Greek influence in style, iconography and technique can be observed on the horse-and-rider from tomb 10 at Tsambres and on the rider plaquette from Salamis, which might have come from a funerary, sacred or settlement context. The same varied possibilities of original context apply to the Aphrodite plaquette from Pyla-Vikla which merges Greek and traditional Cypriot motifs and techniques. Exclusively Greek in motif, style and technique are the two Tanagra figurines, the old woman from Salamis as well as the head of our large possible Eros who in posture refers to earlier temple boys in Cyprus. Overall, the terracottas in the Ashmolean's Cypriot collection presented here equally reflect traditionalism as well as eclecticism in the terracotta production of Hellenistic Cyprus, featuring different degrees of amalgamation of traditional Cypriot motifs, styles and techniques with Late Classical to Hellenistic Greek ones in the individual pieces. While the Late Classical to early Hellenistic Greek influences could have reached the island directly from the Aegean and Asia Minor, they probably came via Ptolemaic Egypt from the third century BCE onwards, which is documented for larger portrait sculpture as well (cf. Koiner, 2012; Koiner & Reitingner in this volume).

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PART 2

Greece and Asia Minor

∴

Theriomorphic Figures in Hellenistic and Roman Arcadia: Nostalgia and Ritual

Erin Walcek Averett

Abstract

The mountainous region of Arcadia has yielded a collection of unusual theriomorphic representations that have puzzled scholars for over a century. Arcadian depictions of zoocephalic dancers, masked men, and theriomorphic deities have been dismissed as oddities of an isolated region, remnants of “primitive” cult practices. Although there are earlier examples, these fantastical figures flourished in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. This study investigates the theriomorphic terracotta figurines and related imagery found at the Arcadian sanctuaries at Petrovouni, Lusoï, Tegea, Lykosoura and Phigalia, and contextualises them within the broader coroplastic tradition of masked figures. This distinctive iconography finds its closest parallels in earlier and contemporary Cypriot representations of masked figures found in sanctuaries and tombs.

This paper argues that Arcadian cults drew from older, indigenous traditions, but at the same time were possibly also inspired by Cypriot rituals featuring animal-masked participants. Although a connection between Cyprus and Arcadia dates back to the beginning of the Iron Age, this association was later intentionally emphasised during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The coroplastic votive tradition not only preserves religious rituals, but also reflects the intersection between religion and politics in the international world of the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean.

1 Introduction

Arcadia has been traditionally imagined as primitive and backward or alternatively as romantic and idyllic; in both conceptions, it is a place where past customs were tenaciously preserved. As one 19th-century scholar proclaimed, “No part of Greece is more interesting to the mythologist than Arcadia, the home of beliefs and customs which seem to belong to the earliest *strata* of Greek religion” (Sikes, 1895: 67). Indeed, Arcadia is home to seemingly strange stories and customs that are not found in other parts of Greece. The region is the setting for myths of human sacrifice, lycanthropy, transformation, and theriomorphic beings. One of the overarching themes of Arcadian myth and ritual is the blurring of the boundaries between human-animal-divine, as revealed in stories

of transformation, metamorphosis, and hybrid religious figures. Closer inspection, however, reveals fundamental flaws in most reconstructions of Arcadian cults as preservers of primitive rituals. Such theriomorphic iconography is by no means unique to Arcadia, and contextualising this iconography within wider Mediterranean traditions provides a more accurate reconstruction of Arcadian religion. This study compares the masked terracotta figurines from seemingly distant places and times (Archaic Cypriot maskers with Hellenistic and Roman Arcadian examples) and offers some tentative suggestions for the meaning of human-animal hybrid imagery in religious contexts.

2 The Arcadian Maskers

Human-animal hybrid figures, which tentatively represent maskers, are first attested Arcadia in the late eighth-early seventh century BCE by a bronze figurine group (likely originally attached to a tripod or cauldron rim) from the sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios at Petrovouni (Jost, 1985: 215 no. 4, 464, no. 2; Voyatzis, 1985: 160; 1990: 118, pl. 65; Langdon, 2008: 115) (Fig. 10.1). The group depicts four ithyphallic male dancers with zoomorphic heads, perhaps equine. The composition and poses suggest that these are likely masked worshippers, priests, or mythological beings rather than divinities. A seventh-century bronze zoocephalic figurine, perhaps with a bear or a wolf head/mask, was dedicated at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, while a zoocephalic Pan was dedicated in the fifth century at the Artemis sanctuary at Lousoi (Dugas, 1921: 355, fig. 17, no. 55; Sinn, 1980: 36, fig. 14; Borgeaud, 1988: 52–53; Voyatzis, 1990: 117–120; Langdon, 2008: 116). These, however, are relatively isolated examples. The crude style renders, perhaps intentionally, identity ambiguous: are these demons, deities, mythical figures, or masked worshippers? These few specimens do not suggest that a widespread tradition of masked or theriomorphic beings were part of early Arcadian cult.

It is only in the Hellenistic and Roman periods that theriomorphic traditions flourish in literary *testimonia* and to a lesser extent in the material evidence. The affluent Pan-Arcadian cult of Despoina at Lykosoura offers



FIGURE 10.1 Bronze animal-headed figurine group from Petrovouni
HELLNER, D-DAI-ATH-NM 5782

the most evidence for cult practices involving hybrid figures. The construction of a temple and a megaron, the high fees paid by initiates to the city, and the spectacular cult group by Damophon are testament to the sanctuary's wealth and importance to the region (Paus. 8.37.8–9; Jost, 2003: 146). The sanctuary included a megaron, a stoa, a Doric temple with nearby theatre-like steps, three altars,

and a sacred grove with altars (Fig. 10.2). In the temple stood the famous colossal acrolithic cult statuary group by Damophon, described by Pausanias (8.37.3–5), now generally agreed to date to the second century BCE (Dickins, 1905–1906; 1906–1907; 1910–1911; Wace, 1934; Lévy, 1967; Jost, 1985: 327–329, pl. 44, fig. 2; Pollitt, 1986: 165–167; Stewart, 1990: 94–96, 788; Themelis, 1996; Ridgway, 2000:

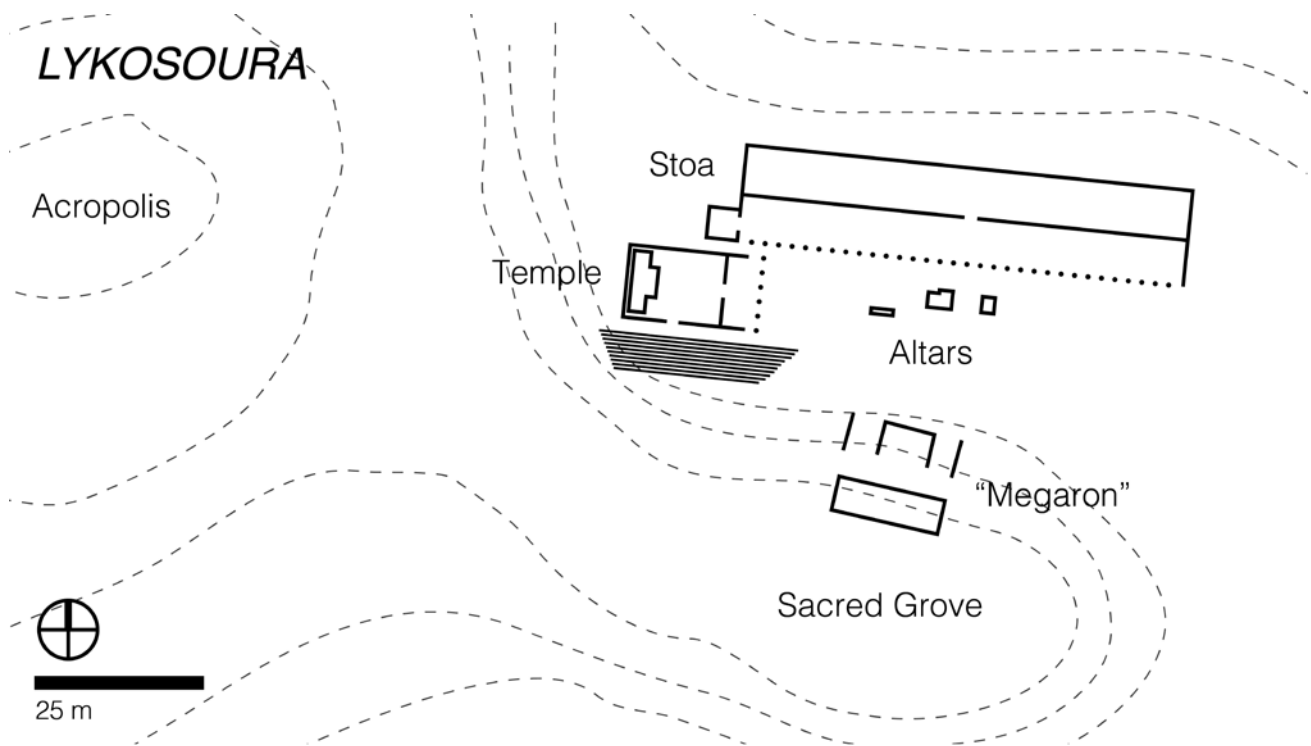


FIGURE 10.2 Plan of the sanctuary of Despoina, Lykosoura
PLAN: D.E. COSLETT

235–237, 258; Aston, 2011: 239). The temple was visually linked with the theatrical stairs by a side entrance, which, due to space limitations, was likely used for a revelation of sacred objects or an epiphany re-enactment rather than for dramatic performances (Nielson, 2002: 106–108; Jost, 2003: 149).

There was also a so-called megaron on the slope above the temple. This building was likely the setting for the mystery rituals described by Pausanias (8.37.8; Kourouniotes, 1912: 148; see also Jost, 2003: 148–149 for a review of past interpretations). It was in this area, by a small altar, that over 140 terracotta figurines depicting theriomorphic creatures, most of them approximately 15 cm high, were excavated in the 19th century; they are poorly published, and many were lost during WWII (Fig. 10.3). The primary report is a brief account published shortly after their discovery, with a single figurine illustrated (Perdrizet, 1899; initially mentioned in Cavvadias, [1897] 1898: 28), followed by brief reports by Dickins (1906–1907: 393–394, fig. 26) and Kourouniotes (1912: 142, 155–159, figs. 23–28). The hollow, mould-made figurines are depicted with anthropomorphic bodies draped in long garments, and zoomorphic heads, mostly of rams or bovids; many carry baskets on their heads. Some of the figures appear male, but the gender of others is undefined.

There has been little agreement on the date or subject of these figurines. The date is difficult to establish due to

the lack of stratigraphic context, but it is further complicated by the general reluctance of scholars to accept a later date due to the generally held assumption that theriomorphic images are associated with earlier times (Dickins, 1906–1907: 394; for this trend see Boardman, 2002: 127; Aston, 2011: 170, 193, 202–213). Kourouniotes (1912: 156) suggested a fourth-century BCE date for some figurines based on drapery style, but, in her study of Arcadian cults, Jost (2003: 157) notes that the preserved specimens are not older than the second to first centuries BCE, with some dating to the Roman period in the first century CE. Many of the figurines have the potter's signature "*Aphroda*" on the back that dates to the Roman period based on letter forms (Perdrizet, 1899: 635; Kourouniotes, 1912: 158, figs. 31–32). Despite clearly later examples, scholars generally stress that the hybrid iconography represents a continuation of earlier traditions while de-emphasising their Hellenistic and Roman date, in keeping with Pausanias' theme of theriomorphism as a feature of archaic cult. Perdrizet (1899: 635), for example, focuses on their link with primitive religion and interprets them as older zoomorphic deities, glossing over their Roman date, while Hejnic (1961: 28) similarly describes them as "so highly archaic-looking" and underplays their later date (see also Loucas, 1989: 100–101; Aston, 2008: 242).

What these figurines represent is also a matter of debate. The earliest interpretation by Perdrizet (1899: 635)



FIGURE 10.3 Animal-headed terracotta figurines from the sanctuary of Despoina, Lykosoura

LEFT TWO FIGURES: DRAWINGS: K.A.P. ISELIN AFTER JOST 1985: PL. 4, NOS. 3–4; RIGHT FIGURE AFTER KOUROUNIOTES 1912: FIG. 23

identified them as theriomorphic divinities, a remnant of primitive Greek religion that worshipped animal deities. More recently, however, scholars have noted the lack of divine attributes, suggesting instead that the figurines represent masked priests involved in mystery rites (Jost, 2003: 157), masked human worshippers or initiates (Loukas & Loukas, 1988), or even the *agalmata* required by a third-century BCE sacred law (Stewart, 1990: 95; Jost, 2008: 100–101). The hybrid forms have been linked to the prevalence of Demeter's own theriomorphism at Phigalia in Arcadia even though the animal species depicted at Lykosoura do not match these myths.

There has been much more interest in the style, date, and attribution of the monumental cult group by Damophon, which depicts an enthroned Demeter and Despoina flanked by Artemis and the Titan Anytos (Dickins, 1906–1907; 1910–1911; Jost, 1985: 327, pl. 44, fig. 2; Pollitt, 1986: 165–166; Stewart, 1990: 94–96, pls. 788–792; Themelis, 1994: 24–30; 1996: 170–172; Ridgway, 2000: 235–239; Kaltsas, 2002: 279–281; Platt, 2011: 125–134). Despoina, the dominant deity in the mystery rituals, is represented with a sacred basket on her lap and a sceptre in the left hand (Fig. 10.4). Unlike Demeter, who wears a simple chiton, Despoina wears an elaborate chiton with a woven figured veil that flows around her scepter and down her

lap (Fig. 10.5). This hieratic garment, a woven veil doubled over with two borders, is rendered in relief and its elaborate decorative scheme includes theriomorphic representations (Dickins, 1906–1907; Wace, 1934; Jost, 1985: 328–329; Stewart, 1990: 95). Although Pausanias does not describe the veil, a large fragment with traces of red paint is fortunately preserved. The upper border depicts a frieze of eagles alternating with thunderbolts, below this a frieze of olive branches, and a final row of Nereids, Tritons and marine monsters. The lower border depicts a large register with Nikai carrying incense burners, another frieze of olive branches, and at the bottom an intriguing row of lively beasts dancing and playing instruments. The skill and detail of this high-quality relief speaks to its important symbolic role in the cult, and several scholars have suggested that this is a translation in stone of an actual woven hieratic garment (Dickins, 1906–1907: 395; Wace, 1934). Although it is possible that these reliefs reference older cult traditions, and explain why such an ornate textile was translated into stone by one of the great sculptors of the day, it is equally plausible that the imagery represents the recent cult rituals since it accords with later cultic traditions as well. In short, there is no compelling reason to assume the scenes depicted on the veil represent vastly older traditions.

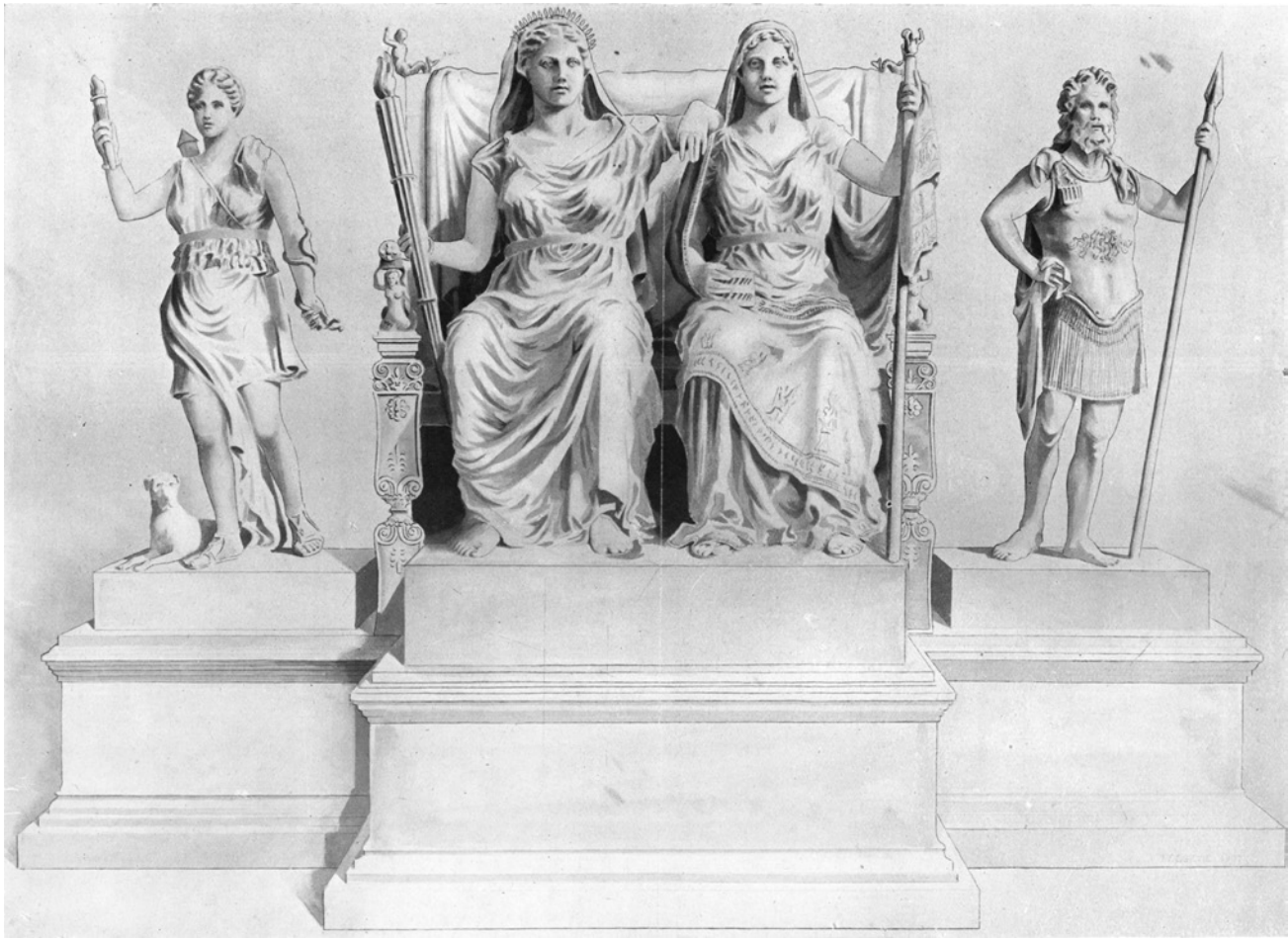


FIGURE 10.4 The Damophon cult statue group, Sanctuary of Despoina, Lykosoura
DICKINS 1906/1907: PL. XII

The row of dancing beasts and the related zoocephalic votive figurines are of interest for reconstructing masked rituals at this sanctuary. The relief figures have zoomorphic heads and perhaps appendages, yet they clearly have anthropomorphic bodies and poses. From the left, the animals depicted are: a pig dancing and clapping his forefeet, a ram and a donkey dancing, a fox or bear playing the pipes, another dancing ram, an unidentifiable animal carrying a lyre, a horse carrying a lyre, a dog playing the pipes, a fox and, finally, a dancing ram. Although some have interpreted the row of dancing, theriomorphic beings as depictions of mythical metamorphosis (Waldstein quoted in Frothingham, 1890: 210; Cavvadias, 1893: 11–12; Ridgway, 2000: 236; Aston, 2011: 304–305), other scholars interpret them as representations of ritual performance.

The animals represented include both wild and domesticated species and must represent creatures that were significant in the cult. Based on epigraphic and literary evidence, several scholars have interpreted these figures as masked dancing humans, perhaps the priests,

priestesses, or initiates mentioned in the texts (Cook, 1894: 162; Lawler, 1952: 319–320; Jost, 1985: 332–333; 2003: 157–159), while others have gone beyond this to reconstruct so-called primitive, orgiastic rites. For example, Jost (2003: 161–162) notes the animated dancing poses, which she argues are reminiscent of maenads, and concludes that the “animated dance performed by the masked figures situates us in an orgiastic environment”. Similarly, Loucas states that at Lykosoura “the worshippers were identified with the divinity of the wild nature Despoina after a possession-ritual based on zoomorphic disguise” (Loucas, 1989: 101). The evidence cited for these orgiastic masked rites comes from the zoocephalic figures on the veil, the figurines, and from Pausanias’ description of *teletai* (mystic ceremonies) and *diasparagmos* (tearing-to-pieces) animal sacrifices (Paus. 8.37.8). However, the dancing depicted on the veil is not necessarily “orgiastic”, while the figurines stand in a static pose without movement, and the type of sacrifice need not be related only to orgiastic rituals.



FIGURE 10.5 A

Veil of Despoina, from the Damophon cult group, Lykosoura

J. MATTHEW HARRINGTON, NEFASDICERE AT ENGLISH WIKIPEDIA [GFDL ([HTTP://WWW.GNU.ORG/COPYLEFT/FDL.HTML](http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html)), CC-BY-SA-3.0 ([HTTP://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY-SA/3.0/](http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/)) OR CC BY 2.5 ([HTTP://CREATIVECOMMONS.ORG/LICENSES/BY/2.5](http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.5/))], VIA WIKIMEDIA COMMONS



FIGURE 10.5 B

Details of the figural relief from Despoina's veil

DICKINS 1906/1907: PL. XIV

3 Theriomorphic Rituals in Arcadia

The literary evidence seems to corroborate the material remains. Pausanias' lengthy descriptions of Arcadian cults highlight the conspicuous role of human-animal hybrids, tales of metamorphoses, and strange deities in this region as late as the second century CE, and provide important evidence that many mystery cults were still active in his day (Borgeaud, 1988: 4). The evolutionist idea that the prevalence of theriomorphic beings is a result of the conservatism of the region and the remote/isolated environment that allowed for the preservation of older customs is a common conception of Arcadian religion (Lawler, 1952: 319; Jost, 1985: especially 558; 2007; Loucas & Loucas, 1988: 31; Nielsen, 1999: 40). Rather than interpreting these cultural traditions through an evolutionary lens as remnants of older, prehistoric customs, however, recent scholarship has provided more nuanced and critical interpretations of the meaning and chronology of Arcadian myths and ritual (Aston, 2011: 235–251).

The species depicted in the figurines and on the veil are primarily domesticated ones: the identifiable animals include rams, a pig, a donkey, a horse, and a dog. There are in fact only two wild animals on the veil: a fox or bear playing the pipes and a fox or wolf dancing. Throughout most of Greece, domesticated animals, especially equids, often represented human control over nature (Langdon, 1989: 200). Moreover, all animals depicted on the veil, whether domesticated or wild, are enacting a procession involving music and dance. Although dancing is associated with maenads and orgiastic rites, it is alternatively and more commonly a mechanism for the expression of order and containment (Carter, 1988; Lonsdale, 1993: 44–75). In Arcadia in particular music served as a civilising force (Borgeaud, 1988: 20).

Additionally, in Arcadia especially and in Greek myth more broadly, animals and hybrid beings are not only associated with wilderness, but also with domestication and civilisation. The Arcadian god *par excellence*, Pan (part goat part human in form), is linked to civilisation through his music and his key role in bringing Demeter Melaina back from her anger and grief in the cave at Phigalia, thus ensuring the renewal of agriculture and civilisation (Borgeaud, 1988: 57–58; Aston, 2011: 223). In myth, these theriomorphic beings, including Pan but also other figures like Cheiron, work to prevent humans from reverting to an earlier, uncivilised, more animal-like stage. Finally, some have interpreted Despoina as a *potnia theron* deity, who symbolised control over the animal world much like Artemis (Lawler, 1952: 320). Thus, an entirely different interpretation of the Lykosoura evidence is that, rather than

representing primitive orgiastic rituals, these ceremonies centred on expressions of order over the natural world, domestication, and a *potnia theron*-type goddess.

4 Cypriot Zoomorphic Maskers

If we disassociate Arcadian theriomorphic trends from an older “stratum” of Greek religion, it is possible to contextualise this imagery within later Mediterranean rituals. A possible connection between the Arcadian figurines and Cypriot masked figures has been proposed before: in 1899 by Perdrizet, and more recently by Voyatzis (1985). Like Arcadia, Cyprus is also a region traditionally associated with conservative trends (especially religious) and an abundance of theriomorphic imagery. But unlike the sporadic or ambiguous evidence for masking in Greece and Arcadia, the island of Cyprus provides extensive evidence for masking rituals beginning in the Late Cypriot period in the 12th century BCE and continuing into the Cypro-Classical period (Karageorghis, 1971; 1996; Hermary, 1979; Nys, 1995; Averett, 2015; Averett, 2018). There are three distinct mask types (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and grotesque) that survive as under-life-size copies of actual masks likely made of perishable materials. In addition to the votive masks, there are several Cypro-Achaic limestone statues and terracotta figurines depicting maskers that were dedicated in sanctuaries and placed in tombs. The type that most resembles the Arcadian figurines are the zoomorphic masker figurines, which depict robed figures clearly wearing zoomorphic, primarily horned bovid, masks. The evidence for masking is not restricted to a single site or even region, but is found in sacred contexts throughout the island (Fig. 10.6).

Limestone figurines and life-sized maskers wearing bull and other animal helmet-style masks have been found at the sanctuary dedicated to a male deity at Golgoi (Fig. 10.7) (for the cult, see Counts, 2008: 19–23; for masked figures see Hermary, 1979: 735, no. 2, figs. 8–9; Karageorghis, 2000: 131, no. 194, 196; Averett, 2015: 12–13; Hermary and Mertens, 2015: 196–200). Another limestone statuette of a bull masker was found in a palatial sanctuary on the acropolis at Amathous (Hermary, 1979: 734, figs. 6–7; Petit, 2002: 295, fig. 11; Papantoniou, 2012: 213–214, fig. 29; Averett, 2015: 14–15). Aside from these stone examples, all other masker figurines are made of terracotta. Figurines wearing helmet-style bull masks have been found at the rural sanctuary dedicated to a male deity at Athienou-Malloura (Fig. 10.8) (Averett, 2011: 141–142, fig. 10.14; 2015: 12–13; Averett, 2018), the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates outside Kourion (Fig. 10.9) (Young & Young, 1955: 40–41, nos.

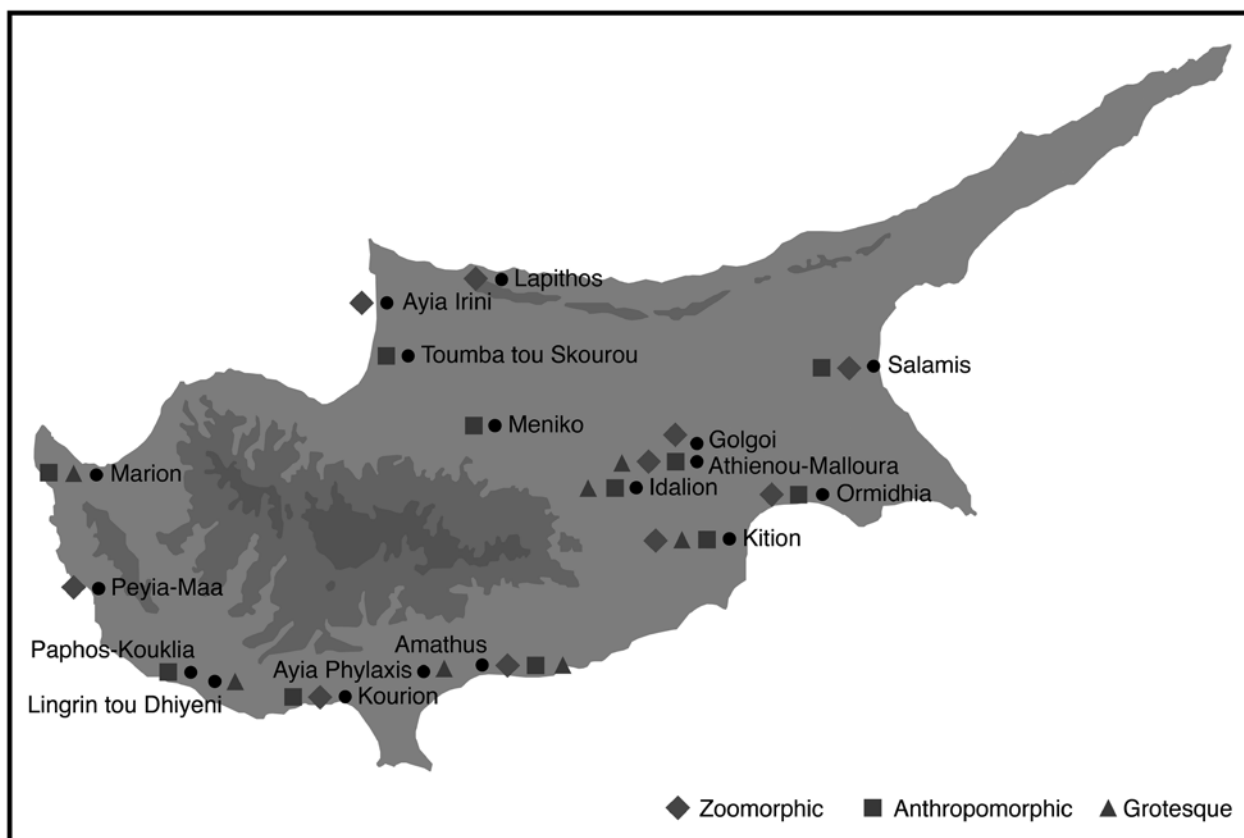


FIGURE 10.6 Distribution map of figurines wearing masks from Iron Age Cyprus

MAP: D.E. COSLETT



FIGURE 10.7 Sixth-century zoomorphic masker statuettes from the sanctuary at Golgoi, Cyprus. Left: limestone figure with stag (?) mask, 26 cm high, 74.51.2538; right: limestone figure wearing bull mask, 21.4 cm high, 74.51.2515

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (THE CESNOLA COLLECTION, PURCHASED BY SUBSCRIPTION, 1874–76)



FIGURE 10.8 Cypro-Archaic bull masker terracotta figurines from the rural sanctuaries at Athienou-Malloura (left), inv. no. AM-1170, Athienou Kallinikeio Municipal Museum, and Ayia Irini (right), inv. no. 2170, Cyprus Museum

LEFT: PHOTO: ATHIENOU ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT; RIGHT: PHOTO: AUTHOR, USED BY PERMISSION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, CYPRUS

814–816, 823–829, 834–836, 838–839, pl. 11; Karageorghis, 1971: 262, fig. 5; Hermay, 1979: 737, no. 5, fig. 11; Winter, 1996: 94, 132, nos. 211, 2711, fig. 70; Averett, 2015: 17–18), at a sanctuary dedicated to a male deity at Ayia Irini (Fig. 10.8) (Karageorghis, 1995: 55–57, no. 3, pl. XXVIII; Averett, 2015: 19), and in a *bothros* at Peyia-Maa (Karageorghis, 1995: 55–56, no. 4, pl. XXVIII; Averett, 2015: 17–18) filled with dedications typical of those donated male deity. Additionally, masked terracotta figurines were interred in

graves in the Cellarka cemetery at Salamis (Karageorghis, 1970: 131, no. 12, 78, no. 51, pls. CLXVII, CXXIX; 1995: 57, fig. 34), at Ormidhia (Karageorghis, 1995: 54–56, nos. 1 and 5, fig. 29, pl. XXVIII; 2000: 147, nos. 225–226; 1996: 18, no. 11, pl. IX), and at the eastern necropolis at Amathous (Tytgat, 1989: 129–130; Karageorghis, 1993: 117, no. 33, pl. LXVIII; 1995: 55, nos. 1–3, figs. 30–31, pl. XXVII; Averett, 2015: 13–17) (Fig. 10.10).



FIGURE 10.9 Cypro-Achaic terracotta masking group, sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, Kourion, inv. nos. T1674, T1774A, Episkopi Local Kourion Museum
 PHOTO: AUTHOR, USED BY PERMISSION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, CYPRUS



FIGURE 10.10
 Cypro-Achaic terracotta masked figurines, Amathous necropolis, inv. nos. T289, no. 6; T200, no. 1, Limassol District Archaeological Museum
 PHOTO: AUTHOR, USED BY THE PERMISSION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, CYPRUS

The Cypriot zoomorphic masking tradition is closely, although not exclusively, connected with cults of male deities. Almost all anthropomorphic masks on Cyprus are male when the gender is identifiable, while the dominant animal depicted is the bull. The masks were likely used in religious rituals, and perhaps included in very few graves as mementos of a religious event or as apotropaic tokens to invoke the protection of the deity associated with such rituals. These masquerades were likely performed by elite members of society, perhaps even by royalty, who claimed authority through restricted religious ceremonies (Averett, 2015: 23–27; for association of theriomorphic imagery with royalty, see Hermary, 1979; Petit, 1996; Counts, 2010; Papantoniou, 2012: 279–282).

The Cypriot examples are not identical to the Arcadian theriomorphic representations. Notably, the mask tradition flourishes in Cyprus earlier, in the Cypro-Archaic period (c. 750–480 BCE), but there are a few later examples (Averett, 2015: 21–23). A couple of masks from the palace area of the Amathous acropolis and a male mask from Kition-Kathari further attest to a continuation of this tradition into the fourth century and later (Karageorghis, 1999: pl. XCII; 2003: 151, no. 4240; Hermary, 2000: 79, nos. 510–511, pl. 32). An over-lifesize, fourth-century BCE limestone statue from Golgoi depicts a man, possibly even a king, holding a bull's head in his hand, likely a reference to a helmet-style bull mask (Hermary, 1979: 735–737, no. 3, fig. 10; 2001; Karageorghis, 2000: 248–249, no. 403; Papantoniou, 2012: 278, fig. 72; Hermery and Mertens, 2015: 198–200). It is only from the Roman period that we have literary evidence for faded memories of older zoomorphic masking traditions. For example, in the Kerastai myth in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.219–237), Aphrodite, upon hearing that the horned inhabitants of Amathous sacrificed guests at an altar of Zeus, punished the Amathousians by turning them into bulls, an appropriate sacrificial animal. The odd description of the inhabitants as having twin horns projecting from their brows is perhaps a memory of the custom of bull masking ceremonies performed at Amathous and other Cypriot sites in earlier times (O'Bryhim, 1999; Petit, 2002: 308–309). The link of the island with “horns” is confirmed by other Hellenistic and Late Antique sources as well (compiled by O'Bryhim, 1999); together these references seem to suggest a vague memory linking Cyprus with zoomorphic masking rituals.

The other significant difference between the imagery of the two regions is that unlike the ambiguous Arcadian depictions, which could depict mythical figures, divinities or masked people, the Cypriot examples explicitly depict masked men. Indeed, the Cypriot coroplasts emphasized

the masks by clearly delineating the edge of helmet-style masks, with the worshippers or priests often touching it with one or both hands as if donning, adjusting, or taking it off. The mask is part of a full costume, consisting of long robe, often with overlaid garment, helmet-style mask and hide. The Lyskosoura dancing figures seem to wear female dress, while the robes of the standing terracotta figurines are more ambiguous.

5 Cypriot-Arcadian Connections

Arcadians claimed to have “lived before the moon” and to be autochthonous, and even declared the region as the cradle of civilisation (Paus. 8.1.4–6; see Borgeaud, 1988: 6–9; Pretzler, 2005: 525–526, n. 21, for ancient references). In the Archaic through Hellenistic periods, Arcadian identity was closely linked to the rugged mountainous geography and harsh climate of the region: the inhabitants lived simple, austere lives, and strove to maintain civility through cultivation of music and military strength (a stereotype exemplified in the descriptions of Polybios 4.20–21; see also Borgeaud, 1988: 5–6; Pretzler, 2005: 523–524). Roman Arcadia maintained a strong regional identity, represented in Pausanias' description of the region based on local views that continued earlier identities. Arcadia connoted a remote, ruggedly idyllic and primitive culture, characteristics attractive by the Roman period when the past was of great interest and held in awe (Porter, 2001; Pretzler, 2005: 526–527). By that time, the Arcadians were further known for their piety (Pretzler, 2005).

As early as Bérard's 1894 study, however, scholars have recognised (or thought they detected) an eastern influence in the region, despite its supposed remoteness and geographic isolation. Contrary to the land-locked stereotype, literary sources record substantial Arcadian mercenary activity in addition to many colonies and foundations, including the foundations of such famed sites as Rome, Pergamon and Paphos (Aston, 2011: 244–247). For various reasons, these cities later proudly promoted their Arcadian heritage through myth, art and literature. It is one of these legendary foundations, in fact, that links Arcadia with Cyprus specifically. Many of the Iron Age Cypriot kingdoms celebrated their legendary founding by Greek heroes after the Trojan War, including Paphos, which claimed foundation by Agapenor, king of Arcadia (Paus. 8.5.2 and 5.53.7; see also Voyatzis, 1985; Roy, 1987; Iacovou, 2008: 648–650). In addition to these foundation legends, the two areas shared the Cypro-Arcadian Greek dialect (Chadwick & Ventris, 1973: 68–69, 73–75; Voyatzis, 1985: 157–158; Woodard, 2008;

Miller, 2013: 8.1). Voyatzis (1985: 158–162; 1992) has additionally identified distinctive iconography that characterises both regions, while Langdon (2008: 46) has noted a more general Cypriot influence on Arcadian art. The iconography, consisting of bronze figurines holding both hands to their breasts, bronze and terracotta figures seated side-saddle, and motifs inspired by Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls, likely has complex modes of transmission and does not provide direct evidence for early contact between Cyprus and Arcadia.

Despite some ambiguous hints of earlier connectivity on some level, the evidence suggests that the link between these two regions was highlighted especially after the Classical period, and survived well into the Roman, as demonstrated by Pausanias' stories. Myths regarding the legendary founding of Paphos by King Agapenor, and his descendant Laodice's gift of a peplos to Athena Alea at Tegea, became increasingly popular only after the fifth century BCE, and the cult of Aphrodite Paphia at Tegea may have been introduced during the Hellenistic period (Roy, 1987). While it is possible that the evidence for masked rituals at Lykosoura was related to an intentional link to Cyprus, and its ancient and often famous cults, the difference in the masking rituals portrayed renders this hypothesis relatively weak.

6 Nostalgia and the Religious Past

Aside from mythic tales and complex iconographical traditions, there is little direct evidence to claim a Cypriot influence on Arcadian masking rituals. Cypriot masks are earlier, more abundant, and were clearly worn in religious rituals. Although the exact identity of the masked beings cannot be reconstructed, the predominance of bearded males and the bull underscores their link with a cult of a male deity and those in power. In contrast, the Arcadian masks have a limited history before the Lykosoura evidence in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The evidence is concentrated at one site, Lykosoura, and does not preclude the possibility that the representations depict hybrid figures rather than masked humans. Moreover, the Lykosoura masks do not depict anthropomorphic masks at all, but an array of primarily domestic animals; notably absent, however, is the bull. Finally, although there are some sporadic remnants of masking rituals on Cyprus lasting into the Hellenistic period, and perhaps memories of real traditions translated into mythic-history in the Roman period, the flourishing of masking rituals on the island occurs in the Cypro-Archaic period (c. 750–480 BCE), linked closely with era of the autonomous city kingdoms

(Averett, 2015; 2018). Thus, it is unlikely that there would have been many earlier representations of masks visible to emulate in later times.

Rather than argue for a direct or even indirect Cypriot influence, I argue that masking rituals were likely a Hellenistic and Roman development in Arcadia inspired by a desire to link cultural and religious traditions with a romanticised past. Recent studies have explored Greece's complex engagement and negotiation with the past under Hellenistic and Roman rule; Horster (2017: 603) notes that in these periods cultural, religious, and intellectual identities tended to be formulated in reference to "traditional" Archaic and Classical pasts. The proliferation of hybrid beings in these periods of external domination should be viewed within this historical context.

New scholarship on Arcadian religion has interpreted these depictions and tales of theriomorphic beings not as remnants of past traditions, but rather as newly manufactured and nostalgic creations of the Roman period (Aston, 2011: 168–174; see also Bowie, 1970: 22–23; more generally for new traditions created in the name of restituting old customs, see Horster, 2017: 603). Pausanias is conspicuously silent on post-Classical monuments, but he dwells on evidence for earlier traditions, especially those of the Greek past before Roman domination (Bowie, 1970; Hutton, 2017). Aston states that "the landscape as described by Pausanias is not simply a real arrangement of hills, trees and buildings; it is, rather, a constant series of traces of the past, traces which allow Pausanias to uncover and describe some item of myth or history," and in this nostalgic creation the *Periegesis* fits within the Second Sophistic cultural environment (Aston, 2011: 171; see also Bowie, 1970; Porter, 2001; Platt, 2011: 215–224; Hutton, 2017). Pausanias' exploration of the past celebrates local, small-town traditions as well as monumental Pan-Hellenic ones.

After sporadic earlier examples, the prevalence of theriomorphic beings and masked figures in Arcadia is only securely dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and is concentrated at one site: Lykosoura. The Hellenistic and Roman periods mark the end of independent cities and regions, when Greece was under the control of Hellenistic kings and later Roman emperors. In the face of political domination and cultural change, the Greeks looked back to an independent and idealised past, searching for long-past events and myths, to confirm and renew their Greek identity.

Religion, as a central facet of ancient society, plays a key role in negotiating local identity, especially in periods of foreign domination (Alcock, 1993: 172–214; Papantoniou, 2012: 73–162). In the Greek world, visual and literary

artists as well as pilgrims sought out the archaic in their religious traditions, used now as hallowed mementos of a past golden age. Just as crude xoana cult images were cherished for their supposed and, by this phase, rare antiquity, it appears that theriomorphic imagery in Arcadia was likewise associated with older, and supposedly more primitive religious traditions (Boardman, 2002: 127; Aston, 2011: 244–250). Perhaps, then, these masked figures reflect Hellenistic and Roman concern with preserving earlier religious heritage in the face of its loss. Such unease with the loss of traditional identity is manifested also in Pausanias' theme of moving cult statues, which move, disappear and are remade in the image of the original (Donahue, 1988: 140–147; Pritchett, 1998: 61; Aston, 2011: 172–173).

By the Roman period, the extra-urban sanctuary at Lykosoura, in the *chora* of Megalopolis, was still in use. The material evidence of later dedications and Pausanias' testimonia indicate that unlike other sacred spaces, this sanctuary and its rituals and mysteries continued to flourish well into the second century CE. As Alcock (1993: 206–212) notes, the continuation of such cults suggests a civic commitment to rural cults and the *chora*, and it is likely that local urban elites played a key role in their maintenance. Jost (1985: 126–127) underscores the role of local elites and *euergetai* in the active restoration of sanctuaries in Roman Arcadia. It is possible that the masked figurines here, like those in earlier Cyprus, were material expressions to mark elite access to these cults.

The theriomorphic iconography of Despoina's veil and the dedication of terracotta figurines, then, must be interpreted within the context of the historic events that led to dramatic social changes affecting the Greek countryside, city and religious traditions. Although it is tempting to look to Cyprus as a source of inspiration, given the myths that link these two regions, the reality is more complex than the simple transmission of iconography. In Cyprus, masking rituals were linked to elite, possibly even royal, participation in urban and rural religion in the age of the autonomous city kingdoms. With Cyprus' annexation into the Ptolemaic kingdom, these rites cease rather dramatically (Averett, 2015: 21–27). Sporadic evidence for allusions to masking rituals in later periods could be interpreted as memories of defunct rituals, or as perhaps even a form of local resistance to foreign domination. In Arcadia, evidence for masking rituals before the Hellenistic period is sporadic. Yet, theriomorphic imagery and masking, like xoana, flourish as signs of archaism linked with earlier epochs, only when the region was under foreign rule. The Arcadian masking rituals then, like their Cypriot counterparts, might have

been intentionally revived, manufactured, or referenced in the Hellenistic and Roman periods as part of a larger effort to construct an independent, local identity as the region balanced new realities with mythic past traditions and histories.

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Production of Terracotta Figurines in the Hellenistic Period at the Ancient City of Pherai, Thessaly

Argyroula Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Polyxeni Arachoviti

Abstract

During the last 35 years, the excavations at the ancient city of Pherai, in Thessaly, have brought to light rich material, as well as important documentation relating to the production of terracotta figurines, as part of the intensive activity of the Pheraian ceramic workshops of the Hellenistic period. In this paper some characteristics of the local production are presented by referring to the workshops and the techniques, the contextualisation, the chronology and the use of the terracotta figurines at the city of Pherai, as well as to the possible relationships and influences from other regions.¹

1 Introduction

The ancient city of Pherai (Fig. 11.1), one of the most important cities of Thessaly, was located at the site of the modern historical town of Velestino. The foundation of the city dates back to the Late Neolithic period. The town reached its peak and greatest prosperity during the Mycenaean, the Geometric, the Archaic and the Classical periods, especially in the fourth century BCE. In the Hellenistic period and more particularly during the second and the first centuries BCE the city had a last and temporary flourishing, when it reached its greatest expansion. The decline and the gradual abandonment of Pherai occurred during the early Imperial period (Arachoviti, 2000; Béquignon, 1937; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 1994; 2000a; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou & Arachoviti, 2006; Kakavogiannis, 1977).

The intensive rescue excavations at the city of Pherai during the last 35 years have brought to light rich material,

as well as important documentation relating to the production of terracotta figurines, which formed part of the very productive activity of the Pheraian ceramic workshops of the Hellenistic period.

2 Location and Organisation of the Ceramic Workshops

The concentration of ceramic workshops during the Hellenistic period in a specific area within the city, near the southern wall, has been confirmed beyond any doubt. Other workshops, e.g. for lead-working, operated in the same area, forming a kind of artisanal zone. The coexistence of the workshop and the home of the potter and his family, a common practice not only in antiquity but also in modern times, is documented in several examples at Pherai. The houses of Pheraian potters seem to be similar to those of other citizens, quite large, with spacious rooms and amenities. In the particular case of a ceramic workshop, the organisation of the successive phases of ceramic production is contained in a rather open or semi-open part of the house. The workshop installations and facilities are simple, made of cheap materials, such as small rough stones, fragments of tiles and clay. There are basins for the working of the clay and also for collecting water, shallow pits (*apothetai*) for the rejection of waste materials, and finally three well preserved pear-shaped kilns for firing ceramic products. The third kiln is of relatively small dimensions (Figs. 11.2–3). Generally speaking, the picture of the pottery workshops of ancient Pherai, as they have been preserved to the present, would not differ much from that of traditional ones in modern Greece (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 1992).

The areas for provision of the raw material, mainly clay for pottery production, at Pherai have not yet been identified in order to make possible the necessary comparative archaeometric analysis. However, the water required was supplied from a well next to the workshop installations.

¹ This paper is dedicated to the memory of E. Zervoudaki. Many thanks to our colleague S. Papamargariti for the processing of the images. The finds from the Hellenistic pottery workshops of Pherai are exhibited in the New Wing of the “Athanasakeion” Archaeological Museum of Volos, dedicated to the evolution of the Thessalian city in the inner part of Pagasitikos Gulf, the area of present-day Volos, from the Mycenaean to the Imperial periods, and focussing on the cities of Iolcos, Pherai and Demetrias.

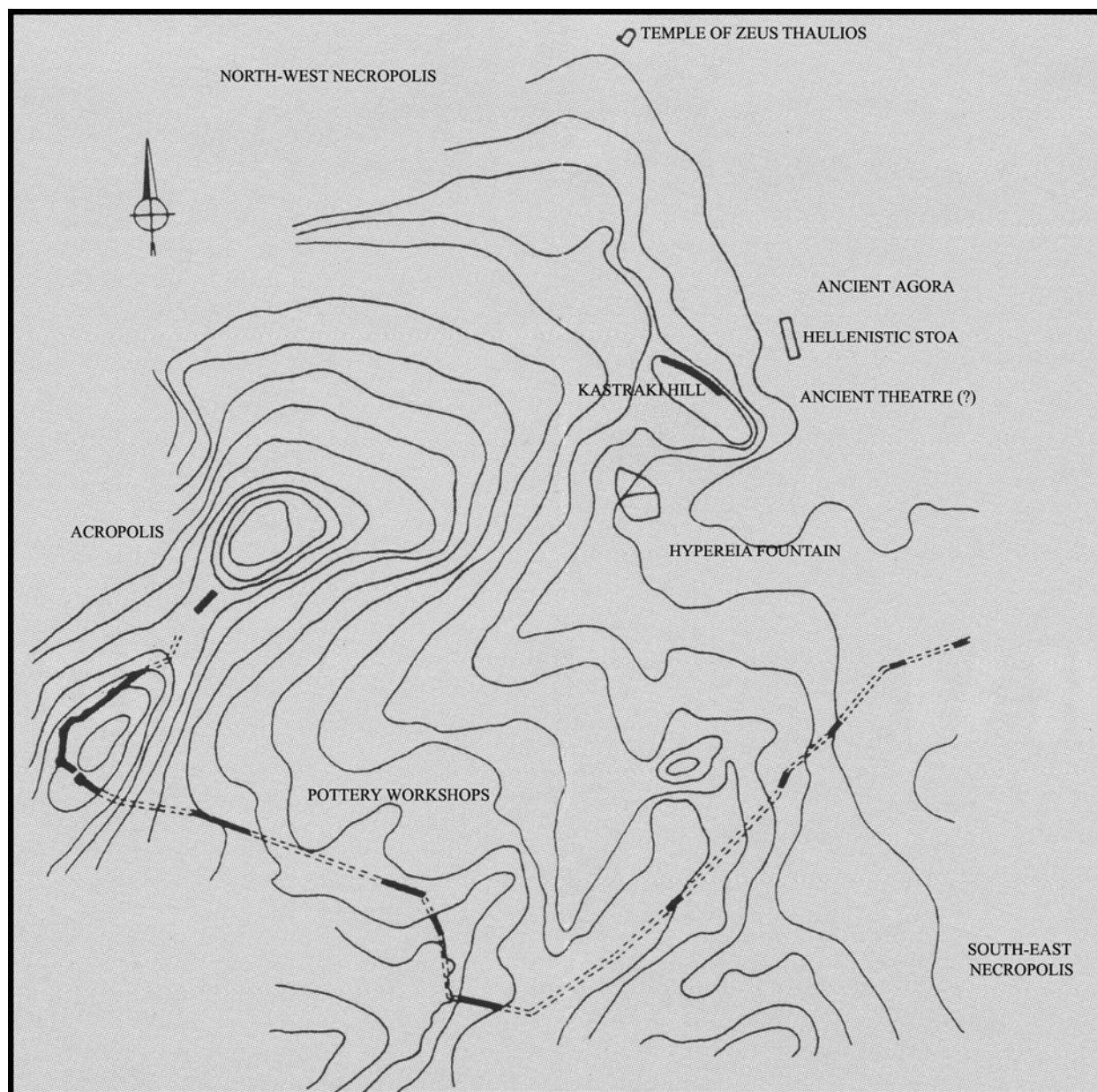


FIGURE 11.1 Topographic plan of the city of Pherai
EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF MAGNESIA

3 Specialisation of Production of the Ceramic Workshops

The specialisation of the ceramic workshops of Pherai can be detected from the content of some waste pits (*apothetai*), which are very rich in information. Within the same pit of the workshop reported previously, failed wheel-made vases and lamps coexisted with moulds for the production of relief bowls and figurines, while moulds for manufacturing lamps were found also elsewhere in the same workshop (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 1992; 1997). The common feature of these clay products is their relatively

small size, which is associated with the small size of the kilns, especially the third one.

In a nearby workshop in the same area, a larger rectangular kiln was found, which immediately created the impression that it was intended for the firing of larger clay products, e.g. roof tiles. The subject of the specialisation of Hellenistic pottery workshops could be studied based on the traditional pottery production of modern times, although of course we should be very careful when drawing such parallels. However, the traditional art of clay is known to be separated into, on one hand, the finest pottery, and, on the other, the coarser manufacture of bricks



FIGURE 11.2 A small pottery kiln of a ceramic workshop at Pherai
EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF MAGNESIA

and tiles, and the potters considered themselves as artists, as their craftsmanship differs in technique and elaboration from that of brick and tile makers (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 1998). It is therefore likely that the specialisation of the ceramic workshops is more or less a matter of the size of the products and not of their kind of use. However, it is a fact that in antiquity the employment/use of wheel technology ran parallel with the use of moulds in one and the same workshop, as well as the simultaneous construction of a large variety of ceramic products, which is something

that also happens in modern traditional workshops. In one of these, the potter proudly claims that he produces seventy different kinds of pottery.

The approach to the study of mould-made clay production is a very interesting subject (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 1997), which requires, in our view, a careful, close look without an uncritical acceptance of established opinions, e.g. that the moulds are imported from major production centres to the smaller ones. In addition to the possible importation of moulds from other areas, mould production



FIGURE 11.3 Hellenistic pottery workshops of Pherai in the exhibition at the New Wing of the “Athanassakeion” Archaeological Museum of Volos

EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES OF MAGNESIA

was also done locally. The use of local moulds is justified by the finds themselves, evidencing local mould production in the workshops of Pherai (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 2000b).

The construction of moulds for the production of terracotta figurines is certainly more difficult and requires the use of good quality prototypes. In the workshop of Pherai there are some moulds of exceptional quality (Figs. 11.4a–b), which probably had some specific bronze statuettes as prototypes. It also seems possible that the coroplasts had a number of negative imprints in clay available (Figs. 11.5a–b), which they took from bronze or marble prototypes, statuettes or vases, and used to compose their own creations constructing moulds for the production of various terracotta figurines.

The fingerprints of the coroplasts can still be seen on imprints in clay, as well as on parts of figurines, at the joint of the two parts (front and back). Figurines produced from the same mould are generally rare, as are figurines manufactured from worn moulds. This fact allows us to assume that the construction of new moulds was a continuous process in the workshops of Pherai.

Consequently, in our opinion, the coroplasts were applying first of all hand-modelling and experimenting with clay models that may also have been used as test pieces for firing. The application of a mixed technique, which combined the use of moulds with the free elaboration of the plastic details of the terracotta figurines, was also a common practice.

A similar practice is followed and maintained in traditional pottery workshops in Greece, as in Mr Nicholas Rodios' workshop on the island of Skopelos, where the potter, together with the wheeled vases and other clay products manufactured for sale, in moments of relaxation creates figurines as test models, which are fired in the kiln and then kept (Fig. 11.6). Some of them are created by his children while playing. Some new insights into the materials used for the decoration of Hellenistic terracotta figurines in the Pheraian workshops are presented in the paper by Eleni Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti *et al.* in the present volume.



FIGURE 11.4 a. A mould for the production of terracotta figurines from a workshop of Pherai, and b. its positive cast
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF VOLOS, INV. NO. BE 12097



FIGURE 11.5
 a. A negative imprint from a workshop
 of Pherai, and b. its positive cast
 ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF
 VOLOS, INV. NO. BE 12095



FIGURE 11.6 Modern terracotta figurines in Mr Nicholas Rodios' pottery workshop on the island of Skopelos

PHOTO: A. DOULGERI-INTZESILOGLOU

4 The Terracotta Figurines of Pherai

During the last few years we have been in the process of preparing a corpus which includes all the terracotta figurines found at Pherai, most of which come from recent excavations (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 2010). The figurines are of very high quality, so we expect that their systematic study may indicate the city of Pherai as one of the greatest, if not the most important coroplastic centre in Thessaly. It should be mentioned that, in general, very few figurines have been preserved intact. Most are in a fragmentary condition, while a large number of fragments remain unidentified. Consequently, the study of figurines is relatively difficult and requires great patience and care to yield the best possible results, which will be confirmed by the systematic collection and documentation of all existing material. We believe that our effort is significant as it is the first program of its kind undertaken in Thessaly.

In order to facilitate the systematic recording of the terracotta figurines of Pherai we have created a database, which includes all the analytical data of each figurine. To date, this database contains around 600 entries, which will continuously grow to include all the existing figurines, as well as what will be found in the future. Our effort focuses on a synthetic approach based on the data concerning all material, as well as the grouping of it and the interpretation of the production process, by referring to the contextualisation, stratigraphy, chronology and use of the terracotta figurines at the city of Pherai. The attempted grouping of the figurines becomes difficult because of the fragmentary nature of the material. Most terracottas represent female figures, but there are also some male and animal figurines, as well as small clay plaques with various relief representations.



FIGURE 11.7 Female bust (*protome*) from Pherai
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF VOLOS, INV. NO.
BE 37141



FIGURE 11.8 Female figurine from Pherai
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF VOLOS, INV. NO.
M 4549, 004

5 A Proposed Grouping of the Terracotta Figurines of Pherai

1. Female busts (*protomai*) of relatively large dimensions are rather rare. There are few examples (Fig. 11.7), including fragmentary heads and faces.
2. Standing female figurines of smaller dimensions are the most common. Only a few examples are preserved intact (Fig. 11.8). Many heads of female figurines were found, having various elaborate hairstyles, with head-covers, wreaths, crowns, bands, diadems and jewels, the great variety of which makes their grouping rather difficult (Figs. 11.9). The examples of heads produced from the same mould are very rare. The recognisable fragments of draped bodies of female figurines, as well as of naked ones, are also numerous, but less so than the heads.
3. Seated female figurines are very rare.
4. Male figurines are also rare. Among the examples is the head of a young satyr, as well as a naked male body.

5. Jointed dolls are represented by a few specimens of human limbs, e.g. a leg bearing a hole on the top.
6. Grotesque figures (caricatures) with naturalistic features are not common. We have a few characteristic figurines, such as of an old woman, an old man, an old satyr (Fig. 11.10), etc.
7. Animal figurines are rare. Some specimens, such as a bird, a horse and a snake, are the most characteristic.
8. Miniature objects are not common. A ritual censer in the form of an altar is a rare example.
9. Small terracotta relief plaques with various depictions constitute a particular group. One of the most remarkable is a fragmentary relief plaque most likely depicting a symposium.

The exact interpretation of the figures that represent the figurines has not progressed satisfactorily up to now due to lack of identification characteristics. We expect that the systematic study of the figurines will provide answers on this subject.



FIGURE 11.9 Heads of female figurines from Pherai
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF VOLOS, INV. NOS. BE 46028 AND BE 48018



FIGURE 11.10 Head of a figurine of an old satyr
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF VOLOS, INV. NOS. BE 37094, 002

6 Use of the Figurines

Figurines are common in the city of Pherai: apart from the workshops, they are found mostly in private houses and in sanctuaries, such as that of Zeus Thaulios and Ennodia, where a substantial deposit was found recently, containing terracotta figurines of high quality, associated with a small cult building of the Hellenistic period (Arachoviti *et al.*, 2012: 454). The use of the figurines as grave offerings was not usual in the necropolis of Pherai.

7 Chronology

The provenance of the material under study mostly from stratified archaeological contexts makes the dating of individual examples or groups of figurines relatively easy. The activity of the ceramic workshop, where most of the moulds were found, is dated between the late third century BCE and the early first century BCE, a period that coincides with a temporary flourishing of Pherai, before the decline and abandonment of the city during the early Imperial centuries (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 1992).

8 Relationships and Influences from Other Regions

A comparative study of the figurines from Pherai in relation to close parallels of the same period from other regions, mainly from Macedonia and Asia Minor, is in progress, in order to detect any interactions through land and sea trade routes. The predictable influence from the Macedonian workshops, because of the long presence of the Macedonians in Thessaly (from the middle of the fourth century BCE to 168 BCE), as well as the influence from the Ionic workshops, because of the commercial relations between the city of Pherai and the cities of Asia Minor (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 1994: 82), although visible in the production of the Pheraian workshops, did not result in an exact imitation of the Macedonian or the Ionic production. The Pheraian coroplasts drew their own inspiration and maintained a high degree of originality in their creations, as also in the case of relief mould-made bowls, mould-made lamps and other ceramic products, especially if one considers that all these different objects were produced in the same workshop.

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Some New Insights into the Materials Used for the Decoration of Hellenistic Terracotta Figurines in the Pherai Workshops, Greece

Eleni Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti, Manos Dionyssiou, Argyroula Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Polyxeni Arachoviti

Abstract

Non-invasive XRF analyses analysis has been performed on more than 250 terracotta figurines from Pherai in order to determine the quality of the pigments that have survived on their surface, as well as other materials that have been used for their decoration. During the analysis the existence of tin metal foil was revealed. In most cases it is poorly preserved and obscured by a thick layer of soil and salts. Tin foil was identified in 10% of the examined pieces, and the results have been confirmed with a scanning electron microscope-energy dispersive spectrometer (SEM-EDS). The thickness of the foil was also measured, and the organic binding medium, with which it was attached to the surface of the figurines, was determined.¹

1 Introduction

The ancient city of Pherai was an important Hellenistic centre of a major local industry producing several types of clay objects, including terracotta artefacts. A large quantity of such material was collected as a result of the excavations carried out there systematically, over the last thirty years (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 2000; 2007; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou & Arachoviti, 2008). The material comes mainly from stratified levels and more specifically from private houses, private sanctuaries, and less often from public areas, sanctuaries and tombs. Of specific interest is the existence of workshops with proper installations for the production of this kind of objects, moulds and other tools, evidence of local production, as well as

apothetai (refuse pits) with damaged products (Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 1992; 1994; 1997; 1998; Ashton, 2007).

This material became the focal point of a research, which started in 2008. The main purpose of this study was to better understand the techniques, which were developed for the manufacture of figurines, the detection of the pigments, which had survived on their surface, as well as other materials that were used for their decoration.

Approximately 250 specimens from 15 sites in the Pherai area have been analysed so far. The figurines vary in height, from 5 cm to 24 cm, and most are preserved in small fragments. The macroscopic study of the specimens allowed us to observe that some figurines were undecorated, while others had pigments applied straight to the ceramic surface, mainly of black or red colour. Some others had a white substrate (slip), which covered the whole body. It was on top of this substrate that the pigments were applied.

Non-destructive surface analysis, using pX-ray fluorescence spectrometry operating in air and ultraviolet (UV) light were the main methods used in the first stage of this study. Most of the pigments have been determined and it was also possible to identify important aspects of the decoration of these figurines that hitherto had escaped notice.

During the analysis of the pigments, high levels of tin were detected in some areas. After careful cleaning of the surface of the objects, fragments of metal tin foil appeared. In most cases, the tin foil is poorly preserved and covered with a thick layer of soil and salts, which made it invisible. After a more careful examination of the rest of the figurines, tin foil has been identified in 15% of the examined pieces. The presence of the tin foil is beyond any doubt as it has been confirmed with SEM-EDS. Its thickness has been measured and the organic binding medium, with which it was adhered to the surface of the figurines, has also been determined.

The use of tin foil for decorating ceramic figurines was not known to date and its identification now raises an issue of major conservational, archaeological and analytical interest. The only report, which exists in the Hellenic area, is in the publication of the terracotta figurines from

¹ The analysis of the figurines took place at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London (UCL), and was funded by UCL-Qatar. Special thanks go to Th. Rehren, then Director of UCL-Qatar for his valuable help on this work and his comments to our scientific problems. Many thanks also go to K. Reeves, Wolfson Science Laboratories at the Institute of Archaeology, UCL, for his help in the analysis of the objects, as well as to the Directorate of Conservation of Antiquities, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, for giving us permission to transport samples to London UCL (Transportation permission, YPPOT/SYNT/F44/1261/17623, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Directorate of Conservation of Antique and Modern Monuments).

Veroia, Greece, where the author mentions the presence of a silver foil, preserved in the area of the necklace. The author describes it as a very thin metallic layer (Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2002: 63) but no chemical analysis had been performed to verify the presence of silver. The only mention of the use of tin foil decoration is the one used both on Mycenaean and Hellenistic ceramic vessels (Holmberg, 1983; Gillis, 1991; 1992; Gillis & Bohm, 1994; McCarthy, 2003; Kotitsa & Schussler, 2002; Kotitsa & Nazlis, 2010), and this opens up interesting possibilities for comparative technical and art historical studies.

2 Methods of Analysis

Given the availability of the use of non-destructive techniques, a conscious decision was taken not to sample the objects destructively. The research was initially performed at the Department of Conservation of Antiquities of the Archaeological Ephorate of Magnesia, and was continued at the Wolfson Science Laboratories, at the Institute of Archaeology, UCL.

The methods used were:

- a) X-Ray Fluorescence (as the main technique of examination), a portable, though not handheld, ED-XRF spectrometer developed at the Institute of Nuclear Physics, NCSR Demokritos. The XRF spectrometer is consisted of an Rh-anode side-window, a low power X-ray tube (50 W, 40 kV, 125 μ m Be window), a PIN X-ray detector and a multichannel analyser (MCA) card. The analytical range of this portable XRF spectrometer extends from Z=14 (silicon) up to Z=92 (uranium). It operates under two distinct conditions, one unfiltered mode with the voltage set at 15 kV and a filtered one with the voltage set at 40 kV; we used both for the analyses presented here. Two laser pointers are mounted in the spectrometer head in such a way that the intersection point of their beams coincides with the crosspoint of the incident X-ray beam axis and the detector axis. The beam spot at the sample position has a diameter of less than 2 mm. The spectrometer head is attached in an X-Y-Z position, allowing its easy movement in the X-Y directions (Karydas *et al.* 2003; Karydas 2007).
- b) Ultraviolet light; it is an easily used and accepted technique to identify red madders and as such it was chosen for this study due to existed limitations to use only non-destructive techniques for the analyses of the objects (Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti & Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 2010).

- c) Scanning electron microscopy with the use of a Hitachi Environmental Scanning Electron Microscope-energy dispersive spectrometer (ESEM-EDS).

3 Results

3.1 Decorative Material 1: Tin Foil

As already mentioned, during the study of the pigments found on the figurines of Pherai, high levels of tin were detected in some areas. After careful examination in preserved grey and/or black layers it became clear that tin foil was used for the decoration of the figurines at certain points. In most cases, the tin foil was either very corroded, giving the impression of corrosion products and/or soil encrustations or it is preserved in small quantities and dimensions, covered with soil encrustations and salts and thus it was invisible.

We have to notice here that the identification of tinning is very difficult without any scientific analysis, prior to conservation treatment, as it appears as grey or black layers on top of the object's surface. The removal of these remains and thus the loss of valuable information is often been made during the cleaning process of the figurines.

In some samples, the tin foil has been found in combination with cinnabar (HgS)-mercury and sulphur traces detectable both with ED-XRF and SEM-EDS and we assume that the artist wanted to give emphasis to a certain area with a golden red colour; it is clear that the tin foil was used for decorative purposes on such things as ear-rings (Fig. 12.1), necklaces, hair bands (Figs. 12.2–12.3), wings and thrones. It probably appeared like silver or gold depending on its chemical treatment (Holmberg, 1983; Gillis, 1992; McCarthy, 2003). Gillis and Bohm (1994), made experiments how to apply tin in ceramic vessels. In their attempts they wrapped some sherds with tin foil and placed them into the oven to heat them to just over tin's melting point (232°C) to see if tin would sink into the ceramic. At 220–230°C they found that a chemical change had occurred in tin turning the silver-coloured tin into "gold" with a colour of 18K gold. This theory has been rejected by Kotitsa and Schüssler (2002), who claim that tin appeared as a silvery foil and was used as a cheaper alternative of silver.

In order to confirm the presence of the tin foil, fragments of the figurines were transported to London, to the Institute of Archaeology of UCL, where its presence was certified with SEM-EDS (Fig. 12.4). With the same instrument it was also possible to measure the thickness of the foil which is 10–13.5 μ m (Fig. 12.5).



FIGURE 12.1 Figurine BE 4549,004. Tin foil has been detected on the ears.



FIGURE 12.2 Tin foil is visible on the hair of figurine BE 29845, Tachoula site, Pherai.

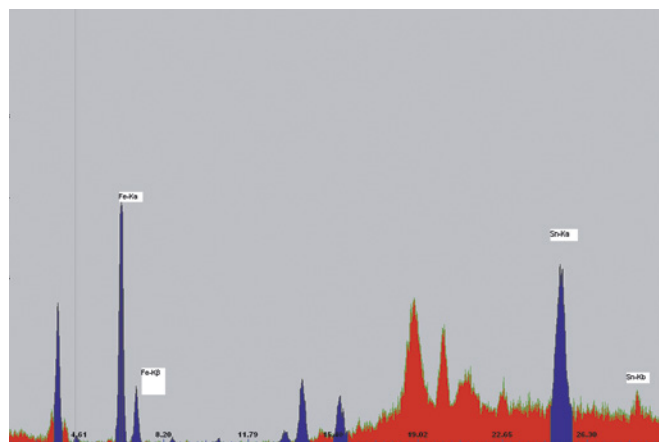


FIGURE 12.3 XRF spectrum showing the presence of tin on figurine BE 29845

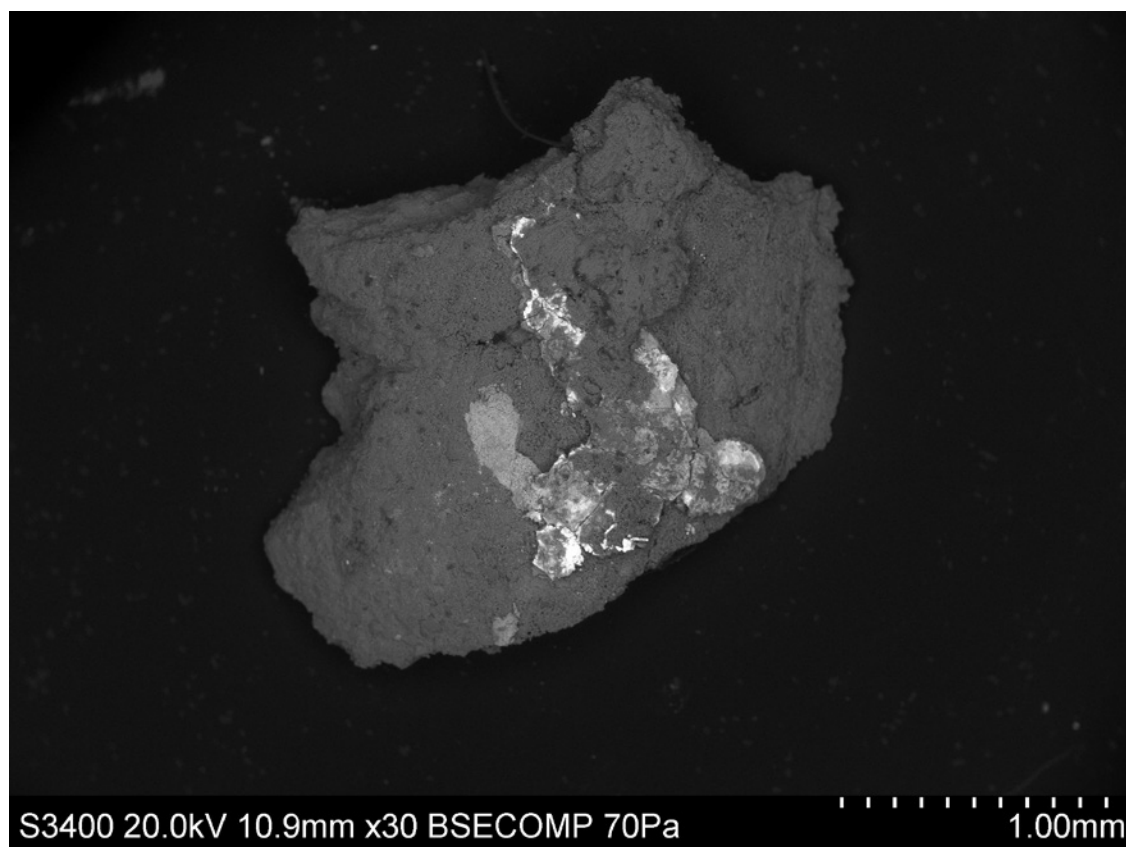


FIGURE 12.4 SEM (BSE) photomicrograph of figurine ID 27093, Stamouli site

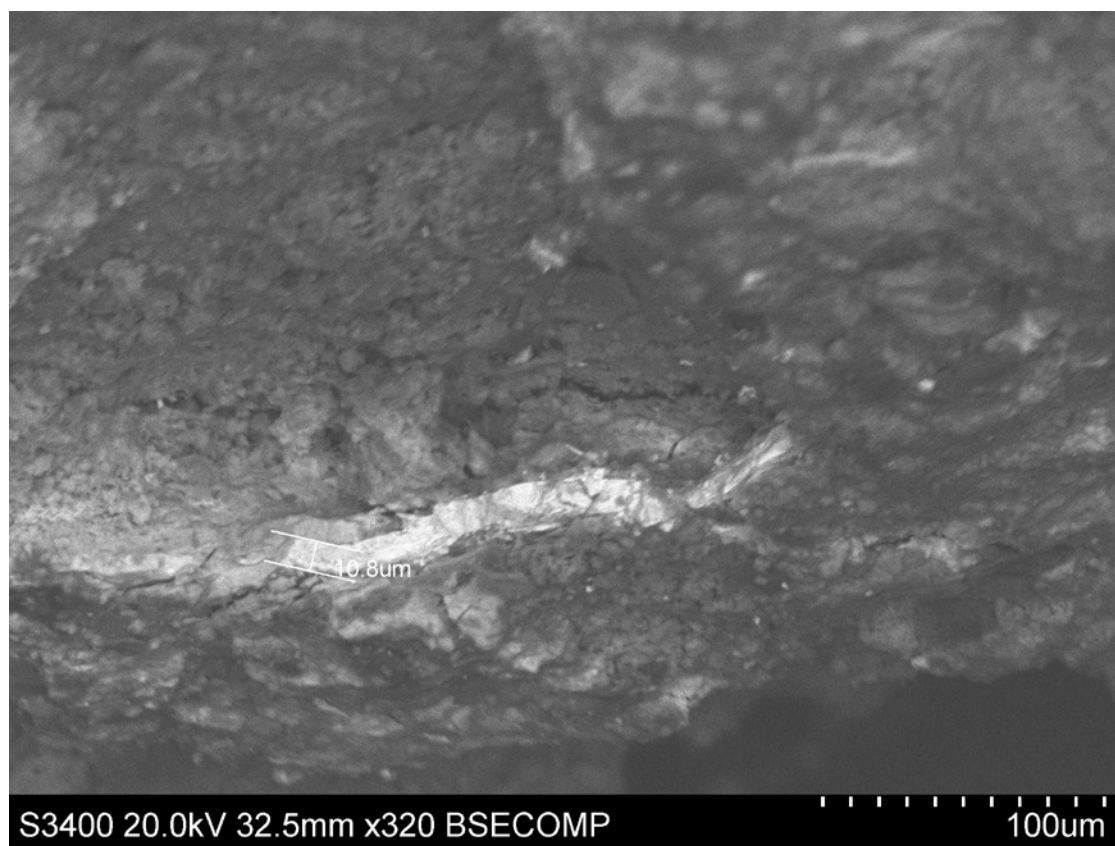


FIGURE 12.5 SEM (BSE) photomicrograph of figurine ID 27093, measurement of the thickness of the tin foil. See also comment 35

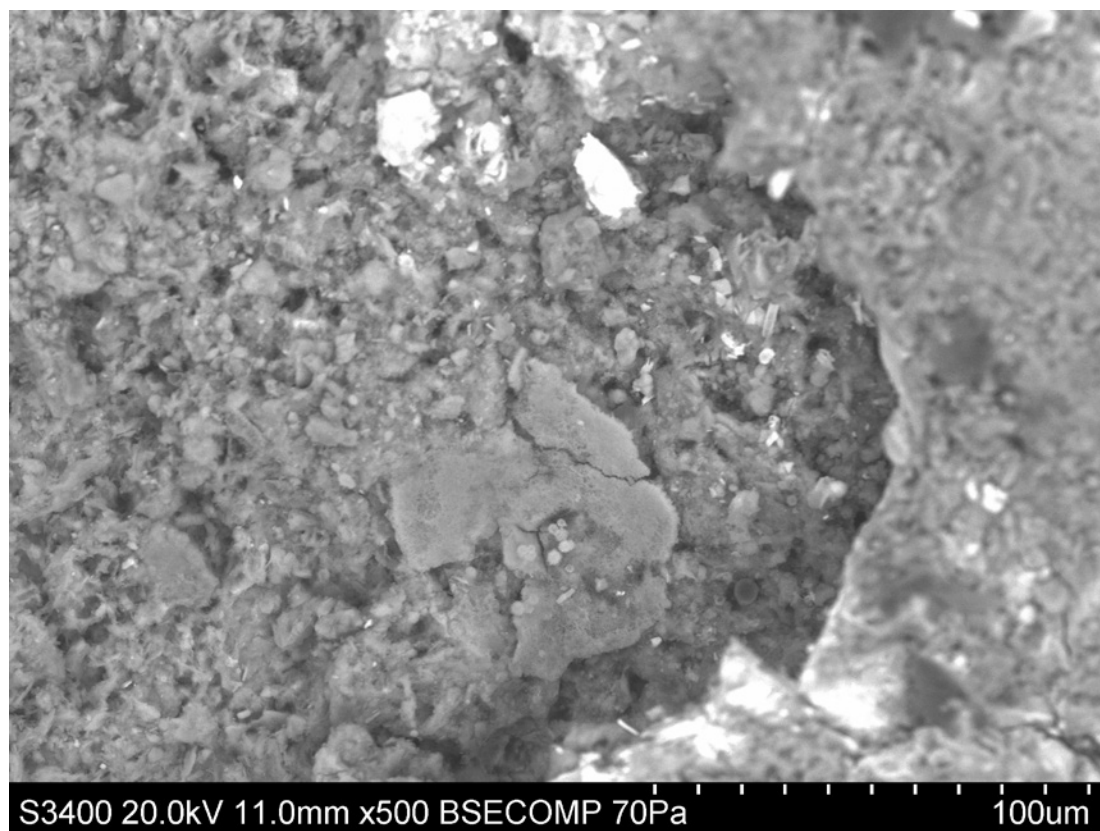


FIGURE 12.6 SEM (BSE) photomicrograph of organic binding medium detected in figurine ID 27093

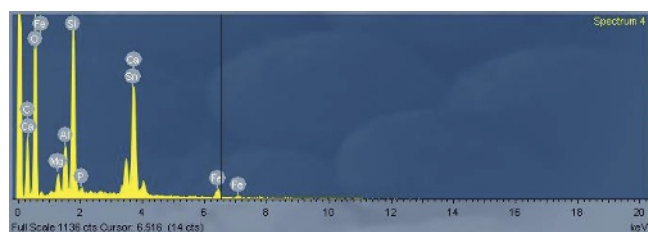


FIGURE 12.7 Spectrum of the organic binding medium detected in figurine ID 27093

3.2 The Organic Binding Medium

During the examination of the tin foil with SEM-EDS it was possible to identify the binding medium with which it was attached to the ceramic surface (Fig. 12.6). The same binding medium was used for the adhesion of the white slip on the ceramic surface and possibly for the application of the pigments either on the slip or the ceramic body itself. The binding medium was organic and it is attributed either to fish bone or to egg white, as high levels of calcium (Ca) and a good amount of phosphorus (P) are present (Lucas & Harris, 1989) (Fig. 12.7).

SEM-EDS is not the most appropriate technique for the detection of organic materials; however, the information we have obtained from this was enough to understand the nature of the material used. Fourier transform

infrared spectroscopy (FTIR), high-performance liquid chromatography (HPLC) or gas chromatography (GC) are not considered for the time being, as the sample is too small, and thus too valuable to be destroyed.

3.3 Decorative Material II: the Pigments

The identification of the pigments by means of ED-XRF analysis started as an experiment and it was based either on the detection of a specific single element or on a certain group of elements, which determine a particular pigment compound. The relative XRF concentrations among the detected elements were also taken into consideration and they should be in accordance either with theoretical estimated relative concentrations, or with experimental ones determined by measuring standard pigments. These procedures were followed and in some specimen cases allowed the confirmation of the identity of the pigments.

The identification of organic pigments was carried out considering the analytical range of the pXRF spectrometer and the absence from the XRF spectrum of any major or minor characteristic X-ray peak that corresponds to a metallic element. These parameters indirectly indicate the presence of an organic pigment (Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti & Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 2010).

4 Raw Pigments

The discovery of raw pigments at workshops in Pherai is of particular interest. At the Stamouli site, which is associated with the area of the ceramic workshops, raw pigments were found in 1985, during excavations. They include red and yellow ochre and green earth. As these pigments had not been analysed before, their analysis was performed for the first time for the purposes of this study. Green earth-celadonite $(K,Na)(Fe^3,Al,Mg)_2(Si,Al)_4O_{10}(OH)_2$ – is the most common green pigment used in antiquity, and Pliny refers to it as a colour for cheap imitation of malachite (Kakoulli, 2009: 46; Grissom, 1985).

A sherd with remains of Egyptian blue ($CaCuSi_4O_{10}$) was also found at the same site (Figs. 12.8 and 12.9). Later, in 1988, at the Apostolina site, in a location where a lead workshop had been identified (Intzesiloglou, 1993; Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti & Rehren, 2007), a ball of Egyptian blue of approximately 3 cm in diameter and 15 g in weight was excavated (Fig. 12.10).

According to Rehren *et al.* (2001) ceramic crucibles with remains of Egyptian blue were found in the excavations, suggesting that this artificial pigment was manufactured on site. Sometimes, semi-finished Egyptian blue was exported to other areas around the country to be worked and reshaped. The analyses, both with pXRF and SEM-EDS, of the ball of Egyptian blue showed that scrap bronze was used for its manufacture, while pure copper was used for the Egyptian blue on the ceramic sherd. These results suggest that the Egyptian blue in the first case may have been imported while in the latter was locally made.

4.1 White

Almost half of the 250 fragments of figurines examined so far preserve a white slip which helped both the application of the pigments and the creation of colour hues. It was made of four different types of white pigment, namely calcite ($CaCO_3$), gypsum or selenite [$CaSO_4 \cdot 2(H_2O)$], kaolinite ($Al_2Si_2O_5(OH)_4$) and lead white [$2PbCO_3 \cdot Pb(OH)_2$]. Calcite is a very common white colour pigment and was found in 85 fragments either as the main component of the substrate or mixed with other coloured pigments to produce lighter hues (i.e. pink). Gypsum or selenite has so far been identified only in 14 white substrates while kaolinite has been detected only in one sample. Lead white is present in 25 fragments. Lead white is used in three ways: a) unmixed on the face of the figurines, b) in combination with other colours in order to produce other hues, and c) in some cases as a substrate for the application of the pink madder lake pigment or red cinnabar.

4.2 Yellow

Yellow ochre ($Fe_2O_3 \cdot H_2O$) is the main yellow pigment used in the Pherai figurines. In seven cases lead is present, something that leads us to assume that either lead white was mixed with yellow ochre in order to obtain a different hue of yellow, or that massicot was used as a yellow pigment (Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti & Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 2010: 155). In one case, yellow cinnabar (HgS) was detected, applied on top of a slip of kaolinite (Figs. 12.11 and 12.12).

4.3 Red

Two variations of red colour have been identified so far: red ochre (Fe_2O_3) and cinnabar (HgS). Cinnabar has been detected only on a few figurines, mostly on pieces now classified as elaborate (Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti & Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 2010: 155). Here again, the presence of lead could be attributed to the mixture of the red ochre with lead white in order to obtain a different colour hue.

4.4 Pink

Seventeen figurines show the presence of a pink pigment. Five out of them had a strong reaction to UV light, which probably indicates the presence of an organic colourant such as red madder (see above). In the remaining 12 objects, pink colour seems to have been produced from a mixture of red ochre and a calcium compound (Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti & Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 2010: 156).

4.5 Blue and Light Blue

Blue and light blue pigments have been identified on 17 figurine fragments. In one case, the blue pigment has iron as the dominant element and is characterised by the complete absence of copper. The pXRF results have been confirmed with SEM-EDS. It can be attributed either to glaucophane [$Na_2(Mg,Fe)_3Al_2Si_8O_{22}(OH)_2$] (Filippakis *et al.*, 1976; Aloupi *et al.*, 2000) or to vivianite [$Fe_3 + 2(PO_4) \cdot 8(H_2O)$] as phosphorus is detected. However, phosphorus could also be attributed to the organic binding medium.

In the other cases where a blue or light blue pigment was used, this was identified as Egyptian blue, with its typical composition of calcium (Ca), copper (Cu) and silicon (Si). No chemical compounds, such as tin or lead, were found associated with this pigment and this comes in contradiction to what is known so far, namely that bronze scrap was used for the production of Egyptian blue instead of copper ore (Lee & Quirke, 2000; Chase, 1971). However, lead is present only in one case and it is assumed that it might have originated from the addition

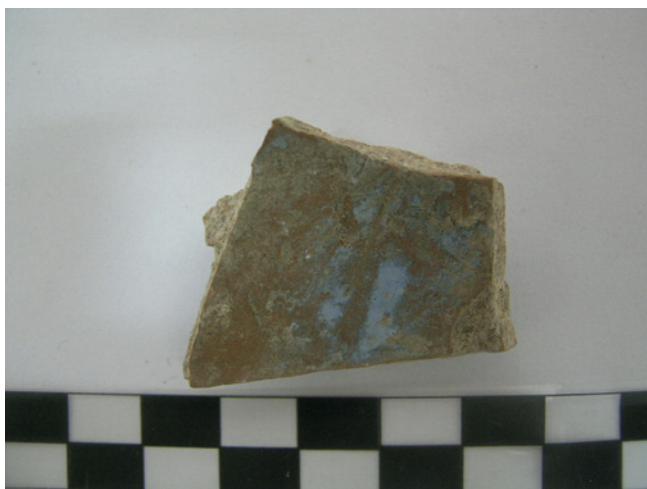


FIGURE 12.8 Stamouli site. Ceramic sherd, ID 27152, with remains of Egyptian blue



FIGURE 12.10 Apostolina site, BE 45948, Egyptian blue ball found in a lead workshop

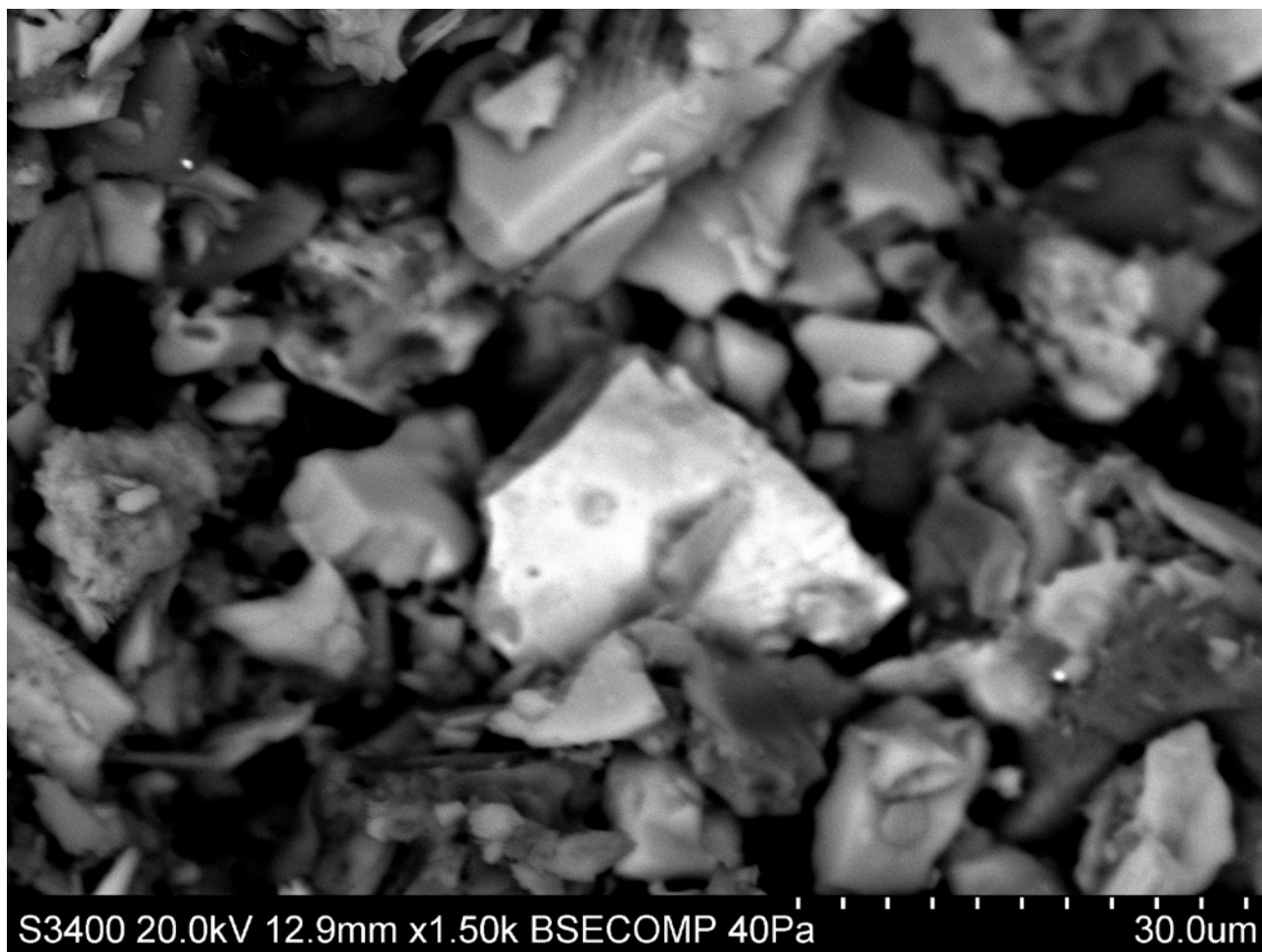


FIGURE 12.9 SEM (BSE) photomicrograph of Eb anisotropic crystals on ceramic sherd, ID 27152



FIGURE 12.11 SEM (BSE) photomicrograph of sample ID 32494, showing the presence of yellow cinnabar

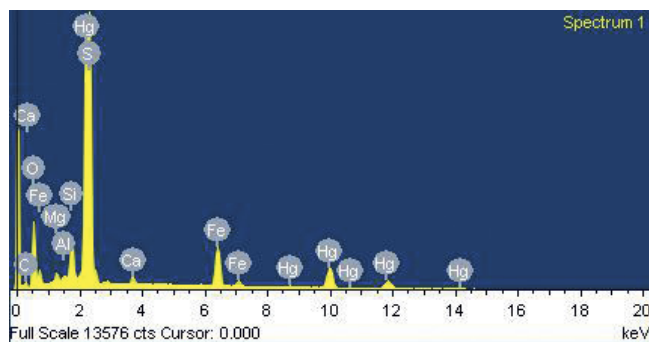


FIGURE 12.12 XRF spectrum of sample ID 32494, showing the presence of yellow cinnabar

of lead glass for the production of this artificial pigment (Kakoulli, 2009: 40–41).

4.6 Grey

Grey colour pigment has been identified in six samples. In most cases it seems to be a mixture of carbon and white while in three cases a zinc (Zn) peak was detected.

4.7 Green

A green colour pigment has been detected only in one sample. The pigment consists mainly of silicon (Si), calcium (Ca), iron (Fe), copper (Cu), lead (Pb), and antimony (Sb). We suggest that it could be a mixture of Egyptian blue and lead antimonate, an artificial yellow pigment.

A strange blue-green pigment consisting of silicon (Si), sulphur (S), potassium (K), calcium (Ca), manganese (Mn), a high concentration of iron (Fe) and a high peak of zinc (Zn) was also found during the analysis of a particular figurine. The analysis with SEM-EDS has not given any more reliable information about the nature of this pigment.

4.8 Black

“Black pigments seem to be either carbon black, manganese-rich, or iron-rich, identified either by their negative XRF spectra due to the invisibility of carbon to an air-path XRF spectrometer, or single peaks of iron or manganese, respectively” (Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti & Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, 2010: 156).

5 Conclusions

The terracotta figurines presented in this paper are among the most important finds from the Pherai excavations. The figurines examined originate mainly from ceramic workshops, houses and shrines, and a few from the temple of Zeus Thaulios and the goddess Enodia. Unfortunately, few of them are preserved complete while most are in a fragmentary condition.

The figurines belong to two categories; those that are covered with a white slip, on which various colours were applied, and those that show colours, mostly black or red, on some parts of the ceramic surface only.

The results of this study so far have revealed new evidence and add to the knowledge of early decorative works. During the analysis of the pigments with a pXRF device operating in air, a major new discovery came to light. This is the presence of tin metal foil, which throws new light both on the art historical reconstruction and decorative colour schemes, as well as on the conservation treatment of these items. Tin metal foil is poorly preserved in all cases and was, therefore, not observed during the conservation process, as it was covered with crusts of soil and salts, which made it invisible. It has been found on areas representing hair, earrings, necklaces, thrones and wings, an observation which suggests that the artists wanted to give emphasis to these special areas, as tin probably appeared like silver or gold. The tin foil is 10–13.5 µm thick and was measured with SEM-EDS.

We know from the literature that tin foil was used on ceramic vessels from the Mycenaean period onwards. However, the presence of tin in Hellenistic figurines is new information and we need to be more aware of this possibility in the future, and study it further, both from the point of view of conservation and in terms of the archaeological issues and questions it raises.

Tin foil was not the only unexpected find in this study. The organic binding medium, egg-white or fish bone glue, with which the tin foil was attached to the ceramic surface, was also detected. We know that organic materials were used as binders of pigments (Kaml & Kenndler, 2007) and the question that arises now is whether phosphorus, which is detected in 20% of the samples, is attributed to this. Many analytical methods exist for the identification of the natural organic binders, i.e. Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy (FTIR), micro-Raman spectroscopy (MRS), infrared spectrometry (IR), pyrolysis-gas chromatography/mass spectrometry (GC/MS), gas chromatography (GC) or capillary electrophoresis (CE) (Kaml & Kenndler, 2007; Mills & White, 1994) but none has been

applied to the remains of the organic binding medium detected for two basic reasons: a) the two samples on which it was detected are too small and hence irreplaceable, and b) the limitations imposed by the use of non-destructive techniques only.

The results of the analysis of the pigments presented in this study show the potential contribution of pXRF to this type of analysis and can be used as a basis for further research. pXRF is suitable only for the determination of the elemental composition of the analysed pigments and this is one of its disadvantages for this type of analysis. However, we were able to identify most of the pigments and if in the future we have the permission to continue the research combining other methods, i.e. optical microscopy, X-ray diffraction (XRD) and FTIR, we will be able to better understand the technology of the ancient pigments, since XRD and FTIR analyses can give complementary information on the nature of the pigments, while optical microscopy can reveal the layers of the pigments on the terracotta figurines (Maravelaki-Kalaitzaki & Kallithrakas-Kontos, 2003).

The colours detected on the Pherai figurines are: white, red, yellow, blue, green, pink, black and grey. Their preservation is generally poor. Four different types of white substrates were identified, namely calcium compounds (calcite or aragonite), gypsum or selenite, kaolinite and lead white. Lead white and kaolinite are present in elaborate pieces and especially in those originating from the Temple of Zeus Thaulios and the goddess Enodia. As in Macedonian paintings (Kakoulli, 1999; 2009), lead white was also used here in three different ways (see above). It is rarely used to colour the face.

Yellow ochre is the main yellow pigment used in the Pherai figurines and in one case yellow cinnabar was detected. The colour yellow is used in the area of the clothes and more specifically in their folds.

Two variations of red colour have been identified so far, red ochre and cinnabar. Red ochre is one of the most common pigments of the ancient world (Photos-Jones *et al.*, 1997; Stratis *et al.*, 2002; Brecolouaki *et al.*, 2006) and has been frequently used in Hellenistic paintings (Brecolouaki, 2006; Perdikatsis & Brecolouaki, 2008; Kakoulli, 2009) and on marble *stelai* (Perdikatsis *et al.*, 2002). Cinnabar, mercury sulphide, has been detected here only in a few figurines. Red colour is used on the hair, the eyes, and the clothes.

The pink colour, which exists in some figurines, appears to have been produced from a mixture of red ochre and a calcium compound. For the rest, the pink colour could be attributed to organic dye – possibly red madder

(*Erythrodanum majus* or *Rubia tinctorum*) – as the colorant had a strong reaction to UV light. Pink colour is mainly used on the lips and on the clothes.

The artificial pigment calcium copper silicate, known as Egyptian blue, has been identified in 12 out of 17 fragments of figurines. In one piece, the blue pigment has iron as the dominant element and is characterised by the complete absence of copper. In the remaining fragments it was not possible to analyse it as it was preserved in small quantities.

The presence of a ball of Egyptian blue at the Apostolina site, and the powder residue which has been found on a ceramic sherd at the Stamouli site can be used as evidence for both the local production and perhaps the import of this artificial pigment or even for the presence of two different types of workshops. The fact that no tin is detected in the Egyptian blue found on the Pherai figurines is an interesting issue. Studies of Bronze Age Egyptian blue (Hatton *et al.*, 2008 also Tite *et al.*, 1984; Ulrich, 1987) regularly show the presence of small amounts of tin, suggesting that bronze scrap was being used as the copper source for the manufacture of Egyptian blue. In the Pherai case, it seems that pure copper has been used for the manufacture of this pigment, and not recycled bronze, as has been suggested elsewhere (Calamiotou *et al.*, 1983; Mazzocchin *et al.*, 2004; Hatton *et al.*, 2008; Kakoulli, 2009).

Could this fact be indicative of a Mesopotamian origin (Hatton *et al.*, 2008), or does it reflect a broader change in the recipe during the Hellenistic period as opposed to earlier practice? This is something that needs to be explored further. As tin was not detected in any of the samples, we suggest that the lead found in one sample of Egyptian blue might result from the addition of either lead glass (Kakoulli, 2009: 40–41) or lead scrap (Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti & Rehren, 2007) for the production of this artificial pigment. Blue colour is used mainly for the decoration of the clothes and the flowers.

More analysis was performed with SEM-EDS on the strange blue-green pigment which contains a good amount of zinc, but it was not possible to draw any reliable conclusion concerning its nature. A similar pigment has been detected by Aloupi *et al.* (2000) on some Cypriot figurines and was initially related to zinc carbonate (smithsonite) and later discussed as a synthetic blue green pigment known as Rinmann's green, based on zinc oxide (ZnO).

Further analyses have to be carried out for the positive determination of a green pigment which seems to be a mixture of Egyptian blue and lead antimonite. This pigment was found only on one of the figurines analysed

so far, which was too big for the chamber of the environmental SEM-EDS used for the confirmation of the XRF results. It is known from literature that lead antimonate yellow is an artificial pigment – one of the oldest synthetically produced pigments – and was used since very early times (16th–14th centuries BCE) in Egypt (Wainwright *et al.*, 1986), as yellow colorant in Egyptian and Mesopotamian glass. Its use as a pigment, according to Wainwright *et al.* (1986), has disappeared and reappeared several times through the centuries. This green colour is present in the area between the hair and the clothes.

Black pigments seem to be carbon black, manganese-rich, or iron-rich. Grey, on the other hand, was probably a mixture of a carbon black with calcite. Both of them are present in the hair, the eyes and the clothes.

The raw green earth pigment which was found at the Stamouli site was not detected in any of the figurines studied. It has a dull grey green colour and is probably prepared from the clay mineral celadonite (Grissom, 1985). Since celadonite occurs as a relatively pure substance in volcanic ores (Grissom, 1985), it could have been found locally, as a volcano is located near Pherai, or even be imported from Smyrna in Asia Minor.

The new questions that now arise from this study are: a) is phosphorus, which is detected in many samples, attributed to the organic binding medium or to gypsum / selenite?; b) is it possible to determine if Egyptian blue pigment was locally made or imported? We know that this artificial pigment was widely dispersed and manufactured by craftsmen in the Mediterranean basin during the early centuries; c) was the already identified lead workshop in the Apostolina site a workshop for artificial pigments, like Egyptian blue and lead antimonate?; d) is it possible to better determine the quality of the pigments – mineral versus artificial – or which kinds of pigments were used in simple figurines and which in more elaborate ones?; e) looking at different slips is it possible to determine if the figurines have been manufactured in different workshops?; and finally, which is the proper way to perform conservation treatments for these objects without losing any information?

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A Group of Terracotta Ex-Voto Figurines from Amarynthos, Euboea: A Case Study in Sanctuary Deposition Practices

Constantina Benissi

Abstract

This paper presents seven Hellenistic terracotta statuettes depicting male and female figures with diptychs found in a deposit also containing numerous figurines of children, and clearly associated with the Euboean sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia. Figures holding diptychs as an iconographic type are reviewed and the motif is incorporated into the social and educational context of the period. The figurines as votive offerings and their connection to rites of passage is also investigated, taking into account the nature of Artemis and the rituals attested in her sanctuaries, as well as the significance of the sanctuary to its founding city, Eretria.

1 Introduction

This paper presents seven terracotta figurines uncovered during rescue excavations at Palaiochora (also referred to as Palaioekklisies or Gerani) of Amarynthos on the island of Euboea in the late 1980s (Sapouna-Sakellaraki, 1987: 213; 1990: 160) (Fig. 13.1). The excavation, carried out by Sapouna-Sakellaraki, brought to light a 16 × 23 m deposit which yielded an impressive amount of finds; thousands of terracotta figurines dating from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period, lamps, terracotta reliefs and *protomai*, pottery dating from the Geometric period and a small number of metal, glass and stone objects. In conjunction with other archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the wider area, the finds led the excavator to conclude that the deposit is associated with the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia, known from literary sources (Sapouna-Sakellaraki, 1992). Among the objects contained in this rich deposit, which are currently under systematic study,¹ a group of seven terracotta figurines depicting figures with diptychs has been selected for discussion.

Terracotta figurines, although undervalued in antiquity as products of minor art, especially when compared to

great works of sculpture and architecture (Pasquier, 2003: 153; Szabó, 1984) constitute an invaluable source of information for their historical and cultural context, reflecting attitudes, habits, values and aesthetic preferences of their times. Moreover, when coroplastic works are associated with religious contexts – as is the case of the figurines under consideration – they greatly contribute to our understanding of the approach to and interpretation of the divine, as well as practices of worship. In light of this, the examination of the seven figurines from Amarynthos will focus on the following areas:

- a) their production and connection to local or other workshops,
- b) their subject matter and its dissemination and association with cultural and social aspects of the Hellenistic period,
- c) the relationship of this sub-group of figurines to the rest of the excavated assemblage, and the justification for the presence of a plethora of terracottas depicting children in the Amarynthos deposit,
- d) the connection of the figurines to the cult of Artemis and the evidence available for the practice of her cult in the Eretria-Amarynthos area.

2 The Figurines: Fabrication, Workshops and Dating

The seven figurines depict, as mentioned above, seated male or female figures holding a *δίπτυχον*. They maintain their integrity to a large degree, enabling the recognition of the motif and a determination of the sex of the represented figures. However, as their surface is largely worn, details which would have been incised or painted with the addition of colour are not preserved.

Three of the figures are recognised as boys by their nudity and the representation of their bodies. The first, Inv. No. 15847 (Fig. 13.2), exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Eretria, represents a boy seated on a cubical block with his legs crossed. His head is lowered and turned slightly to the left as he looks at the diptych upon which he is writing with his right hand. His face and body

¹ This research team, comprised of the author and the archaeologists A. Karapaschalidou and M. Chidioglou, works under the coordination and personal contribution of E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki.

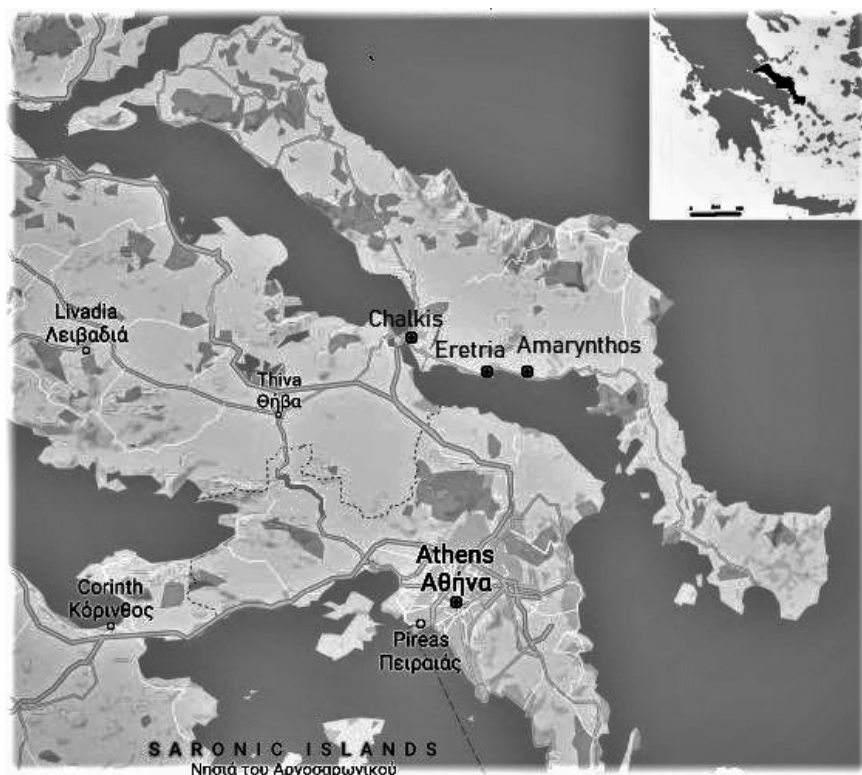


FIGURE 13.1 Map indicating the Eretria-Amarynthos area in Euboea, Greece

are plump with clear features of childhood. His hair is arranged with a braid running back from the centre of the forehead. The overall pose is natural and relaxed and the whole modelling vivid.

There is a striking difference in the quality of manufacture and, consequently, the state of preservation of this figurine compared to the others of this group, indicating that it is probably imported or was produced using an imported mould. The provenance of its original could be Athens or Boeotia, the two great coroplastic centres located closest to Eretria-Amarynthos. Indeed, two exact parallels have been identified in the bibliography: one from Athens, today in the Danish National Museum with Inv. No. 735 (Breitenstein, 1941: pl. 69:561); and one included in Winter's catalogue (Winter, 1903: pl. 259:2) with an alleged provenance from Boeotia, belonging, at the time of publication, to the Pourtalès Collection. A second figurine in the Amarynthos group, Inv. No. 20321 (Fig. 13.3), exactly imitates this type, but belongs to a later "generation": its smaller dimensions, the lack of volume and the overall poorer quality of manufacture indicate its later production by a local workshop.

The third figurine depicting a boy with diptych, Inv. No. 15886 (Fig. 13.4), is missing its head. The boy sits on a *thronos* with a winged back and his feet rest on what it seems to be a footstool. On the right side of the *thronos* we possibly see some folds of the boy's himation draping

over the seat. His left hand rests on his hip while his right arm is bent, his right hand placed on his chest in a characteristic gesture for this type of figurine. The overall pose is restrained and static.

The following two statuettes depict female figures. The first, Inv. No. 15906 (Fig. 13.5), exhibited at the Archaeological Museum of Eretria, has been preserved almost intact. A seated girl or young woman holds a diptych on her lap. She wears a long belted chiton while a himation over her head falls down her sides. She sits on a cubical block with both hands resting on the edges of the diptych. Her exact age is not easily determined due to the roughly formed features of her face. The same iconographic type appears in a second figurine, Inv. No. 20322 (Fig. 13.6), although this one is larger than the first, and shows the vertical folds of the belted chiton below her chest. Both figurines depict females in the process of reading rather than writing, a type which is known in the coroplastic arts of this period and includes representations of both girls and young women (Winter, 1903: pls. 122:7, 123:7, 124:3; Besques, 1963: pl. 134c; Acheilara, 2005: p. 213, no. 100).

Finally, two identical figurines, Inv. No. 20305/A–B (Fig. 13.7), made with the same mould, represent male figures, probably *ephebes* or men. The head is missing in both cases. Each figure is sitting on a cubical block and holds a diptych on his lap. A himation wraps around the



FIGURE 13.2 Student with diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. no. 15847. Imported from Athens or Boeotia. H: 0.097 m
COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS



FIGURE 13.3 Student with diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. no. 20321. Similar to inv. no. 15847. H: 0.088 m
COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS



FIGURE 13.4 Student with diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. no. 15886.
H: 0.089 m
COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE
AND SPORTS



FIGURE 13.5 Female figure holding a diptych. Eretria Museum, inv.
no. 15906. H. 0.097 m
COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE
AND SPORTS



FIGURE 13.6 Female figure holding a diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. no. 20322. H: 0.07 m

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body leaving the chest and right hand exposed, while the left, enveloped in the himation, lifts the cloth. These two figurines constitute a distinctive type among the usual depictions of male figures with diptychs, since the modelling of the body and the overall hieratic pose suggest the representation of adults rather than students. However, to the best of my knowledge, representations of individual male scribes outside of an educational context

are not attested in the coroplastic production of this period. A unique example in terracotta of an adult scribe (Louvre Museum, CA 684) comes from Thebes and dates to the Late Archaic period, c. 500 BCE (Besques, 1994: 34; Pasquier, 2003: 98). Besides, three Archaic marble votive statues from the Acropolis Museum in Athens (Akr. 146, Akr. 144 and Akr. 629) depicting men in the process of writing, constitute unique examples in sculpture although in this case the figures probably represent treasurers or *grammateis* of Athena rather than simple scribes (Trianti, 1998). If the two figures from Amarynthos are identified as adults, they would belong to the very restricted number of male figurines found in the deposit, and would constitute a unique example of coroplastic production in this period. In the context of the deposit, moreover, the seven figurines with diptychs comprise a numerically limited group – so far the only examples of this type – unlike other types of seated and standing figures which were mass-produced.

The figurines under discussion are mould-made and hollow, with the mould being used to shape the front side, while the reverse is almost flat or slightly convex, roughly formed by hand. The preserved heads are solid. According to common practice, the figurines would have been covered with a white slip on both sides, or only on the front (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 313). Traces of such slip remain on Inv. Nos. 15847, 15906 and 20305/B (Figs. 13.2, 13.5 and 13.7). Different colours would have been applied over the slip to render details, such as clothing, hair, face or possibly jewellery and shoes (Uhlenbrock, 1990: 18; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 313–315; Zervoudaki, 2002). Naked flesh would also have been indicated with colour. Inv. No. 15906 (Fig. 13.5) preserves traces of red colour on the protruding frame of the tablet, on the left arm and on the reverse – although not modelled – side.

These seven figurines, with the exception of Inv. No. 15847 (Fig. 13.2), appear to be of local production. Local workshops seem to reproduce the common types of this period in a relatively conservative and static manner, without the freedom and elaborate details characterising the “centres” of production. The deterioration of the surface of the figurines, although due in part to the fact that they were buried en masse in this particular deposit, must also be associated with a poorer production process (e.g. quality of clay, incomplete firing) and lends further support to the idea of local manufacture. Terracotta workshops have been identified with certainty in neighbouring Eretria (Konstantinou, 1956; Mekacher, 2003) and in other cities of Euboea such as Chalkis and Karystos (Sampson, 1980; Karapaschalidou, 1984–1985; Salliora-Oikonomakou, 1999; Chidioglou, 2006).



FIGURE 13.7 Two identical male figurines with diptych. Eretria Museum, inv. nos. 20305/A–B. H: a. 0.095 m; b. 0.097 m
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In general, the coroplastic industry of Euboea is greatly influenced by the workshops of the two large terracotta centres of central Greece, Athens and Boeotia, two areas with which Euboea was linked geographically but also historically and commercially. These two areas were significant production and export centres during the Hellenistic period and exerted great influence on the coroplastic industry throughout the ancient Greek world (Uhlenbrock, 1990: 49). A number of figurines unearthed during archaeological excavations in Chalkis and Eretria have been recognised as imports from Athens and Boeotia (Sampson, 1980; Metzger, 1985a; Salliora-Oikonomakou, 1999; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 73–75; Mekacher, 2003). In this context, it is plausible that the imported figurine found in Amarynthos, Inv. No. 15847 (Fig. 13.2), came from either Athens or Boeotia.

The difficulty in establishing precise dates for the figurines of this period is often stressed in the literature, citing

the wide dispersion and successive “generations” of the same types of figurines, the commercial trade in figurines, the use of moulds and the mobility of craftsmen (Nicholls, 1952; Szabó, 1984; Uhlenbrock, 1990: 50). This difficulty is compounded by two additional factors which obfuscate as well the determination of provenance for Hellenistic figurines: the large scale – and often illicit – trading of terracotta figurines, especially during the late 19th century, which led to the creation of large collections with “out of context” objects; and the presence of forgeries in these collections (Uhlenbrock, 1990: 48–49), reaching in some cases high percentages (Bouquillon *et al.*, 2007).

When it comes to the figurines of our present study, the fact that they were discovered together in a deposit does not allow for comparison with other more precisely dated archaeological evidence. There are, however, some clues that may help to narrow the timeframe of their date. It

is at the second half of the fourth century BCE that we trace the origins of Tanagra figurines in Athens including naturalistic representations of children (Thompson, 1966; 1985; Jeammet, 2010). The motif of children and youngsters holding a diptych appears in the coroplastic production of the same period (Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 632; Becq, 2003: 271) and is widely dispersed during the third century, while later examples are mostly known from Asia Minor, Cyrenaica and Egypt. Besides, coroplastic activity investigated at the sites of Eretria dates from the second half of the fourth to the third century BCE (Metzger, 1985a; 1985b; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 73–75; Mekacher, 2003). Without excluding the possibility of a later date, given that the sanctuary was active until at least 100 BCE, the aforementioned period seems to be the most probable chronological framework for the production of the Amarynthos group.

3 Figures with Diptychs in the Iconography: Context and Motifs

Figures with diptychs comprise a motif commonly associated with the education of boys and girls. Literary sources and archaeological evidence testify to widespread literacy since the early years of Athenian democracy. School scenes also appear in iconography by this time (Beck, 1975: 14–15; Chatzidimitriou, 2012). From the Classical period, writing, along with reading, recitation and arithmetic, constitute the basic curriculum for the first degree of education, which begins at age seven (Marrou, 1960: 210–222; Beck, 1964: 116–117; Golden, 1990: 62; Joyal *et al.*, 2008: 46 and 123). The spread of literacy to increasingly broader categories of citizens, directly related to the development of democratic ideas, made writing a basic component of children's education (Marrou, 1960: 76). A *didaskalos* or *grammatistes* or *grammatodidaskalos* was charged with the task of teaching writing (Marrou, 1960: 203), while for music and sports education, a *kitharodos* and a *paidotribes* were respectively responsible (Marrou, 1960: 74–75). In addition, the *paidagogos*, whose main task was to escort the child and to initiate him in rules of behaviour, also had an educational role (Marrou, 1960: 202–203; Golden, 1990: 62). From the Classical period, training in writing took place at school, an institution that became widespread throughout the Greek world during Hellenistic times. Education in classes seems to be the rule during this period, and only privileged students had the luxury of a private tutor (Marrou, 1960: 202).

That women were literate at least by the Classical period and later is assumed from relevant scenes in vase painting,

rather than from literary sources (Klein, 1932: 30; Beck, 1964: 85–88; 1975: 55–56; Joyal *et al.*, 2008: 53). Schoolgirls appear as well in Hellenistic terracotta figurines, either standing with a set of writing tablets or seated holding a diptych on their knees. In addition to the education that girls received at home, there are indications that they attended writing classes in schools. For example, the kylix 06.1021.167 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York bears a representation that has been interpreted as a scene of going to school (Beck, 1964: 85; 1975: 55; Neils & Oakley, 2003: no. 46). The figurines representing standing girls with writing tablets may also refer to writing classes.

In educational scenes both in vase painting and coroplastic production, students practising writing are usually depicted holding a diptych. The latter was a simple and widely used writing tool during antiquity. It consisted of two wooden tablets commonly with a protruding frame so as to protect the inner wax-covered surface. The tablets were usually rectangular and writing was applied along the length of their long sides (Pöhlmann & West, 2012: 3). The two tablets of the diptych were joined using metal rings or leather straps (Marrou, 1960: 216), while in some cases more than two tablets were joined together forming triptychs or polyptychs. Letters were incised onto the waxed surface by means of a stylus, a pointed object of metal, wood or bone (Kritzas, 2003; Neils & Oakley, 2003: no. 49). In some cases, one of the ends of the stylus was flattened so as to scrape the waxed surface in order to correct errors or reuse the tablet (Neils & Oakley, 2003: 49). A stylus, though not preserved, would have been held in the right hand of the figurine from Amarynthos Inv. No. 15847 (Fig. 13.2). Special tablets with plaster coating on which writing was applied in ink using a *kalamos* (reed pen), and ostraka (pottery sherds) were also in wide use as writing surfaces (Marrou, 1960: 216–217; Kritzas, 2003: 28; Joyal *et al.*, 2008: 124).

In vase painting, diptychs appear mainly in school scenes or scenes of private tutorial (Klein, 1932: pl. xxxi; Beck, 1975: pls. 6:30 and 11:61). Young boys with open diptychs and tablets are shown in movement (Beck, 1975: pl. 11:62) as well as seated in the process of writing (Beck, 1975: pl. 8:42; Neils & Oakley, 2003: no. 48). In some cases, students appear to hold a set of tablets, hanging from metal or leather straps (Beck, 1975: pls. 9:46 and 11:58–61), while in others, a set of tablets can be seen suspended on the wall (Klein, 1932: pl. xxxi; Beck, 1975: pls. 8:45, 9:47–48).

Tablets themselves were a widely used writing tool, serving the diverse needs of the public and everyday life, such as record-keeping, official documents, correspondence, etc. Official recording is recognised on a kylix of the Dokimasia painter (Staatliche Museen F 2296, Berlin)

depicting an official inspecting horses led by ephebes (*dokimasia*) and taking notes on a diptych (Beck, 1975: pl. 8:43; Stevenson, 2003: 633). A treasurer holding a tablet is represented on an Apulian volute-krater (Museo Nazionale H 3253, Naples) in the process of making a list (Beck, 1975: pl. 8:44). Moreover, Herodotus (VII, 239) mentions that when Demaratos, being in Susa, was informed about Xerxes' intended invasion of Greece, he sent a secret message to the Lacedaemonians using a *δελτίον δίπτυχον*. In some rare examples, even deities are depicted holding a diptych and stylus, such as the representation of Hermes on a hydria from the Hermitage Museum (Beck, 1975: pl. 9:49) or that of Athena on an amphora in the Museum Antiker Kleinkunst in Munich (Beck, 1975: pl. 6:32). Furthermore, in a mythological scene depicted on a lekythos by the Theseus Painter, now lost, a Silenos with diptych and stylus is recording the number of animals that his companions are leading outside a cave (Fritzilas, 2006: pl. 79).

In terracotta, figures with diptychs appear with greater frequency, mainly in education scenes or representations of individual students. Mythological figures holding writing tablets are less common but do appear, such as the two figurines of Eros, one from Myrina (Winter, 1903: pl. 255:6; Besques 1963: pl. 52e) depicting Eros as an ephebe and one of a crouching child-Eros from Veroia (Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2002: pl. 86:298). In two other cases, deities appear to write or read: first, a figurine from Cyrenaica, today in the Louvre Museum, represents Aphrodite reading from a book open on her knees accompanied by a young Eros (Besques, 1994: 44), and second, a figurine of a seated young woman wearing a *polos* and wreath, also from Cyrenaica, in the British Museum, who is reminiscent of representations of Persephone (Winter, 1903: pl. 124:1; Burn & Higgins, 2001: pl. 122).

A large number of figurines from Attica, Boeotia, Myrina and possibly Eretria are identified as education scenes in which the basic subject shows the *paidagogos*-teacher writing on a diptych that he holds on his lap while a pupil appears next to him, looking at it (Klein, 1932: pl. XXVIIIc; Beck, 1975: pls. 13:71 and 73; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1997: pl. 36; Burn & Higgins, 2001: pls. 27 and 55; Neils & Oakley, 2003: no. 47). In one case the boy is also seated and holds the diptych to which the teacher is pointing (Winter, 1903: pl. 405:5; Besques, 1963: pl. 167a; Beck, 1975: pl. 13:74). In other variations of the basic motif, the teacher's hand rests on the pupil's shoulder while the latter is reading (Winter, 1903: pls. 404:6 and 405:9; Beck, 1975: pls. 15: 82 and 83) or the tablet is depicted on a reading stand (Winter, 1903: pls. 405:7 and 405:8; Klein, 1932: pl. XXVIII E; Beck, 1975: pl. 15:81). The teacher is usually old and bearded, often with a satyr-like face, an element that evokes the representation

of Silenos teaching the child Dionysos (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 69 and 126).

Individual figures with diptychs, usually recognised as students, constitute a type with great dispersion. Such figures are represented either standing and holding a set of tablets² or, more frequently, seated with a diptych on their knees. The figures are sometimes in the process of writing, as indicated by the characteristic position of their right hand on the diptych, and they were probably holding a stylus which does not survive. The motif of a child holding a diptych probably first appeared in Attica, as mentioned above, and then spread to many other areas with coroplastic production: Boeotia, Argos, Olympia, Cyprus, Asia Minor (Myrina, Tarsus, Hissarlik, Tripolis), Cyrenaica, Egypt.³ Many examples come from Kharayeb, near ancient Tyre, in Lebanon (Chéhab, 1951–1954: pls. LXIII–LXV). A partially preserved figurine depicting a girl with a diptych has also been discovered in “Thesmophorion II” of Eretria (Metzger, 1985a pl. 22:456). In Egypt, the main motif evolved to become a caricature (Bruneau, 1970: 472) like, for example, the figurine of a literate monkey who writes on a papyrus scroll resting on its knees (Bailey, 2008: pl. 142:3778). A variation of the motif from Cyrenaica depicting a pair of figures with diptychs on their laps has been interpreted as representing worshippers writing a prayer (Burn & Higgins, 2001: no. 2749).

2 Athens National Archaeological Museum 14867: Klein, 1932: pl. xxx c; Beck, 1975: pl. 71:358. Athens National Archaeological Museum 4054: Klein, 1932: pl. XXVIII A. Louvre Museum D 292: Besques, 1972: pl. 60. Louvre Museum MYR 1155: Besques, 1963: pl. 165d. Benaki Museum 12823: Pingiatoglou, 1993: no. 348.

3 Athens National Archaeological Museum 5010: Klein, 1932: pl. 111 A. Argos 59.32: Bruneau, 1970: fig. 92. Louvre Museum CA 2160 (D 194), from Boeotia: Winter, 1903: pl. 123:6; Besques, 1972: pl. 43a; 1994: 90; Becq, 2003: no. 235. Hermitage Museum, from Tanagra: Winter, 1903: pl. 122:7. Hermitage Museum, from Boeotia (former Pourtalès Collection): Winter, 1903: pl. 259:2. Louvre Museum D 2426, from Tarsus: Winter, 1903: pl. 259:3; Besques, 1972: pl. 370i. Istanbul Museum 643, from Tripolis: Winter, 1903: pl. 124:4. Istanbul Museum (former Radowitz Collection) from Hissarlik: Winter, 1903: pl. 123:7. Louvre Museum 435, from Myrina: Winter, 1903: pl. 124:3. Louvre Museum MN 999, from Cyrenaica: Winter, 1903: pl. 124:2; Becq, 2003: no. 213. British Museum 2749, from Cyrenaica: Burn & Higgins, 2001: pl. 122. British Museum, from Cyprus: Winter, 1903: pl. 123:7c; Burn & Higgins, 2001: pl. 147, no. 2906. Louvre Museum AM 133, from Cyprus: Fourrier & Queyrel, 1998: 632. Benaki Museum 12811, from Egypt: Pingiatoglou, 1993: no. 346. Benaki Museum 22237, from Egypt: Pingiatoglou, 1993: no. 347. Two more figurines of girls in the Louvre Museum, from Myrina (CA 2971 and MYR 256, Besques, 1963: pls. 134c and f), which are described as holding boxes, are very close to the aforementioned examples. However, the same object referred to as a box is easily recognised in other cases as a diptych (see above Louvre Museum D 2426).

In the context of the Amarynthos deposit, figures with diptychs constitute a numerically limited variation of the theme of seated children and youngsters, which is represented with numerous examples. Their presence in the deposit will be investigated taking into account the nature of Artemis and the rituals attested in her sanctuaries.

4 The Importance, Location and Function of the Sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia: the Figurines as Offerings

Artemis is one of the most worshipped and probably one of the oldest deities of the Greek pantheon (Burkert, 1985). A goddess with many attributes – sometimes contradictory – Artemis is *inter alia* worshiped as Mistress of Animals (*Potnia Theron*), hunter and goddess of nature, but also as *Kourotrophos*, protector of the family. In this capacity, Artemis often coincides with Eilithyia, protector of pregnancy and childbirth, and was worshipped with different names in various sanctuaries, such as Lochia and Orthosia (the one who supports people in victory or childbirth). Further, in the Agora of Athens, the sanctuaries of Artemis Bouleia and Artemis Aristoboule give to the worship of the goddess some civic significance (Mejer, 2009).

Artemis, as a virgin herself and as protector of the family, is closely associated with girls' transitions. In the Greek worldview, the cycle of life is considered an endless process of transformations. Thus, any transition from one stage to another requires appropriate rituals, which, beyond their religious content, often encompass civic aspects as well, signalling initiation into new social roles (Sabetai, 2008). Artemis' nature and attributes connect her to the critical phases in the lives of women, such as the passage from childhood to puberty and the preparation for marriage and motherhood, the main role of women as adults. This role was deemed crucial not only for the perpetuation of the *oikos* but also for producing new warriors that would defend the city (Thucydides 2.44.3).

As a kourotrophic deity, Artemis was invoked and worshipped primarily by women. Girls dedicating offerings before (*προτέλεια*) and after marriage have been documented in sanctuaries of Artemis. A significant rite of passage before marriage was the ritual cutting and dedication of a lock of hair (Dillon, 2002). Moreover, women's garments were dedicated in sanctuaries of Artemis to ensure safe pregnancy and childbirth (*Ἀρτεμις Χιτωνία*). Suspended garments are recognised in a stone relief from Echinos in Fthiotis depicting Artemis in a thanksgiving scene for the birth of a healthy child (Neils & Oakley, 2003: 145; Vikela, 2009).

In Eretria, the worship of Artemis is attested for a long period of the city's history. The most important public inscriptions of the city were erected in the Temple of Artemis Amarysia, in whose honour the festival of *Artemisia* was celebrated with particular magnificence by the Eretrians. The most important sacred treasury of the city was also kept in the temple (Knoepfler, 1988: 385). The precise location of the sanctuary, however, has been the subject of much scholarly debate already since the end of the 19th century. The sanctuary was believed to have been located near the city of Eretria, or alternatively at a distance of approximately 11 km, in the area later known as Amarynthos. A great contribution to this discussion was made in the late 1980s with the discovery of the deposit in Amarynthos (Knoepfler, 1988; Sapouna-Sakellarakis, 1992). The deposit's likely association with the Euboean sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia make the sanctuary's location in Amarynthos fairly certain. Furthermore, the geographical position of the deposit, located near the port and the river Sarantapotamos, is consistent with the preferred location for sanctuaries dedicated to Artemis, in which the presence of water was essential for the rites of passage related to her worship (Vikela, 2009). Actually, during the last decade, the collaboration project of the Swiss Archaeological School with the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea revealed considerable evidence for the location of the sanctuary at the foot of Paleoekklisies Hill (Knoepfler *et al.*, 2018).

The celebration of the *Artemisia* was the greatest and oldest public religious event in the city, and is attested from the Archaic period up to at least 100 BCE. *Artemisia* were held every spring during the months *Anthesterion* and *Artemision* (Knoepfler, 1988) and included *inter alia* sacrifices, musical and athletic contests, dances, the most important being the pyrrich, and theatrical performances (parodies) (Knoepfler, 2010). During the *Artemisia*, as mentioned by geographer Strabo (10. 448), a large procession started from Eretria and wound its way along the coastal sacred road, leading to the temple of Artemis Amarysia.

The festival of *Artemisia* appears to have had a broader scope that extended beyond Euboea (Knoepfler, 1988: 390–391). An *Artemisia* festival was mentioned by the ancient traveller Pausanias (1.31.5) as relating to the celebration of the goddess by the inhabitants of the ancient *demos* Athmonia or Athmonon. This ancient *demos* of Attica retains the name Amarousion even today, from Amarysion, the name of the settlement around the homonymous sanctuary (Papachatzis, 1974: 409–410; Knoepfler, 1988: 392). An inscription of the late fifth century BCE found in the ancient Agora of Athens (I 4408b) also refers to a sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia in the Kydathenaion

district, close to the Acropolis of Athens (Knoepfler, 1988; Mejer, 2009).

The worship and the rituals which took place within the sanctuaries of Artemis are largely known from the sanctuaries in Attica, mainly from the rural sanctuary of Brauron for which literary sources, the topography of the sanctuary, and archaeological finds provide a large amount of information. Thus, we know that the initiation rite known as *Arkteia* took place in the sanctuary, during which girls stayed in the temple in order to prepare spiritually and mentally for marriage and childbirth. The written sources mention the rite without revealing clear details – possibly due to its mystical character – yet it seems that its objective was the transformation from the wildness-spontaneity of childhood to the tameness-obedience of adulthood, a necessary step in achieving maturity (Nielsen, 2009). In scenes painted on *krateriskoi* – typical dedications to Artemis in the Athenian sanctuaries – we notice girls running, sometimes towards a burning altar, and dancing, as well as participating in ritual dramatic performances (Kahil, 1977). At least four age groups are recognised: children (up to the age of 7), prepubescent (7–11), and pubescent girls (12–14/15), but also sexually mature women (Marinatos, 2002). Every four years, during the spring, a great procession from Athens arrived at the sanctuary of Brauron. The presence of a gymnasium, palaistra, stables and a banqueting building in the sanctuary implies that men also participated in this festival (Nielsen, 2009).

Aside from the evidence from neighbouring Athens, with which both the city of Eretria and the *extra muros* sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia had attested ties, the objects of the Amarynthos deposit themselves give us some clues about the character of worship that took place in the sanctuary. It seems that at least during the Hellenistic period, Artemis Amarysia was primarily responsible for children and youths, and particularly girls. The large number of figurines of children implies the recognition of the goddess as protector of the family and childhood (*kourotrophos*). These votive figurines were offered by mothers to the goddess in order to appease her or to express their gratitude for divine intervention.

We can only assume that rites of passage – known from other sanctuaries – took place in the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia as well. For example, the dedication of toys and dolls to Artemis by adolescent girls prior to marriage (Neils & Oakley, 2003: 152) could be a possible explanation for the presence of figurines of children and women found in the deposit. Taking into consideration all the available evidence, including the documented significance of the sanctuary for neighbouring Eretria, the great celebration organised by the city, as well as the long period of use

of the sanctuary, it is extremely likely that the sanctuary played an important role in the preparation of girls and young women for every transition of their lives.

Although Artemis is closely associated with the world of women, the abundance of figurines representing boys in the Amarynthos deposit should not surprise us. Artemis *Kourotrophos* is protector of all children, regardless of gender. It is no accident that the numerous votive statues of children dating from the fourth to third century BCE discovered in Brauron more often depict boys than girls (Nielsen, 2009). A large number of boy figurines in a sanctuary of Artemis is also mentioned in Elis, where, according to Pausanias (*Periegesis* VI.23.8), Artemis bears the epithet *Philomeirax* and was worshiped near the gymnasium (Sapouna-Sakellarakis, 1992). Moreover, from our understanding of the sanctuaries of Athens, we can assume that Artemis was also worshiped by young boys seeking the help of the goddess on their path towards maturity (Vikela, 2009: 87). For example, it was in the sanctuary of Artemis *Agrotera*, famous for helping the soldiers in the Battle of Marathon, that *ephebes* swore the appropriate oaths before starting their military service. Furthermore, Artemis is often worshiped along with her brother Apollo, who also bore the epithet *kourotrophos* (Lundgreen, 2009: 123).

In conclusion, the worship of Artemis as protector of children, both boys and girls, explains the presence of figures with diptychs in the Amarynthos deposit, as it is a subject intrinsically connected to childhood and education. The inclusion of this iconographic subject among the great variety of figurines of children represented in the deposit, whether they are votive offerings or related to rites of passage, implies the importance of this characteristic aspect of everyday life. It is emblematic of childhood, and particularly of young children, as the training in writing and reading began at age seven. Moreover, this is precisely the age group depicted in the figurine Inv. No. 15847 (Fig. 13.2), as well as in numerous other figurines from the deposit bearing diverse iconographic subjects. The continuation and completion of the present study, and the incorporation of the seven figurines into the context of the whole of the archaeological assemblage from the deposit, will potentially reveal new aspects of their association with the worship of Artemis Amarysia.

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Greek Terracotta Dolls: Between the Domestic and the Religious Sphere

Frauke Gutschke

Abstract

There are many hypotheses regarding the function and the meaning of the so-called “dolls”, a widespread type of terracotta during Classical and Hellenistic times. Two main streams in the interpretation of the type can be recognised. According to one, the figurines should be seen as ordinary toys, because they have movable limbs. The other asserts that the terracottas should be seen as religious votive or funerary items, because of the archaeological contexts, in which they are found.

In this article, I attempt to demonstrate how these two hypotheses could be combined. A thorough investigation will show the relation between the domestic and the religious spheres and will answer questions about continuity and change of function and meaning of objects, when these move from one sphere to the other. These terracotta figurines are very rarely found in a domestic context, and never in a context that proves their use in a given house. So, a direct change from a secular (house) context to a religious (temple) or funerary (grave) context cannot be proved archaeologically. However, the use of these terracottas in burials and votive deposits, i.e. their occurrence in non-secular contexts, is evidenced by the vast majority of the finds and contexts, in which these ceramic artefacts are found. So, a secular looking terracotta type that has the features of a toy (movable limbs) occurs almost exclusively in graves and temple deposits. In this contribution I discuss processes that take place in the Greek votive industry when changing a secular object into a specific, votive one. Questions like how the change of the final destination of an object can influence the changes in its characteristics will also be addressed.

1 Introduction

It is often difficult to deduce the function of terracotta figurines, because they commonly suggest different functions depending on their archaeological context, while keeping the same typological appearances. For this reason, only a particularly well recognisable group of terracotta figurines will be treated in this paper: the so-called jointed dolls, which can be easily distinguished from other terracotta figurines by their articulated limbs, and thus are best suited for the following analysis. After a short overview of the existing academic discussion on jointed dolls, a model

based on communication theory will be proposed, that might solve some of the difficulties facing the interpretation of these types of terracotta figurines and might help in understanding much more clearly how these figurines were used in antiquity.

2 Jointed Dolls in Context

Because these jointed dolls appear very similar to modern dolls and, therefore, seem very familiar, extensive research on them had already begun early in the 20th century. The first typological collection of these terracotta figurines was compiled and discussed by Winter in 1903 (Winter, 1903: 169). Elderkin discussed the iconography of the jointed dolls in an article in 1930 (Elderkin, 1930: 455–479). Van Hoorn (1909: 77–79) dealt intensively with the written sources that could be connected to these dolls. Deonna (1932: 106–118) and Dörig (1958: 41–52) regarded them as toys. In the decades that followed many new finds in museums and from excavations were published and discussed. In her publication on the terracotta figurines from Troy, Thompson (1963: 87–89, 118) suggested that the figurines were meant to resemble *hetaerae* or *hierodouloi*. Interest in jointed dolls persists into recent scholarship. Manson (1992: 48–57) interpreted these figurines as toys again; Larson (2001: 101–107) related them to the cult of the Nymphs; and Reilly (1997: 154–173) suggested that they might fulfil a function similar to anatomical votives in healing cults. Muratov (2005) compiled a new collection of all known jointed dolls, including special forms and, moreover, figurines from Russian collections, the Black Sea region and Southern Russia.

The jointed dolls are characterised and distinguished from other terracotta figurines mainly by their articulated limbs, on which much academic discussion is generally focused (Manson, 1992: 48–57; see also Vandenabeele, 1973: 47–57). These figurines first occurred in the late Archaic period as female dolls dressed in a chiton. They are characterised by their upright posture (Fig. 14.1) (Winter, 1903: 169; Higgins, 1969: 248, pl. 132). In the further development of this typological group of terracotta figurines, the dolls are no longer found in a dressed state (Fig. 14.2) (Daux, 1959: 613, no. 2). There are also a few male examples, but

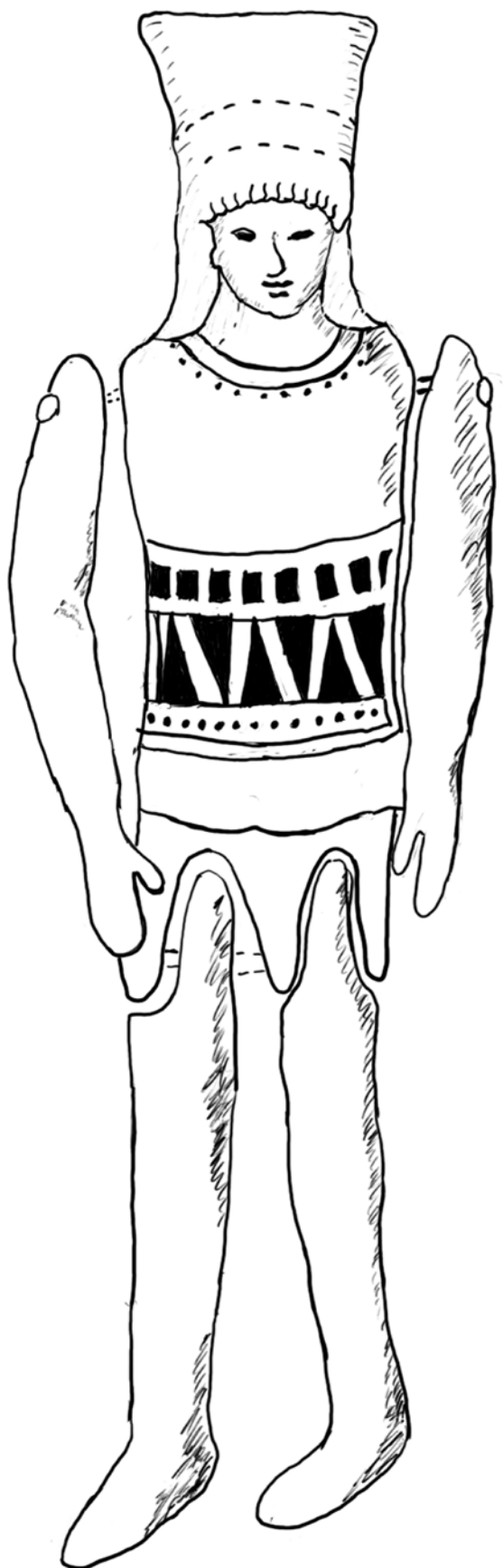


FIGURE 14.1 Slight variation of the (digitised) drawing from Winter (1903) 3.1, fig. 169, 1

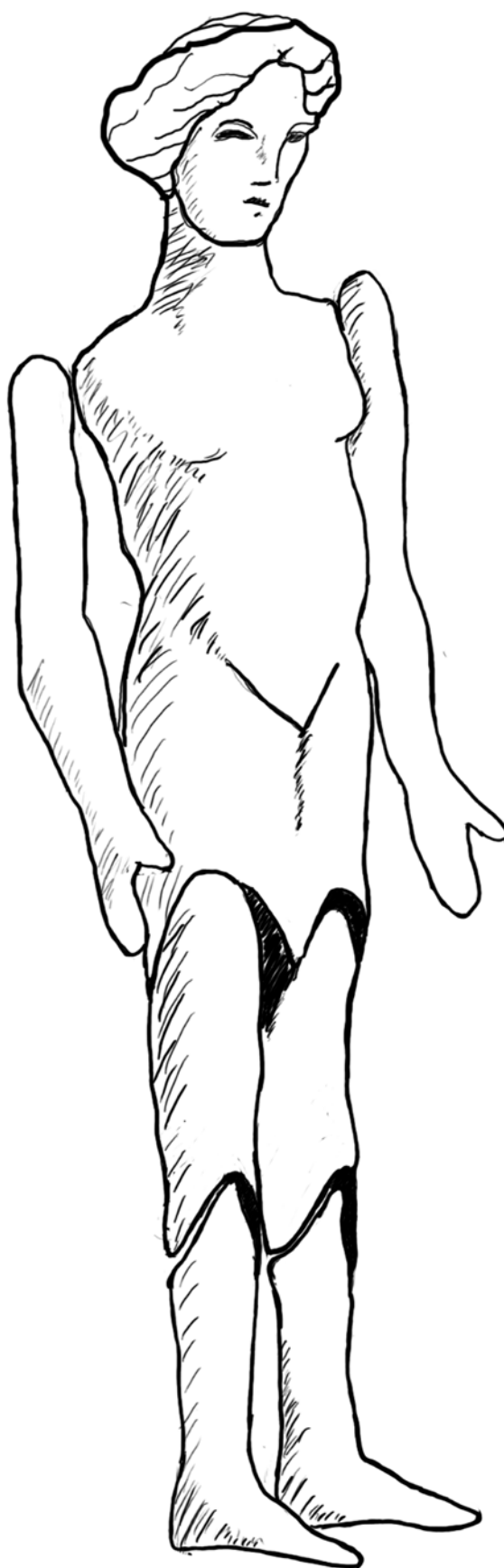


FIGURE 14.2 Slight variation of the (digitised) drawing from Winter (1903) 3.1, fig. 169, 4: own addition of jointed knees

when excavated they were usually found together with a female doll as a pair (Liagkouras, 1976: 168–171, pl. 114; Muratov, 2005: 112). There are also a few rare examples that are equipped with knee and hip joints and can, therefore, also assume a sitting position (Breitenstein, 1941: 60, no. 562, pl. 70); they form an intermediate type approaching the seated figure style prevalent in the Hellenistic period (Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1997: 55–57, pl. 31). These figurines have only movable arms and occur both nude and dressed. A good example of the nude figure type (Fig. 14.3) is a doll from Demetrias (Hornung-Bertemes, 2007: 168–170; pl. 34). Dressed examples are discussed by Tzakalou-Tzanavare (2002: 141–144, pls. 67–68) relating to Beroia and already noted by Winter (1903, 167).

The jointed dolls have been found in a variety of contexts in Greece (Vandenabeele, 1971: 25–52), mainly in Corinth (Merker, 2000: 48–60) and Athens (Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1997: 50–57, pls. 30–32; 1966: 97–98) and their areas of influence. They have also been found in the Greek islands, especially Rhodes (Maiuri, 1926: 271–272, 331–341; Zervoudaki, 1977: 608–610, pl. 581) and Kos (Kantzia, 1988: 175–183). Hellenistic jointed dolls have been found in several places in Asia Minor (Busse, 1996: 104–120, pls. 23–26; Rumscheid, 2006: 223–227, 350). Similarly, these terracotta figurines were also spread over the Crimea (Kobylyna, 1961: 52, pl. 7), the Black Sea region (Panaitova, 2005: 140–147) and Southern Russia (Muratov, 2005: 130–173; Schwarzmaier, 2006: 221–226). A few examples of these jointed dolls have been found in Spain (Balil, 1962: 70–85; Almagro-Gorbea & Sesé, 1996: 170–180) and Italy (Scatozza Höricht, 1987: 97–100, pl. 19). In North Africa they are known to come from the city of Cyrene (Boardman & Hayes, 1973: 99; Uhlenbrock, 2011: Online: <http://www.cyrenaica-terracottas.org/reliefs.htm>: Nr. 71–54; 71–418 in particular. Their main occurrence, however, is in the first three of these areas.

The figurines were most frequently found in sanctuaries, especially in Corinth, where large amounts of terracotta figurines were discovered (Merker, 2000: 48–60). It is important to note that these finds do not tell us anything about the original placement and configuration of the figurines in situ in the sanctuaries, because they were regularly removed from their original places of consecration and buried in deposits inside the temenos walls. Jointed dolls were often found in tombs, especially in Athens and Attica (Buschor, 1976: 21–23; Oakley, 2003: 163–194; Collingridge, 2006: 485–487). The dolls are occasionally discovered within a household context, such as the well-known jointed dolls that were found in Olynthos (Robinson, 1931: 40–41, 98, pl. 23, 57; 1952: 232–235, pl. 99).

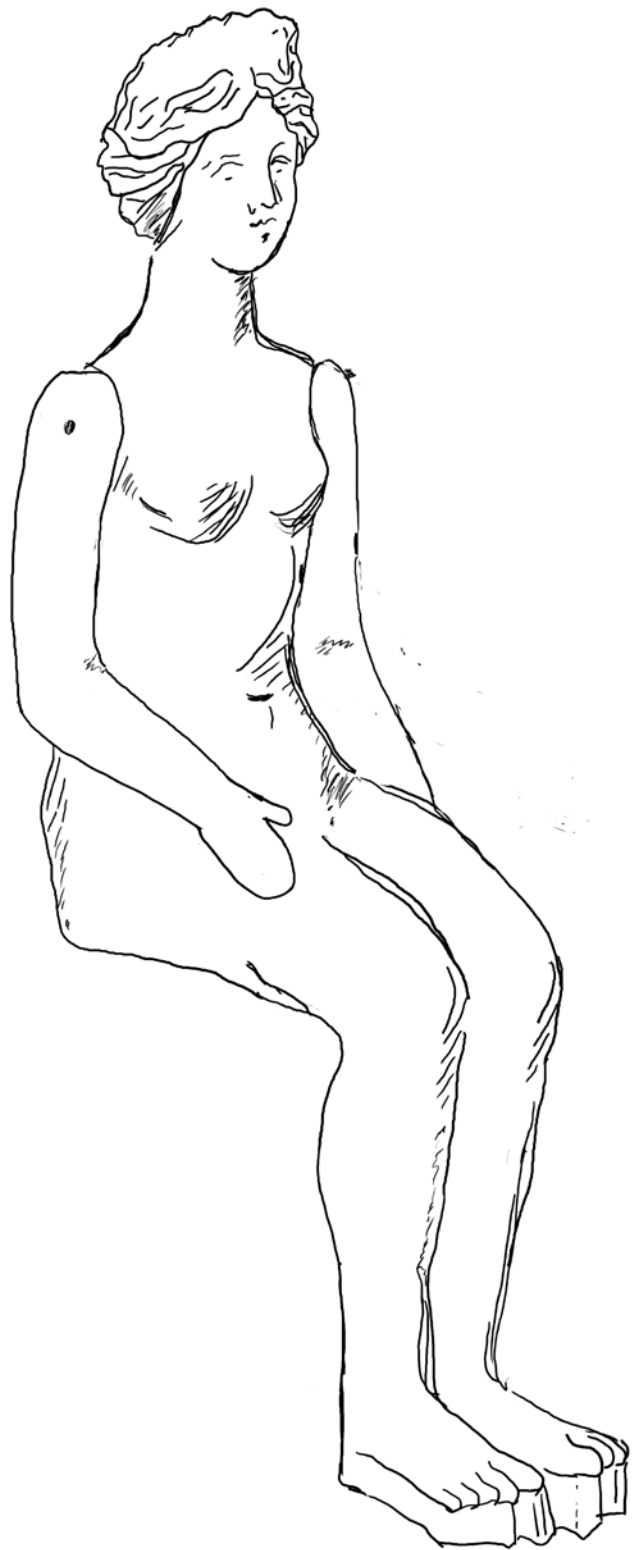


FIGURE 14.3 Slight variation of the (digitised) drawing from Winter (1903) 3.1, fig. 168, 6 (supplementation on arms)

The sanctuaries where jointed dolls are found usually belong to goddesses like Artemis (Mitsopoulos-Leon, 1997: 357–378) and Demeter (Merker, 2000: 48–60). The sanctuary for Artemis in Brauron is especially noteworthy in this regard, for it is connected in particular to rites of passage; perhaps figurines from Brauron can even be related to examples from the Brauroneion on the Acropolis of Athens. For Demeter the sanctuary in Corinth is of special importance because of the large number of terracotta figurines that have been discovered there. In the rare cases of male deities, these jointed figurines are usually associated with healing cults (Wolters, 1890: 355–364; Koerte, 1893: 231–256; Peppas & Ioannou, 1985: 48, 99–100, 177–179, pls. 38–39). If the figurines are found in tombs and the grave owner is determined, the tombs most often belong to children or young adults (Karatzene, 2005: 456–459; Collingridge, 2006: 485–487). The sex of the grave owner is usually determined as female from the other funeral offerings found in situ. An anthropological investigation of the bones is rarely available. In general, gender determinations of children's bones can prove to be difficult. When found in domestic contexts, hardly any conclusions about the actual use of the figurines can be drawn, as they are usually found in layers of debris under courtyards or floors.

Dolls, which might be identified as the terracotta type of the so-called jointed dolls, are rarely mentioned in texts that survive from antiquity. But one text in particular is much cited in connection with the dedication of dolls, and needs to be commented in this context: the dedicatory epigram of the girl Timareta which is preserved in the Palatine Anthology (6, 280):

Τιμαρέτα πρὸ γάμοιο τὰ τύμπανα, τὰν τ' ἐρατεινὰν
σφαῖραν, τὸν τε κόμας ῥύτορα κεκρύφαλον,
τάς τε κόρας, Λιμνᾶτι, κόρα κόρα, ὥς ἐπιεικές,
ἄνθετο, καὶ τὰ κορᾶν ἐνδύματ', Ἀρτέμιδι.
Λητῶα τὸ δὲ παιδὸς ὑπὲρ χέρα Τιμαρετείας
θηγαμένα, σῶζοις τὰν ὅσιαν ὁσίως.

In line 3 it is clearly mentioned that Timareta dedicated her dolls (among other things) before her wedding. This could be taken as proof of the dedication of dolls before weddings. But there is a textual problem at a certain point (Muratov, 2005: 58). The word “κόρας” is a conjecture by the reviser of the manuscript Salmasius, who regarded the original “κόμας” as a scribal error in consideration of the content of the text. But the original manuscript clearly has the word “κόμας” (Preisendanz, 1911: Codex 194–195). Therefore, the original text does not deal with the dedication of dolls (κόρας) at all but with the dedication of hair

(κόμας) and thus cannot be used as a source for the dedication of dolls. However, an interesting and important point is that the text refers to the dedication of toys – namely, a ball in line 2 – before a wedding. A similar Hellenistic epigram from the same anthology reports the dedication of a bride's hair before her wedding and mentions astragals as her toy (Anth. Pal. 6.276). Another epigram mentions the dedication of toys by a boy at the end of his childhood (Anth. Pal. 6.309).

Other written sources with references to dolls, which may be regarded as evidence for the cultural context of dolls, are often very late and say little or nothing about the function or appearance of the figurines; these cannot, therefore, be related directly to the type of the jointed dolls in question without additional evidence. It is important for further considerations to note, however, that Hesychius (δ 318 <δατύς>: κουράλλιον. νύμφη λευκόκηρος) and Photius (962 <πλάγγων>: κοροκόσμιον κήρινον. ὅπερ δάγγυνον οἱ Ἴωνες), in particular, both make note of alternate materials for the figurines, namely wax and clay/plaster.

In sum, the existing written sources lack essential information: they are not very specific about the kinds of figurines they address and how the figurines were used in rituals or in daily life in general. The above-mentioned archaeological contexts and written sources form the basis for the prevalent hypotheses as to how these jointed dolls are to be interpreted. They may be summarised as follows:

1. Based on the above-mentioned Timareta epigram (Anth. Pal. 6.280), dolls are seen as relating to marriage rituals for nubile girls, who consecrate their dolls in a special ritual to the gods before their wedding, thereby marking the end of their childhood. Because these figurines have also been found in children's tombs, it is believed that the dolls were placed in the graves of girls who died an untimely death, before such a consecration ritual could take place at the time of marriage (Hug, 1929: 1774–1778; Hirschmann, 2001: 601–602).
2. The figurines were votives and used in the same way as anatomical votives (Reilly, 1997: 154–173).
3. The figurines were used as toys and were dedicated as such at the end of childhood (Dörig, 1958: 41–52).

3 Alternative Approach: a Model Based on Communication Theory

The crucial point that lies behind all these interpretations is the distinction that exists between the secular use and the non-secular function of the jointed dolls. The

appearance of the figurines with their movable limbs suggests a more secular interpretation, namely, as toys, while the fragile material (clay, terracotta) and the archaeological contexts suggest instead a different function in the non-secular sphere, e.g. as votives. Thus, these figurines have central characteristics that obviously contradict one other. It seems especially problematic to assume their use as toys, given the obvious fragility of the terracotta materials from which they have been made. But there are, however, parallel inconsistencies between an assumed function that seems obvious from the iconography of the object and its actual function. The following examples might illustrate the variability of materials for objects that look the same but whose functionality has been transformed.

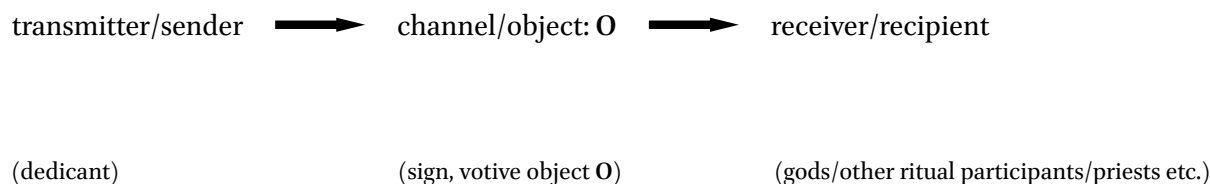
A very good parallel of a non-functional toy is a terracotta ball (Dusenbery, 1959: 168–169; Immerwahr, 1967: 255–266; Schneider-Herrmann, 1971: 123–133; Weiß & Buhl, 1990: 494–505): Originally, toy balls were probably made from leather. Terracotta balls sometimes even show patterns reflecting the seams which would have appeared on the original surfaces of balls made from leather. They were partially painted and furnished with a hole so they could be hung. When found in context, terracotta balls generally come from the tombs of adolescents. The original features of the toy in leather are clearly depicted, but the objects no longer possess their functionality in the new material.

The same is true for gilded clay jewellery (Lullies, 1962: 43; Kriseleit, 1977: 13–20), which has similarly been found in tombs. These jewellery pieces are very thin-walled and therefore unsuitable for actual wear, but they do depict the exact details of the original object. Because clay jewellery was often produced via casts made from genuine jewellery, they show how easy it was technically to translate one material into another, especially terracotta. And finally, the case of painted *epinetra* (Heinrich, 2006: 61), most frequently found in tombs of girls or in sanctuaries, is also similar. Their actual working areas are indicated by painted or carved scales, which in turn are not functional anymore. *Epinetra* in materials other than clay have not been found, but it is believed that simple clay examples with rough scales on the top depict originals made from leather or wood. There are also miniaturised examples of *epinetra* that are similarly unable to fulfil their original functional purpose.

These examples have one thing in common: the objects retain the shape which they had in their original function, but their transformation into another material or size makes them partly or totally unable to function in their original manner. The examples cited are almost all from tombs, which means that they existed within a non-secular context. It seems that terracotta or clay objects are examples of an adaptation or transformation of a secular thing for a non-secular use, e.g. as a burial object. The size and material of the original object can be modified, but the original form and its characteristics are preserved.

The significance of these “transformed” objects can be illustrated from another point of view by using theories of semiotics or of communication. In recent years there has been intense research in the field of communication as it relates to rituals and related semiotics (Tyrell, Krech & Knoblauch, 1998; Stavrianopoulou, 2006; Frevel & von Hesberg, 2007; Frings, Linsenmann & Weber, 2012). The advantage of using communication theory in this manner is the emphasis on depicting terracotta figurines as stable and recognisable signs within a model of a ritual communication process. The examples discussed above show that the forms of the terracotta objects are constant in relation to the objects that they depict, which enables their recognition regardless of the materials from which they are made. But the focus of the problem discussed here lies not so much in the jointed dolls as mere signs in a communication process, but more on the development of the terracotta objects and their related functional characteristics. Therefore, a linear communication model is adapted, which is more appropriate for showing the development of the process (Traut-Mattausch & Frey, 2006: 536–544). It consists of the simple structure of transmitter/sender, channel/object and receiver/recipient. The terracotta objects serve as signs in the ritual communication process, while simultaneously losing the functionality they needed for the purpose of the original objects depicted. This process has to be placed before the communication process, but with the ritual purpose in mind.

As an example of this model, the simple dedication of an object in its original form can be illustrated as follows:



For the jointed dolls the process would begin earlier than the ritual communication process. The original object (O) would have to undergo a modification process first:

simply not the case. We have only the later evidence of written sources which indicate that figurines of maidens also existed in other materials like wax. In later Roman

O → O' → sender → O' → receiver/recipient

modification in material, size (O > O')/ ritual communication, dedication: modified, adapted object O' bought by dedicant

During the communication process of a dedication, the meaning of a specially modified object and a non-modified object are supposed to be the same. This requires that the objects essentially have to exhibit the same crucial signs, while in size and material there can be changes in the modification process from the original object to the modified object (O to O').

The problem here is to prove the existence of such a process. The original objects are often made of non-durable materials, so we are not able to refer to excavated examples. But there are some factors that make such a process probable:

- The material of an object is not functional for the intended use (there is a probable change in material).
- The archaeological contexts are inappropriate for the intended use and meaning of the objects.
- The functional characteristics of objects are indicated but cannot be used; or, overall, the objects no longer function in the way they were intended.
- There are changes in size when compared to the original object (Pilz, 2012: 156–159).

The more these features appear in an object, the more likely it is the object has been modified for non-secular use.

Finally, it is important to show a possible application of this model to the jointed dolls in question. In order to assume that there has been a process of modification in the doll's materials, there have to be comparable figurines in other materials. For the main periods (from Archaic to Hellenistic) in which the terracotta dolls appear, this is

times we find examples of bone dolls with jointed limbs (Rinaldi, 1956: 104–129; Bordenache Battaglia, 1983: 132–133; Kastner, 1995: 89–91). From earlier times there are examples of wooden dolls with articulated limbs from Egypt (Kutschera & Stangler, 1987: 14). In addition to these examples of dolls made from materials other than terracotta, the main argument against supposing that the jointed dolls were simply toys is the limited functionality of terracotta as a material for dolls as real playthings. Many terracotta dolls found during archaeological excavations show very clearly how fragile these figurines are: therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the actual real toy dolls were probably made of other perishable materials. Granted, carefully handled the terracotta figurines might also have been used as toys, but they are predominantly found in non-secular archaeological contexts (like sanctuaries and tombs), while there are only very few finds from domestic contexts.

As for the size, the jointed dolls show no sign of miniaturisation. The dolls are of a functional size for a toy, mainly between 10 and 30 cm in height. So the picture is not yet entirely clear. One possible approach to the problem might be to separate temporally the formation or development of the terracotta figurines from their actual use: perhaps the development or formation of a type of terracotta figurines might have happened in a secular sphere (for example in a workshop), whereas its specific use as votive or toy was decided later. The model above this may be illustrated like this:

secular space

O → O' → sender → O' → receiver/recipient

modification in material, size
modified, adapted object
in special workshops?

bought by dedicant

←
bought as toy

possible use in domestic,
secular contexts

ritual space

4 Conclusion

Archaeological contexts show that the jointed dolls were mainly used in funerary contexts or sanctuaries. Moreover, terracotta is not functionally adequate for a use as a toy, so the specific use of this material for a non-secular purpose can be supposed. But the characteristic features of the original toy, the movable limbs, survive the modification process and appear in the new material. Therefore, the meaning of these figurines can be seen as a representation or sign of a toy in a ritual communication process. Yet before the terracotta figurine had left the secular space, it could also – obviously in rare cases – be used as a toy regardless of whether the material was appropriate for such a purpose or not. *Mutatis mutandis*, the conclusions drawn here might also apply to other terracotta figurines.

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Terracotta Veiled Women: A Symbol of Transition from *Nymphe* to *Gyne*

Nathalie Martin

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to consider and discuss arguments related to the interpretation of the face veil in ancient Greece. It is based on the archaeological study of the two most important iconographic types of women with veiled faces, and offers interpretive indications to explain this practice. Sacred rather than profane as well as an everyday accessory, the face veil can be viewed as a good clue for the study of the status of women who wear it. It appears to be used in ceremonies related to female fertility. It is not necessarily the prerogative of married women, but rather a symbol of transition from *nymphe* to *gyne*, from woman to mother.

1 Understanding the Value of the Veil

How others see and perceive us makes us human beings. Humans need this contact as we exist solely in the mirror of the other. This reciprocity is the essential characteristic of our humanity. The veil breaks the reciprocity and clarity of the exchange, and of the perception of others and their feelings. To veil one's face is to deprive the other of one's image, one's natural features, and cultural identity. It is not a trivial procedure. The face veil is defined as a specific, or non-specific, piece of clothing covering all or part of the face, with strong symbolic meaning, which has changed through the course of time. The inherent implications and complex meanings surrounding the face veil cannot be simplified as this may lead to a warped intellectual construction.

In order to perceive the implications of the face veil in ancient Greece, we must first highlight the lines of opposition of which the veil is a symbol and that are relevant in this society. Then it is necessary to discover if the lines of demarcation it brings forth appear at the confluence of gender, of the sacred and the profane, of the mythical and the ordinary. Finally we must determine if the veil is the cloth translation, a visible manifestation of social status, a function, or a particular occasion.

A preliminary study has revealed that in the treatment of this particular symbol in antiquity, taking a critical distance is a must. The veil as well as the act of wearing

it are intimately linked to the woman's status. However it is an affirmation whose value needs to be tested and clarified.

Gender is what each society makes of the biological sex, of the qualities, attributes and actions granted to it. What makes us men and women depends on this social construction. The modalities of these attributions require a precise study that takes into account not only the symbols as such but also the relationships they maintain within a single system of representations. Gender manifests itself in terms of clothing and adornment. In a society in which men also wear a veil, the female veil does not have the same values as it does in a context where the wearers are exclusively women. Also, in a society that does not present any ban on images, to hide one's face takes on a different meaning than in a society where it does.

Ancient societies, the Greek one in particular, are those of interweaving, of knots, on which depends every aspect of life: hunting, fishing, and clothing, weaving of various sorts for baskets, cloth and nets, fields that require sleight of hand as well as intellectual work. The creative process of weaving requires cognitive capacities that are today compared to those needed to create computer programs that, by the art of ligature, train the mind to interwoven reasonings, to the *metis*. In Greece, men veil their faces, in full possession of their masculinity. Odysseus, upon realising that his companions have opened the bag, given him by Aiolos (*Od.*, x.48–55) veils himself. In the court of Alcinoos, when he hears the song of Demodocos telling of his own exploits, he “grasped his great purple cloak with his stout hands and drew it down over his head, and hide his comely face” (*Od.*, viii.83–85). His son Telemachos in front of Menelaos who evokes his father's glory, feels the tears threatening to spill and uses his *χλαίνα* to cover his eyes (*Od.*, iv.115 and 154). In ancient representations Achilles is depicted locked up in his tent with his face veiled (see, for example, the cup from the British Museum E76, of 500/450 BCE). The art of weaving, however, is more specifically associated with the feminine *metis*. In Greece, weaving and female gender are closely related. Fabrics, which are costly gifts, inherently contain the qualities of women who have woven them.

Yet, like all female knowledge or power, it is ambivalent: there are fabrics that kill, like Deianeira's gift to Herakles (Sophocles, *Trachiniae*: 602), or the one Medea gives to her rival (Euripides, *Medea*: 1156 and 1214), and fabrics which talk or denounce, on behalf of one, like Philomela, that cannot (Pausanias, I.41.8–9; Ovid, *Metamorphosis*: VI.426–670; Loraux, 1990: 82). This activity is also the direct occasion of the expression of female *hybris*: Arachne, the young Lydian who was famous for her dexterity at weaving challenged Athena and was turned into a spider (Ovid, *Metamorphosis*: VI.5–145).

The study of clothing cannot be reduced to its materiality (the same technique is used to create tent canvas, tablecloths, curtains, etc.) or its capacity as a fashion object. It is the visible translation of social status and gender. Considered as natural, it is in fact a pure expression of culture. At the crossing of fibre, the weft becomes clothing, the human being becomes a woman, and the fabric becomes a veil.

The images of women with veiled faces appear in the Greek iconographic landscape in the second quarter of the fifth century BCE on red-figure vases produced in Athens. They also adorn mirrors, jewellery, and frescoes, and are the subject of clay figurines up to the first centuries of our era. However, the variety of media with these representations expresses, in my opinion, the firmness of the semantic message they carry. The whole collection of the relevant images, scattered in various publications, required a review and a definition of the diagnostic elements of the face veil. In different artefacts, consistent sets of elements appear that demonstrate that a veil is a shape, a colour, a material (when it is possible to access such information), but as it is also worn, it therefore has a particular place in the overall clothing ensemble. It is defined by itself, but also through its relation with other aspects of the adornment: what it hides, what it shows, what it brings attention to, and mostly by a gesture of the head, the hands and the body. The veil is a particular garment in a particular assemblage of gestures; and moreover it is loaded with special meaning. It is immediately identifiable, and can thus be taken as a symbol – a symbol of a gesture actually practised and not just an iconographic motif.

2 Categorising Artefacts and Contexts of Discovery

Despite its geographical dispersion, the material collected in my doctoral thesis (limited to the period between the fifth and first centuries BCE) is far from insignificant and concerns about 328 images of various types of artefacts. Despite the existence of several types of representation, one artistic medium is particularly preferred to represent these veiled women: small clay figurines. Among the whole of the corpus I assembled, 284 objects are clay figurines, which represent 86% of the representations (see Fig. 15.1). Scattered throughout various publications and present in small numbers at archaeological sites, the study and analysis of these statuettes present some difficulties. By themselves, they do not represent complete iconographic programs whose associations could provide significant information about their meanings. Their undeniable aesthetic qualities made them a very sought-after subject by 19th century collectors. Having been part of many museum collections from a very early date, very few of them possess information on their discovery, and when they come from more recent excavations, they usually come from disturbed or unstratified contexts. Only a few of them come from closed sets or from a well-identified context. It was necessary at first to quantify all these documents, and contextualise them; taking into account all the artistic productions that represent women with their faces veiled, something that has been one of the methods used in my doctoral research.

The terracotta figurines have been found in different archaeological contexts: sacred, funerary or domestic. As shown in Fig. 15.2, and for the reasons stated above, those of “unknown” context are far more numerous than all the others. The second most represented context is the sacred one, followed by the funerary and finally the domestic. The great difference between sacred and funerary contexts is not all that significant because many statuettes coming from Boeotia and from excavations of the 19th century are classified here as “unknown” due to a lack of information about their discovery, but it is quite possible that they come from the tombs of this region. The publication of the excavations of necropolis of Livadeia and Akraiphia (Andreïomenou, 2001) will surely bring further details and clarify certain issues.

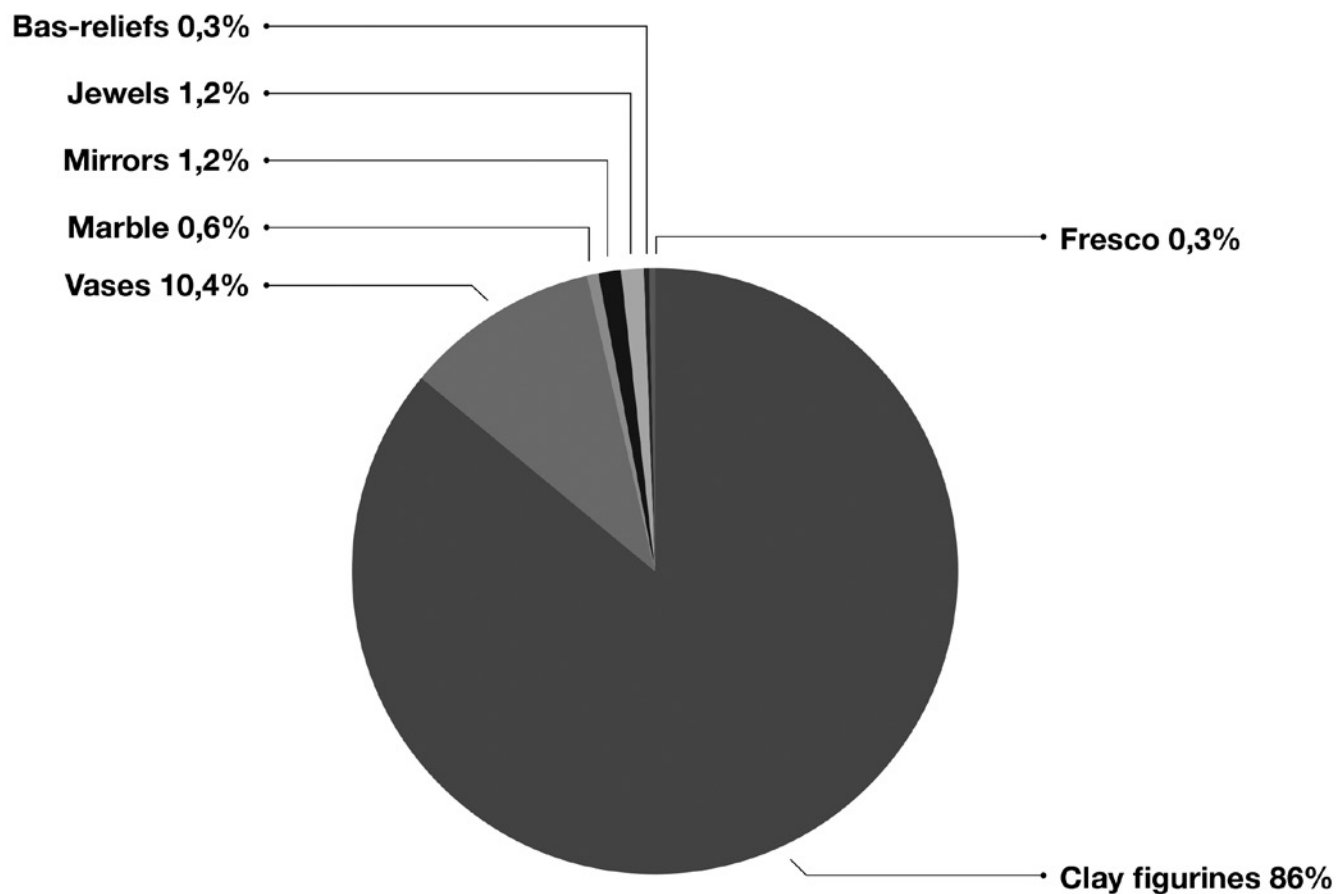


FIGURE 15.1 Distribution of representations according to medium

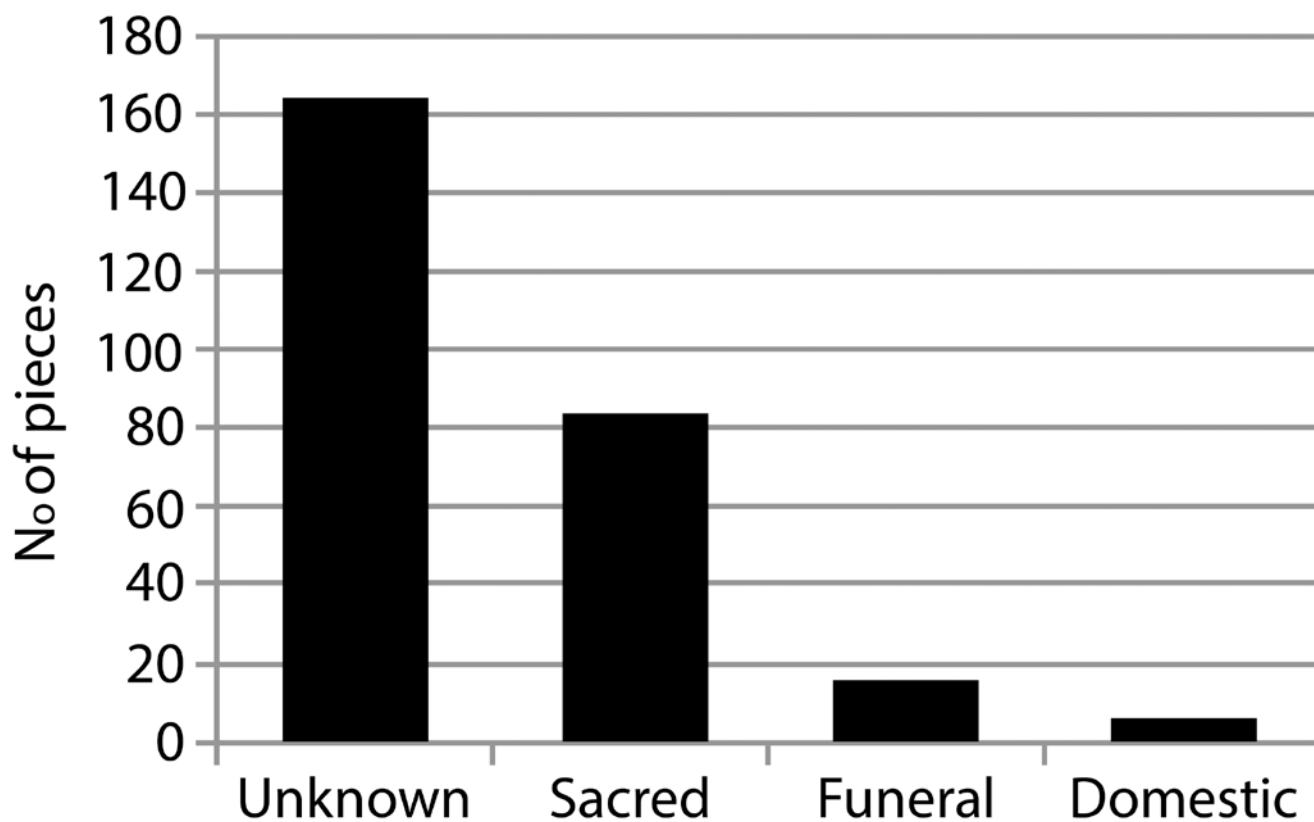


FIGURE 15.2 Distribution of the terracottas according to the contexts of their discovery



FIGURE 15.3 1. Head of clay figurine wearing a veil, 3.5 cm, Louvre Museum, inv. no. Cp5298, Cl. N. Martin (see also Jeammet, 2003: fig. 27, 124); 2. Profile of the same head; 3. Clay female dancers wearing a veil rolled-up on the forehead, 18 cm, Louvre Museum, inv. no. MNC535, Cl. N. Martin

3 Two Iconographic Types of Veiled Ladies

3.1 *Women Wearing a Kind of Textile Mask*

The terracotta statuettes portray different ways of veiling. Of the six types of iconographic veils identified, four consist of statuettes which are by far the majority and two are composed exclusively of clay figurines. One of the best-represented groups, in terms of number, is the one that provides the greatest archaeological evidence. Women wearing a kind of cloth mask form one of the largest groups gathered in almost equal numbers with women with a bulging peak of hair. It is composed of 96 examples out of which 95 are terracotta statuettes. They distinguish themselves by the wearing of the only ancient Greek object, whose specific purpose was covering the face. A kind of cloth mask made in one piece, with two holes for the eyes and sides that are prolonged in the shape of two bands that can be knotted on the back of the head. When worn, it starts from the middle of the forehead and falls in front the face, where the eye holes are especially adjusted, down to the beginning of the chest (see Fig. 15.3). In only 17.9% of the corpus collected into my thesis, women wear it in such a manner. The vast majority of the members of that group wear the mask rolled up on their forehead. The holes for the eyes then become visible on the forehead. In this position it forms folds of varying length that are positioned above the temples upon which they fall. Some statuettes associate this mask, whether raised in front of the face or not, with a cloth that covers the whole figurine. Others adorn this rolled-up mask with a round-shaped medallion on the forehead. It is a sculptural motif exclusively

found on small clay statuettes and on one bronze of great quality called the “Baker” dancer (Thompson, 1950).

No iconographic program provides further information on the meaning of this pattern. The dating evidence based on archaeological contexts is not numerous and concerns approximately five members of this group. They date from as early as the late fourth century BCE, for the examples found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, and to the second century BCE, for those discovered in the excavations of Troy. No. 195 of Thompson’s catalogue (Thompson, 1963) was discovered in a residential area in the same stratigraphic unit as a coin from the second century. Its stylistic kinship with other examples (nos. 196–199) found in a deposit near the Hellenistic altar of an unidentified female deity, allows us to date them back to this period. Although the older examples come from the area including Boeotia, Attica and Corinth and to a lesser extent northern Greece in the broader sense, Asia Minor seems to have been the most productive region of this type (see Fig. 15.4). The cities of Myrina, Troy, Priene, Pergamon and Kyme account for more than half of the examples of this group.

The interpretation of these figurines of veiled women is not an easy affair. Different hypotheses have been suggested over time. Studies on dancing, and in particular on those that were named the “mantle dancers” (Heydmann, 1879; Emmanuel, 1895; 1896; Séchan, 1930; Lullies, 1950; Lawler, 1964; Prudhommeau, 1965; Delavaud-Roux, 1994; Friesländer, 2001) were the first to approach this material, as well as excavation studies (Thompson, 1963; Queyrel, 1988). In the studies of sites they are generally classified by default we may say, among the servants of worship along with musicians, while other authors evoke professional dancers or women in mourning. Heydmann in 1879 produced the first study of “*manteltänzerinnen*”. He identifies seven types and underlines their belonging to the sacred sphere, something Thompson refutes in her study of the “Baker” dancer (Thompson, 1950), although she recognises in the Trojan mantle-dancers (Thompson, 1963) the servants of a cult. She points out on this occasion that the cults that are the most closely related to dancing practices are those of Demeter, the Korybantes and Cybele and associates the veiled dancers of Troy with cults of Demeter and Cybele. Heuzey (1892) is the first to link the “mantle-dancer” to the nymphs in his study of the Titeux dancer. Lullies (1950) in a well-argued study, connects mantle-dancers with the cults of Dionysos, Adonis, Demeter, Cybele and Artemis. Emmanuel (1896), Weege (1926), Prudhommeau (1965) and Delavaud-Roux (1994) analyse the orchestics aspects of these dances with this

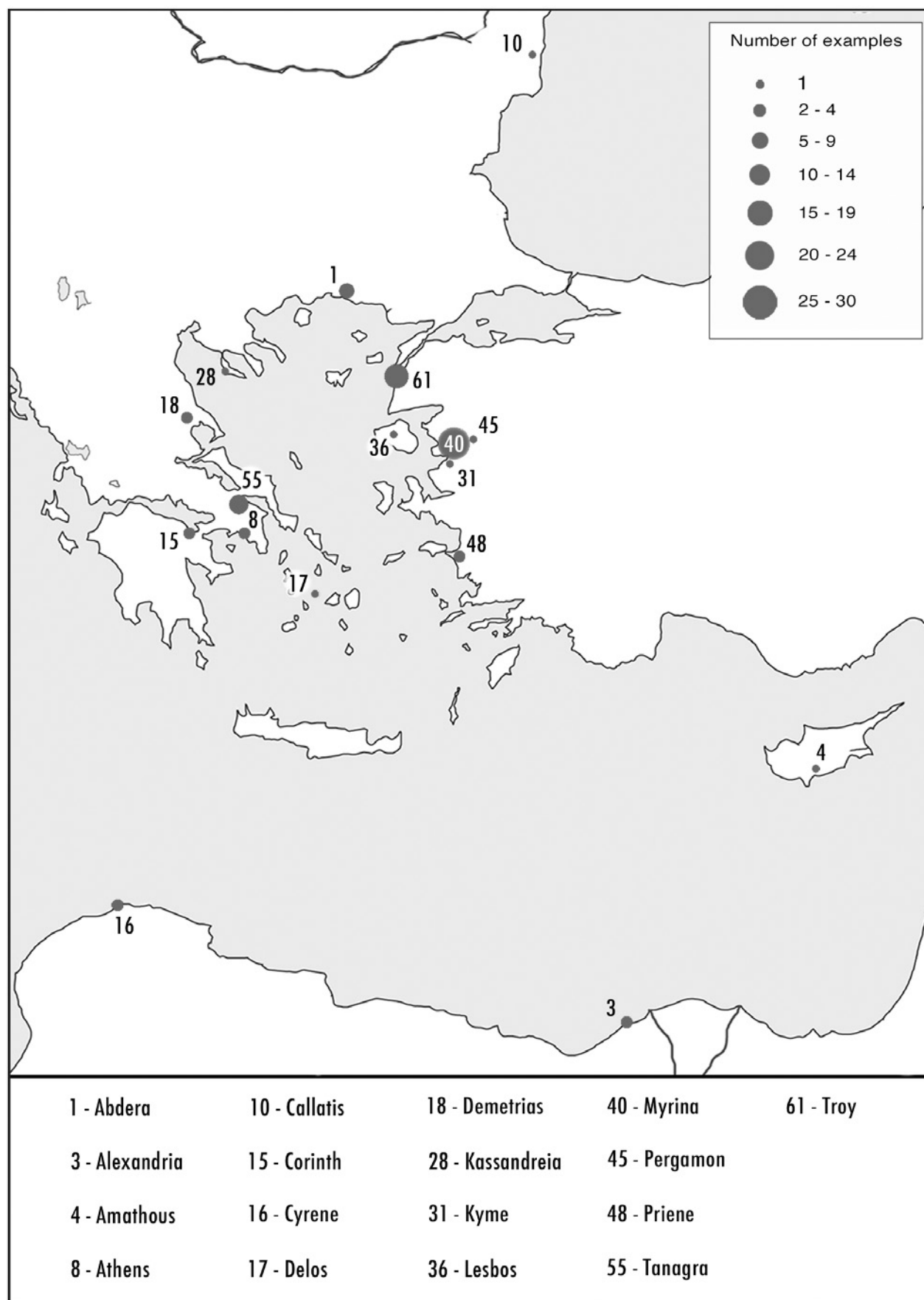


FIGURE 15.4 Geographic distribution of representations of women wearing a kind of mask made of cloth

specific accessory. The most recent thesis (Friesländer, 2001) tries to follow the evolution of the pattern of the mantle-dancer from the “missing” classical examples to the Neo-Attic reliefs. According to Friesländer the original type is unknown, and would have been specifically created for the reliefs, and she admits that the meaning of the veiled dancers is not clear but it would be about the “glorification of himation” as indicated by the title of her work. The whole is not very convincing. Llewelyn-Jones (2003: 293–298) dedicates a chapter to these dancers, whom he considers as professionals with questionable morals, whose objective would be the striptease.

To understand the images of veiled women is to understand the value that this veil holds in Greek society, while maintaining a critical distance. Several recent studies have pondered on the value of the veil. Although interesting, they do not allow for interpretation of the archaeological evidence. For Llewelyn-Jones (2003), Greek women are constantly veiled, so how is one to explain the specificity of these veiled women whose proportion is very small compared to the portrayal of the women who are not? For Cairns (2002), to veil one’s face demonstrates a certain inadequacy between the expression of the feelings and the social status of the individual. His study has the great virtue of taking into account the masculine as well as the feminine act of veiling, but how can his conclusions explain the statuettes discovered in tombs or as offerings in sanctuaries? Sometimes shown dancing, at other times motionless, these women wearing masks of cloth are difficult to interpret.

All the more since the particular accessory they are wearing is the only object in Greek dress that is used only for the covering of the face, and that not only does it mask the face in 17% of the cases, but also (and surprisingly) that its Greek name has not been established. Several researchers, after Thompson (1963: 51), believed they saw there the *τεγίδιον*: the small roof-form which etymology suggests would be visible in the folds falling over the temples formed by the mask when it is worn folded above the brow. However, we notice that the word itself is rarely used. Only two occurrences are found in the *TLG*, one in a papyrus (Kenyon, 1898: no. 402, 10–12) and another in an inventory of Tanagra (*IG*, VII, 212; *SEG* XLIII, 212.38; Reinach, 1899). Hesychius defines it as *τεγίδιον· κοσμάριον ποιδὸν γυναικείον*. The rare use of the word, as well as the broadness of its definitions have given birth to translations which go from the straw hat to the trinket, as well as a small veil, while the *θολία* the round hat, pointed in the middle, could very well agree with the “small roof” definition.

The term *προσωπίδιον*, associated with a fabric (wool, canvas, linen) should also be an acceptable option. Three occurrences are found in the *TLG* and, of special interest is one in a sacred inventory from Miletus dated to the second century BCE (Günther, 1988: 227) where twelve canvas *prosopidia*, two woollen ones and four silken ones, are mentioned. The occurrences of the word *prosopidion* when linked to fabric are as rare as the occurrences of *tegidion*. However, we must note that the heyday of productions of those images of women wearing a cloth mask is to be found in Asia Minor in the second century BCE, which corroborates the epigraphic testimony of Miletus’s inscription. Yet this word also encompasses numerous physical realities, as well as everything one puts under the other’s gaze, including theatre masks. Perhaps it would be wiser to avoid the term *prosopidion* in favour of two circumlocutions given by the Palatine Anthology (Book VI, nos. 206–207), which have the advantage of referring clearly and exclusively to this facial veil: *καλύπτειραν δὲ προσώπου* and *προκάλυμμα προσώπου* cannot be used to describe another object, even if they do not give any information about its form or the way it is worn.

Few studies have been devoted to this item of clothing. The religious aspect of this accessory seems hard to contest. Some of the statuettes from these groups have been found in sanctuaries, in Corinth and Troy; written sources also speak of cults where devotees must veil their faces, such as at the temple of Sosipolis in Olympia (Pausanias VI. 20.2–3). This cult, although obviously masculine, has several aspects which are linked to fecundity. Adriani (1948) devotes a passage to that fact in his study of a marble head in Greek style, in the Alexandria Museum, and links it with precious few arguments to the cult of Isis as worshipped by the Ptolemaic queens. Thompson (1950), in her study of the Baker dancer, nonetheless, refuted this hypothesis, already expressed by Heydemann (1879), and made of the *prokalymma prosopou* the accessory of a professional, and not a mere servant, of a cult. Yet she goes back over her opinion in detail in her study of the statuettes from Troy (Thompson, 1963: 51–52). She reminds us that this accessory appears on a Roman bas-relief from the Villa Albani (Schreiber, 1894: pl. LXVI), which depicts a religious scene devoted to Cybele. A priestess is represented dancing to the sounds of the dulcimer held by the musician in the background, and the *aulos* played by the woman sitting in the foreground. Other statuettes of this iconographic type, wearing the *prokalymma*, also use the *tympanon*: for instance, statuette inv. CA2157 in the Louvre Museum. The celebrant, on tiptoe, her right leg crossed in front of her left, is giving offerings on a square

altar with her right hand, while her left hand holds a large bowl filled with fruit, as well as a vase. A similar vase is depicted on the Piraeus bas-relief (Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kultur besitz), of the mid fourth century (Roller, 1999: 150), which represents a religious scene dedicated to Cybele. Although from a later period, this scene encapsulates some of the elements already identified within the corpus of the terracotta statuettes. The available archaeological data confirms the iconographic ones. The veiled miniatures from Troy (nos. 225, 227–230 and 236) have been found to be related to a Hellenistic altar attributed to an unidentified female deity, and one, no. 233, has been discovered together with a statuette of Cybele. Thompson (1963: 104) says: “We may assume that they relate to the cults of Demeter and Cybele”.

Several of the elements observed during the study of this group may also be linked to the Phrygian goddess. The interpretation of images of men wearing this type of mask can thus be taken into consideration. Men are not banned from her cult, either as priests or as believers. The inscriptions of the Orgeones association of Piraeus teach us that, for the first years, men held the function of community priests (Roller, 1999: 220). They were not restricted to participating in the cult as begging *metragyrtai* or unhinged *Galloi*. As seems to be revealed by the bas-relief from the Villa Albani, the *prokalymma* is worn slightly pulled back over the head during some parts of the rituals. The hypothesis according to which bearers of this kind of accessory are members of Cybele's clergy bestows a meaning to those images of veiled men, such as the bronze bearded male head from Myrina, kept in the Louvre Museum (MNC255), which wears a mask pulled back over the brow. The two eye-holes are clearly visible. The wide folds from the flap fall down to the ears. An intaglio also shows the profile of a man wearing a mask pulled back on his brow (Furtwängler, 1900: no. 48, pl. LXI).

While the *prokalymma* is depicted as early as the end of the fifth century in Corinth, as already mentioned, the heyday of its use and hence of its depiction is to be found in Asia Minor during the second century. As well as archaeological findings, literature and epigraphy also show an area where the wearing of a piece of clothing hiding the face seems to be more prevalent. Though the veil mentioned by St. Paul (*Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 13–16), whose hometown was Tarsus, differs, that in Polemon's account of the sanctuary of Artemis at Perge (Froester, 1893: I.38; Robert, 1948: 66–67) and, to a lesser extent, the evidence of the already mentioned Miletus inscription, vouch for a particular sensitivity (in a broad sense) of this area to the wearing of this accessory. Indeed this geographical area

is particularly devoted to the cult of Cybele. Cybele originates from this precise region, where the habit of veiling one's face in some circumstances was more prevalent than elsewhere. Strabo (*Geography* X.III.12) noted the relationship between the Great Mother and the populations of Asia Minor: “But as for the Berecynthes, a tribe of Phrygians, and the Phrygians in general, and those of the Trojans who live round Ida, they too hold Rhea in honor and worship her with orgies, calling her Mother of the Gods and Agdistis and Phrygia the Great Goddess, and also, from the places where she is worshiped, Idaea and Dindymene and Sipylene and Pessinuntis and Cybele and Cybebe”.

Yet, this area also gives particular importance to great, almighty mother-goddesses such as Artemis, who shares a lot of characteristics with Cybele, not least in her aspects of *potnia theron*. These goddesses are sometimes associated in their cult: a bas-relief from Sardis (Roller, 1999: 197, fig. 52) depicts, both goddesses side by side, in a *naïskos*. Cybele has a lion in her lap and Artemis a stag. Pindar, in a fragment from Dithyramb 11.v.11 (Suarez de la Torre, 1992: 198; see also Hermary, 2000: 194–195), speaks about Artemis harnessing the lions that pulls Cybele's chariot. Beyond those similarities between divine personalities and cults, there are also parallels in religious practice. Those between the begging *metragyrtai* and the beggar priestesses of Artemis of Perge are striking. The sacred law (Sokolowski, 1955: nos. 73, 171–172) concerning the sale the priesthood of Artemis of Perge in Halicarnassus during the third century strictly regulates the days when begging is allowed. Perge is one of the notable places of the cult of Artemis (*Hymn to Artemis*, v.187; Souda, sv <Περγαία θεός> ἡ Ἀρτεμῖς). And it is her temple which serves as a backdrop for one of the rare literary references to veiled women (Froester, 1893: I.38), in spite of certain doubts concerning this text (Robert, 1948: 66–67).

All testimonies agree on the function of the *prokalymma* in ritual practices of the cult of Cybele or of the great feminine divinities, which share the same attributes as mother goddesses such as the Anatolian Artemis or the Greek Demeter. Another iconographical type of veil shows which sort of ceremonies should be associated with this clothing accessories.

3.2 *Veiled Woman with Protruding Headdress*

Veiled women of other types may also be related to one of these all-powerful female deities, and with a particular kind of ceremony. The veiled women with a bulging peak of hair (Fig. 15.5) form a group of 96 examples out of which 92 are terracotta statuettes. They are the most consistent group in the corpus. What distinguishes them from other veiled women and other “mantle-dancers” is a



FIGURE 15.5 Women with a bulging peak of hair. 1. Dancer in terracotta, 22 cm, Boeotia (?) Louvre Museum, inv. no. CA2126; 2. Dancer in terracotta, profile, 24.3 cm, Boeotia (?), Louvre Museum, inv. no. MNC730; 3. Dancer in terracotta, 25 cm, Boeotia (?), Louvre Museum, inv. no. MNC731, Cl. N. Martin

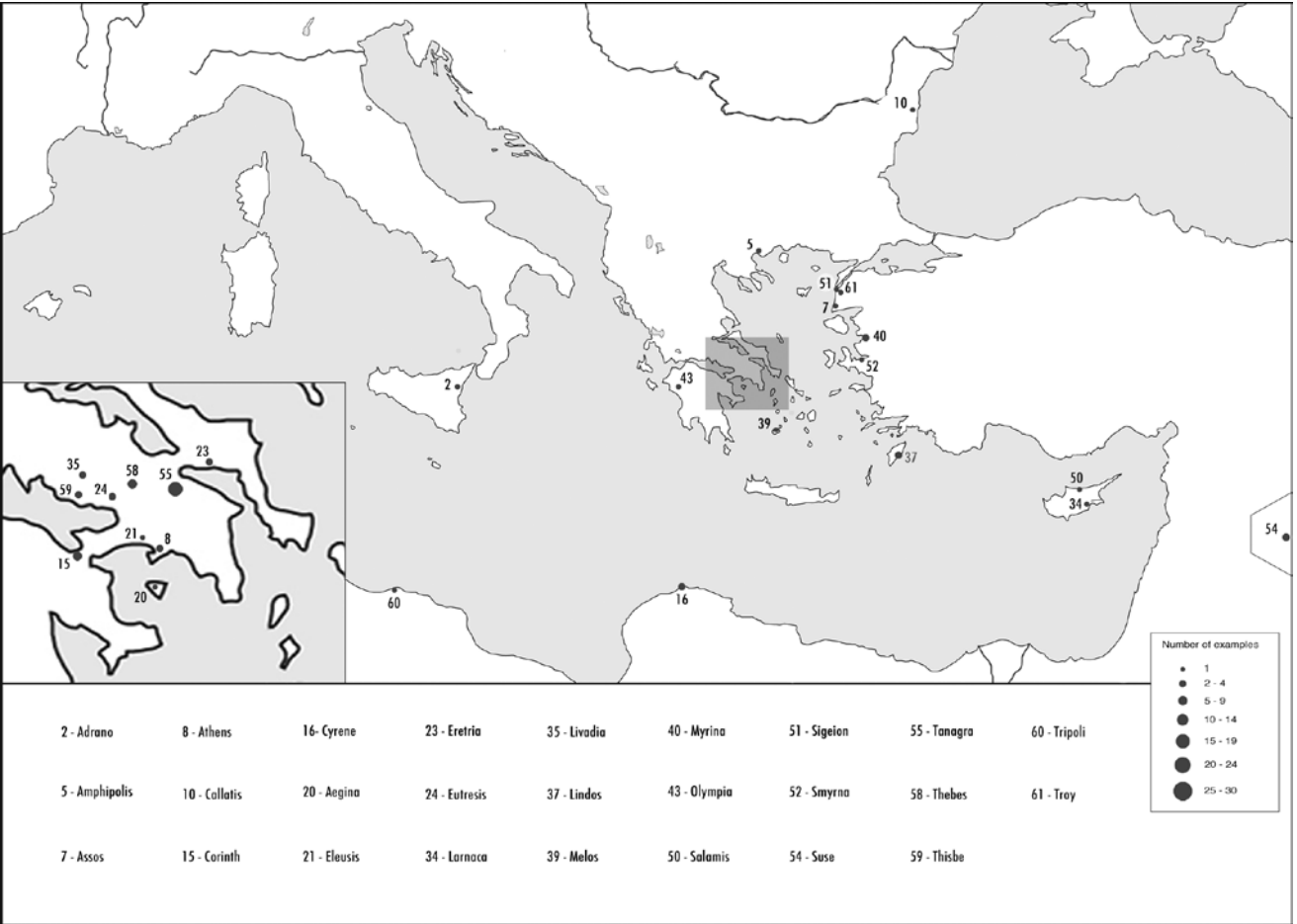


FIGURE 15.6 Geographic distribution of representations of women wearing a bulging peak of hair

special high and sharp headdress protruding from the top of the forehead. They predominantly come from a geographical area centred on Boeotia (see Fig. 15.6), located between Euboea and the isthmus of Corinth: sixteen examples come from Tanagra, nine from Corinth, five from Thebes, four from Eutresis, three from Thisbè, three from Livadeia, two from Athens, one from Aegina, one from Eleusis, and three from Eretria, to which we must add thirteen examples that are said to be from “Boeotia”, and one example from Olympia. These representations are essentially produced in the mid fourth century, but some are dated in the publications from the late fifth century to the second century BCE. Unfortunately few specimens of this group have been found in an undisturbed archaeological context and/or associated with material allowing absolute dating, which is particularly unfortunate for this relatively homogeneous group.

What particularly differentiates women with bulging front hairstyles from the other groups is this precise build of the hair, very bulging, at the top of the brow. Examination has shown that under the terracotta veil no particular accessory is visible as a crown or headdress. This feature is found on 92 terracotta statuettes while two other media, bronze mirrors and red-figure vases also incorporate this type of veiled lady and give some additional interpretative indications. Firstly these veiled women dance around altars. On the mirror of the British Museum (inv. 1903, 5–18, 1; Raftopoulou, 1991: fig. 11, 298) in particular the projecting headdress is rendered in two dimensions by two slashes as on the terracotta models of poor quality. With a stick in a hand, whose end is unfortunately lost, she dances in front of an altar on which stands an Eros playing the *aulos*. Secondly, the presence of Eros is a recurring feature in the representations of this type of veiled women.

On an ancient clay impression of a bronze mirror (Reeder-Williams, 1976: 41–46) a veiled women with a bulging peak of hair shows the protruding hairstyle on the forehead. She seems to be presented by a flying Eros to a couple usually identified as Aphrodite and Adonis but also as Dionysos and Ariadne. A veiled woman with a bulging peak of hair is also shown on a Sicilian red-figure pyxis (Tugusheva, 1997 11 1b 510, p. 25–26, pls. 34–35). The veiled woman is at the centre of the scene slightly larger than the other characters. She sits on a rich seat with her feet resting on a footstool. To her left a young woman seems to whisper in her ear, and to the right another young woman presents a jewellery box. On the far right of the composition flies an Eros. Trendall (1967: no. 105, pl. 236, 5–6) interprets these characters as Peitho and Aphrodite flanking a bride. Tugusheva (1997: 26) rightly points out that it is unfounded. The Eros, a recurrent figure next to this veiled

women, can be interpreted as the ancient power of creation, the “primordial desire” (Rudhardt, 1986) rather than the representation of the god of love.

This particular hairstyle and the use of a large piece of fabric as well as the gesture of veiling/unveiling is found on two red-figure vases, which includes the divine figures already mentioned. An aryballic *lekythos* (Metzger, 1965: 41, pl. XXIII; Venedikov *et al.*, 1963: 375, pls. 13–17) depicts Demeter holding in her lap a young, half-naked woman wearing the famous bulging hairstyle, surrounded by Triptolemos and Hermes. The central couple formed by Demeter and the young undressed girl evokes other scenes shown on a Kerch type hydria (Fig. 15.7), found in the necropolis of Apollonia Pontica (Hermay, 2010: 190–193; Hermay & Tsetschladze, 2012: 249, fig. 9). In this image, a half-naked young woman is sitting in the lap of another (wearing an eastern dress), and both hold behind them a large cloth. They are surrounded by dancing young women, enveloped in fabric that covers their mouths.

A hydria kept in Bonn, said to come from Egypt (Hermay, 2010: 192; Mielsch, 2003: pl. 23), of an inferior quality, shows the same scene; however the naked character wears what seems to be a laurel wreath instead of the tuft of bulging hair on the top of the brow. The surrounding dance scene is similar to the one shown on the hydria of Apollonia; the dancers with veiled mouths dance to the sound of the *aulos* and the *crotala*. Despite a few differences in composition and dress, the dancers give those scenes a level of homogeneity. On the hydria from Apollonia Pontica the peak protruding above the forehead is visible, though in a different way from that of the *lekythos*. The large piece of fabric is visible behind the central couple, which is surrounded by three dancers with veiled mouths and the dulcimer, seen on the Villa Albani relief.

On the aryballic *lekythos* from Apollonia (Metzger, 1951: 41, pl. XXIII) the naked woman is sitting on the knees of a goddess, but in the Homeric poems the knees of the gods are foremost the seat of destiny. This beautiful expression is attested several times. Especially during the first meeting of Hector and Achilles after the death of Patroclus. Hector says: “I know that thou art valiant, and I am weaker far than you. Yet these things verily lie on the knees of the gods yet it rests” (*Il.* xx. 434–435). This time the gods intervene, and he shall be saved, only to die at the next meeting. We find this formulation twice in the *Odyssey*, when Athena talking about the hypothetical revenge of Odysseus (*Od.* i.v. 267): “Yet these things verily lie on the knees of the gods, whether he shall return and wreak vengeance in his halls, or whether he shall not” and in v.400 where the same sentence is said by Eurymachos



FIGURE 15.7 Hydria from Apollonia Pontica, detail, beginning of the 4th century BCE
SOZOPOL MUSEUM (HERMARY & TSETSKHLADZE, 2012: FIG. 9, 249). CL. L. DAMELET FOR CCJ

to Telemachos: “This matter verily lies on the knees of the gods”. But this expression also has an associated value meaning that we put our lives in their hands, that is, we deposit it on the knees of the gods, like, for example Hecuba deposits her finest embroidered robe on the knees of Athena (*Il*, VI.v.92). Whether it is an offering or a destiny which is deposited on the knees of god the purpose is to conciliate them, even if this involves putting one’s own life at stake. Indeed, in initiation ceremonies a recurring feature is that the future myst is required to confront a form of death, usually a symbolic one.

In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* there are also children who are put on the knees of others. There is a relationship between the knees and paternal or maternal lineage. Certain passages evoke some form of recognition, even if it is not an official act: in song XXII of the *Iliad* (v.500) Astyanax was “aforetime on his father knees” as Odysseus is placed on the knees of his grandfather by his mother in book XIX of the *Odyssey* (v.401). This practice, in its literary and poetic expression, demonstrates notions of generations and heritage. Being on the knees of the gods, means adopting the same position as children on their parents’ knees, being acknowledge and putting one’s

fate in the hands of the deity. It is also the exact place of *mystai*, especially during initiation ceremonies. When the protagonists are two women the meaning takes on a special value. A women presented on the knees of another is also a motif of coroplastic arts, like, for example, the statuary group in the Louvre museum (MNC552). The red-figured vases essentially show two such female couples. This is Demeter and Kore, as on the *lekythos*, and Aphrodite and Helene as on a red figures *amphoriskos* (Berlin 30036, ARV1173; Ghali-Kahil, 1955: no. 14, pl. 8, 2–3). These characters maintain close relations of filiation (biologic or philosophic) connected to the female life cycle. Their respective mythologies are focused on the major phases of the women’s life: removal and marriage, return to the family, re-marriage etc. This is little or not at all described in texts, but long suspected in previous studies. Phillipaki (1967: xx, n. 9) already proposed, about the Attic *stamnos*, that representations of ceremonies between women are a “private ceremony”. The female practices involving veiling and unveiling are present in the Greek “iconographic landscape”.

When there is a complete iconographic program veiled women appear surrounded by other women, in

scenes in which clothing and jewellery are highlighted, but where they also take care of the hair. This can be seen on the *lekanis* of the Hermitage Museum (inv. YU.o.32; Delivorrias, LIMC 11, 1984, s.v. Aphrodite no. 993), which shows a female wrapped in a fabric that veils her mouth, surrounded by many young women combing her hair, washing their hair, etc. Another example is on the Attic red-figure *lekanis* of the Museum of Thessaloniki (inv. MTh.480; Stampolidis & Tassoulas, 2009: no. 151, 182) discovered in a ditch near Peristerona. These scenes show a variety of women's position and attitudes, but also show several age groups. Some younger girls observe their elders in their preparations. The veiled women are of large size, and their secondary sexual characteristics are very pronounced. On vase paintings as on the terracotta model, breast and hip are enhanced by the fabric and the movement. They are both singled out and characterised by this special accessory whose port offers them a special place sometimes enhanced by the composition as on the *lekanis* of the Hermitage Museum where the sequence of characters ends or begins with the veiled figure and her neighbour.

The scenes have often been interpreted as scenes of wedding preparations. But even if the veil holds a special place in the wedding ceremony via the *anakalypteria* and although the preparations are done alone amongst women, no testimony validates the use of a face veil for the wedding ceremony only. Women with veiled faces are often interpreted as married before *anakalypteria*, but many details do not match. Especially because no source or evidence suggests that the bride danced for her own wedding. If we know that dancing took place during the marriage (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* v.1141) it seems difficult to conceive that the bride, the only protagonist of *anakalypteria*, danced. Essentially, these statuettes of veiled women are mostly dancers (53% of the corpus) and they make rather suggestive dances drawing attention to their hips and breasts. These ceremonies can be considered more broadly as preparations for rituals.

One hypothesis could be provided by the testimony of Pollux (*Onomasticon*, IV, 143–154). In his catalogue of middle comedy masks, he mentions a mask whose particular characteristic is that very same hairstyle as that of the veiled women with a bulging peak of hair. Amongst the 43 masks used there are 14 of young women, amongst which, there are a *kore* virgin and two *pseudo-korai*. The *Kore* is the leading girl. The two *pseudo-kore* are well-born young girls, victims of rape, whose sickly pallor signifies pregnancy. However, their destiny is different. The first false virgin, after many tribulations, marries the father of her child (much like Pamphile in Menander's

Epitrepontes). The second *pseudo-kore* has no such luck and must live with her condition alone. Navarre (1925: 236–237) comments on those characters set apart by their hairstyle: “About those three masks, the hair immediately revealed the condition: the virgin had flat hair divided by a central parting, which was the normal hairstyle for young girls before they were wedded”. However, and this is what reveals the whole importance of the hair element, the first *pseudo-kore*, having re-established the order of things by contracting a marriage, wore her hair “after the fashion of newly-wed, i.e. knotted in a knot at the top of the skull”, while the second *pseudo-kore*, having had no such luck, “had kept the flat hair of the virgin, yet a different parting showed everyone that she was so merely by name”.

Marriage was considered as the quintessential female initiation. However it is necessary to revisit this notion of a “single” rite of passage. There are alternatives to the idea of a single transition, only valid for one particular time. There are different steps in the rites, steps incessantly replayed to become efficient. Marriage is only one step of the initiatory journey sealed by motherhood (and probably by the birth of a male heir). The information provided by Pollux may lead to an interesting track of research.

These female ceremonies, difficult to interpret as there are no records detailing their purpose, where veiled women are involved, exhibit notable characteristics. They do not seem associated exclusively with a deity, but rather with a type of deity whose special powers of “great goddesses” refer to fertility and motherhood; and they pay special attention to secondary sexual characteristics (hair care; dances where hip and chest, although covered, are highlighted by both the movement and the garment) and to ornament (jewellery, fabrics) and a strong emphasis on the concept of “heightened femininity”. If historiography associated these ceremonies in the past with pre-nuptial rites, there also existed other types of ceremonies where these specific criteria (femininity, fertility, maternity) are crucial and which would form an equally reasonable hypothesis to explain these feminine festivals: the post-nuptial ceremonies, located between marriage and first pregnancy, especially since the sacred law kept track of these post-wedding ceremonies without giving the content.

In Cyrene, a sacred law dating from the fourth century BCE (Sokolowski, 1969: no. 115, 185–196; SEG 1X 72 B, l.1–14) lays down a religious journey to perform purifications, which concern three categories of women: girls, married women and pregnant women before delivery. As the first part of the inscription is very mutilated, it is not possible to know which rites are applied to these girls. Brides

should go to the source in the sanctuary of Artemis in the *nymphaeion* during the Feast of *Artemisia*. If they do not, the penalty is relatively heavy: it includes the cleansing of the sanctuary and the sacrifice of an ox. The missing parts of the inscription do not reveal what was accomplished during this visit to the *nymphaeion*. However the fact that it takes place underground, near water, may be associated with a subterranean sanctuary discovered in Amathous, dated by the artefacts found there, to the Classical period. The potential link of this amathousian sanctuary with the fountains of the agora has already been noted (Aupert, 2009: 33) and more importantly two veiled women were found there. In Kos, in the third century BCE, a sacred law attributed to Aphrodite Pandemos says that married women of the year, citizens, bastards or resident aliens must offer a sacrificial victim in the year following their marriage (Segre, 1993: ED 178, l.15–20). In the same city in the second century BCE regulations on the cult of Nike (Sokolowski, 1962: no. 163) also set prescriptions concerning sacrifices for weddings.

In Antimacheia (Sokolowski, 1962: no. 175) a law dated to the late fourth century BCE relating to the cult of Demeter mentioned ἐπινυμφεύμεναι (l.5), which are interpreted as either a grade of initiation designating a type of initiate (l.5 also mentions the τελευμέναι who are the future initiated) or as a testimony of ceremonies practiced in the sanctuary and directly related to marriage. At Iasos, a later (197 BCE), law asked the married of the year to offer a sacrifice according to their means on the anniversary of queen Laodicea III, assimilated to Aphrodite, during the month of Aphrodision (Robert, 1971: 621, 505–506). Even in Athens, Borgeaud (1979: 226) indicates the existence of ceremonies performed by the *demoi* in the Grotto of Pan for the married of the year, which included dancing in front of the sanctuary. These ceremonies were held in various sanctuaries. A sacrifice is sometimes mentioned but the details of the ceremonies are not explained: these post-nuptial obligations are considered as important because they are accompanied by heavy penalties. The category of woman farthest from the wedding, identified by inscriptions found in these cities, is the parturient, evidence that the purpose of these ceremonies should probably be the first child, or the first male child.

These rituals are made by connecting several generations of the same sex, involving a young novice guided by women who had previously performed and successfully completed the sequence, as demonstrated by epitaph no. 728 of Book VII of the Palatine Anthology, attributed to Callimachos, which reports the busy career of an old woman in these words: “I, the old woman who am now

dust was once the priestess of Demeter and again of the Cabiri and afterwards of Cybele. I was the patroness (προστασίη) of many young women. I had two male children and closed my eyes at a goodly old age in their arms. Go in peace” (Paton, 1919). Waltz (1960) points out that “προστασία” is also one of the names of Demeter in Pausanias (11.11.3). This difference in status must be visible also in the roles occupied in these ceremonies.

4 Artefact of a Keepsake

If these ceremonies for women in the sphere of marriage, these ritual obligations including veiling and unveiling gestures under the patronage of large all-powerful female deities such as Demeter, Cybele and Artemis are not described in detail in the texts, the images still leave traces of great consistency. Used in ceremonies related to female fertility, the face veil is not necessarily the prerogative of married women, but rather a symbol of transition from *nymph* to *gyn*e, from woman to mother, and moreover mother of a boy. Ex-voto donated to the deities in order to reconcile them as well as to thank them for answering their prayer, the presence of these clay figurines representing them in sanctuaries seems to me more convincingly interpreted in the light of these factors, as a keepsake of an important stage of a woman's life.

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The Soft Youth in Boeotian Coroplasty

Angele Rosenberg-Dimitracopoulou

Abstract

A series of terracottas representing youths with softly articulated musculature that stand in an s-curve emerged in Boeotia around the middle of the fifth century BCE. These soft youths predate the famous sculptor Praxiteles by approximately seventy-five years yet they share the stylistic characteristics commonly associated with his statues in marble and bronze. This paper conceptualises the terracottas as evidence of a visual trend or phenomenon in light of the type's development in fifth century terracottas rather than in relation to Praxiteles' personal style.¹

1 Introduction

One theme of this volume is the extent to which terracotta figurines are socially embedded artefacts that express cultural phenomena in the material record. The soft youth in the coroplastic arts of Boeotia is a good example of the benefits of this approach (Fig. 16.1). The figural type represents a pre-pubescent youth with softly articulated musculature, devoid of facial or pubic hair that stands in a relaxed stance rendered by an s-curve. While the emergence of a similar figure in Greek art is traditionally attributed to the fourth century sculptor Praxiteles of Athens,

the archaeological record shows that the type appeared in the fifth century in the coroplastic arts of Boeotia. The change in medium suggests that the type participated in a broad cultural shift and that it became popular for social reasons, in much the same way that a trend develops in today's society.

Praxiteles of Athens was active between c. 370 and 320 BCE according to Pliny (*HN* 34.50). Ancient authors describe the youths, including satyrs, Apollo, Hermes, as well as other divine characters, that Praxiteles carved (Pasquier & Martinez, 2007: 423–427). Relying on the heuristic processes of *Meisterforschung* and *Kopienkritik*, scholars have identified Roman statues that may be imitating Praxiteles' lost works (Pasquier & Martinez, 2007). Identifying characteristics of Praxiteles' youths include softly modelled muscles made to appear as underdeveloped, smoothly rendered faces lacking in any facial hair, and bodies that rest in a relaxed position that is described as an "s-curve." Scholars have relied on these characteristics in order to reconstruct Praxiteles' *oeuvre*. However, the fact that the same characteristics appear in the fifth century BCE coroplastic arts in Boeotia suggest that Praxiteles did not invent this figure.

The heuristic processes of *Meisterforschung* and *Kopienkritik* rely on a particular concept of artistic influence. They begin with the idea that large-scale marble and bronze sculpture was the most prestigious artistic form in ancient Greece. The next step is to affirm that representational types were developed in the most prestigious artistic forms and then repeated in the less prestigious forms. This affirmation is confirmed by the appearance of recurring representational types in less prestigious artworks, such as terracotta figurines, vase painting, and marble relief. According to this model, repetition in ancient art stems from the extensive influence of masterworks executed in the prestigious form of marble and bronze sculpture (Furtwängler, 1895: viii; Palagia & Pollitt, 1996: 15).

The repetitive soft youths in Boeotian coroplasty cannot be explained by the dominating influence of Praxiteles because of the archaeological contexts in which they are found. The chronological disjunction demands for a different art historical account of the figural type's popularity in Boeotia during the fifth century. In light of the

¹ This article stems from a chapter of my dissertation entitled "The Soft Style: Youth and Nudity in Classical Greece" conducted at the University of Chicago in which I examine the art historical and socio-historical contexts in which the soft style emerged. Sincere thanks are due to R.T. Neer who has advised me at every step of this project and to J. Elsner and V.J. Platt who have been very generous with their comments. I would like to thank the participants at the conference in Cyprus for their demanding questions and insightful feedback. The support of the Ryerson Fellowship and the Kress Foundation made the research for this article possible. I would also like to thank O. Kyriazi and A. Charami at the 9th Ephorate of Prehistory and Classical Antiquities for allowing me to study the Boeotian material and for granting me permission to publish some of the photographs. Sincere thanks are also due to G. Kavvadias and G. Kakavas at the National Archaeological Museum, Athens for allowing me to study the figurines from the Kabirion and for allowing me to reproduce some of them here. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of I. Damanaki at the American School of Classical Studies. Finally, I would like to thank the kind editors and readers for this volume for their helpful comments on an earlier draft. Any remaining mistakes are my own.

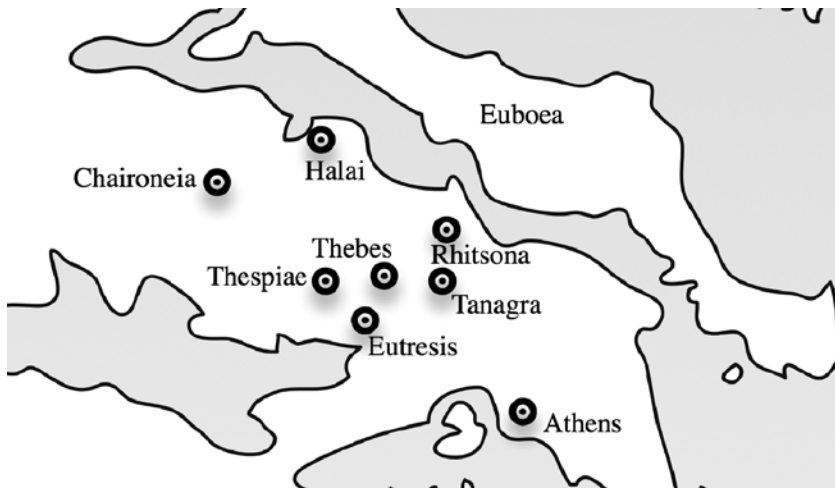


FIGURE 16.1 Map indicating approximate location of sites where Boeotian soft youths have been found

mechanical nature of their production, it is more suitable to consider the repeating form of the soft youth as a visual trend. According to this model of artistic change, the figural type was popular because it resonated with parallel changes in culture during the middle of the fifth century. In this article I focus on the archaeological circumstances of the soft youths in Boeotia while I examine the relevant cultural changes in which the style emerged in my doctoral thesis (Rosenberg, 2015: 221–287).

2 Getting Acquainted with the Soft Youth

The soft youth is characterised by a sinuous s-curve running through the figure's torso (for example Fig. 16.2). The s-shape is formed when the hips project to one side and the torso moves to the other along a horizontal plane. The result is what looks like a very relaxed pose, albeit somewhat unnatural. In its most developed forms, the s-curve is so deep that the figure rests against a pillar to one side. Hairlessness, both on the face and in the pubic region, designates these figurines as pre-pubescent. Finally, the body itself is marked by softness. Their torsos are always exposed and gentle mounds designate the underdeveloped musculature of the pectorals and abdominals. These are certainly not the well-toned bodies of athletes articulated by sharp indentations delineating the different muscular groups. The soft youths often carry attributes, the most common of which is the rooster. Other examples carry a *lekkythos*, a lyre, a *phiale*, a hare, an *aryballos*, a strigil, a *stephane* or are accompanied by a dog.

These three characteristics, namely the s-curve, hairlessness and soft musculature did not develop uniformly.

The s-curve began as a slight movement in the hip and torso resulting from one bent leg and one straight one. As the curve developed, the hip projected more to one side and the torso leaned towards the opposite side (see for example Fig. 16.3). In some cases, the shoulders are set at an opposite angle to the hips, emphasising the overall effect of the s-curve.

Hair is a significant iconographic indicator on this type, both its absence on the body and its form on the head. Setting off the lack of facial or pubic hair on these young bodies is a great variety of hairstyles. The hair began shortly cropped just above the ears during the fifth century (Figs. 16.2 and 16.4). By the middle of the fourth century, it developed into an impressive array of curls crowned by an ornate headdress (Figs. 16.3, 16.5 and 16.6). The abundance of hair on the head contrasts with the smooth genital region. There is no indication of pubic hair rendered through incision prior to firing. While it is possible that the hair was painted on some of the figurines, examples with extant painted decoration indicate that this was probably not the case. The same coat of red was used for the entire body, with no differentiation in colour between the abdominals, the pubic region and the legs (Figs. 16.2, 16.4 and 16.6).

Softly articulated musculature complements the relaxed s-curve of the body and its youthful characteristics. The fleshiest bodies do not exhibit any distinction between the different muscular groups (Figs. 16.2, 16.3, 16.6 and 16.7). On other figurines, small mounds faintly delineate the muscles (Figs. 16.4, 16.5 and 16.8). The pectorals project slightly out from the body but the abdominals are indiscernible. Small impressions sometimes define the hips and lead to the groin, marking the so-called iliac crest.



FIGURE 16.2 Soft youth with rooster. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 5612. Bought in Thebes, c. 450–420 BCE
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS (PHOTO: A. ROSENBERG). COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC
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FIGURE 16.3 Archaeological Museum, Thebes 20049. From Halai, Boeotia, c. 420–390 BCE
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS (PHOTO: A. ROSENBERG). COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC
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FIGURE 16.4 Archaeological Museum, Thebes 20060. From Halai, Boeotia, c. 450–420 BCE
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS (PHOTO: A. ROSENBERG). COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC
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FIGURE 16.5 Fragmentary soft youth with rooster. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 10271/79. From the sanctuary of the Kabiroi, middle of the fourth century BCE
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS (PHOTO: A. ROSENBERG). COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS / ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECEIPTS FUND



FIGURE 16.6 Archaeological Museum, Thebes 20062. From Halai, Boeotia, c. 420–390 BCE
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS (PHOTO: A. ROSENBERG). COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC
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FIGURE 16.7 Soft youth with strigil and rooster. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 10287. From the sanctuary of the Kabiros, end of the fifth century / beginning of the fourth century BCE
NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS (PHOTO: A. ROSENBERG). COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC
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FIGURE 16.8 National Archaeological Museum, Athens 10271/76. From the sanctuary of the Kabiroi, middle of the fourth century BCE

NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS (PHOTO: A. ROSENBERG). COPYRIGHT: HELLENIC MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS / ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECEIPTS FUND

3 Conceptualising the Series

Terracotta figurines were mechanically produced as a series from a mould, a simple fact that cannot be overstated in any study of ancient coroplasty. This manner of production affects the dating of figurines and any speculation regarding the quantity that was originally in circulation. Furthermore, the manner of serial production can account for how the soft youth gained popularity in terracotta form.

As others have explained, there are three different dates that are relevant to any figurine (Muller, 1997; Merker, 2000: 5). These include the initial creation of the mould, the production of the series of which the figurine is but one example, and finally the date of the particular figurine's deposition. It is notoriously difficult to determine either the date of the mould or the date of production of the series based on archaeological evidence. Nicholls (1952; 1982) first explained some of the complications in his discussion of derivative moulds that produced subsidiary generations of figurines.

The only date that can be determined for the soft youths from Boeotia is the date of deposition. This is because very little evidence of their production or the manner of their distribution is extant. The soft youths appear to be made out of the local clay (Goldman & Jones, 1942: 370–371; Higgins, 1954 vol. 1: 203; Schmaltz, 1974: 4). However, without moulds or the remains of kilns, questions regarding their production must remain unanswered. Furthermore, it is not possible to tell how many figurines were made in a given series or where a figurine stood within the overall series. Many of the figurines, however, have been found in secure archaeological contexts that elucidate the chronology of their deposition.

That the figurines were made as part of a series can be illuminating when the iconography is carefully considered. Every divergence in detail between related figurines denotes a distinct series. For example, two soft youths may be identical save for a different hair arrangement. This minor difference signals the fact that they come from different moulds with the result that the two figurines in fact stand in for two distinct series. Of the forty-one soft youths that I have studied from Boeotia that date to the fifth and fourth centuries, thirty-nine are iconographically distinct. This means that there were at least thirty-nine series of soft youths circulating in the region during this one hundred year period.

The materiality of these figurines probably contributed to the figural type's innovation in coroplasty and subsequent success as a visual trend. The relatively low expense of clay meant that coroplasts were freer to create

new forms. Sculptors of marble and bronze, on the other hand, were probably constrained by the high market value of the materials with which they worked. The fact that an experiment conducted with a mould had the potential for yielding a whole series of figurines amplified the creative potential of coroplasty. Furthermore, figurines were portable objects that circulated around a region and were seen by different people. The quantity of and potential for flexibility in the coroplastics gave this artistic form the capacity to introduce a new form that then gained traction as a trend. Of course, the notoriously conservative coroplastic workshops in Sicily and Corinth demonstrate that this did not always happen. Rather it appears that the Boeotian workshops of the fifth and fourth centuries were exceptional in this respect.

The Athenian coroplastic industry was particularly robust in the fifth century. Despite the wide variety of types produced there, there is no evidence that there was a market for this figure until the fourth century. Any evidence to indicate otherwise has yet to appear amongst the fifth century finds from the Athenian agora and the Kerameikos excavations (Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1997; Agora Excavations accessible at www.agathe.gr).

4 Chronological Matters: the Excavations at Rhitsona and Halai

Soft youths have been found during excavations conducted in Tanagra (Higgins, 1986; Jeammet, 2003; 2007; 2010; Andreiomenou, 2007), Thebes (Keramopoulou, 1917: 211–223), Halai (Goldman & Jones, 1942), Eutresis (Goldman, 1931), Thespieae (Schilardi, 1977), Chaironeia (Sotiriadis, 1903), Rhitsona (Ure, 1913; 1927; 1934), and at the sanctuary of the Kabiroi outside of Thebes (Schmaltz, 1974). The investigations at Rhitsona and Halai are the most helpful for establishing a chronology for the soft youths. This has less to do with the intrinsic quality of the material found there and more to do with the methods of extraction and recording adhered to by the excavators. Finds from these excavations establish that the soft youth was deposited in graves with pottery from the middle of the fifth century BCE.

The chronology of the region's terracottas relies on sequences of local pottery. Excavations at Rhitsona (identified as ancient Mykalessos by the excavators) have emerged as particularly significant for establishing those sequences. The site was initially excavated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Ronald M. Burrows, Percy N. Ure and his wife Annie D. Ure and then published by the Ures after Burrows' premature death.

Their efforts yielded a significant quantity of locally produced floral and black-glazed ware, which they published according to grave groups (Sabetai, 2001: 9–11).

The Ures arrived at their chronological sequences according to two criteria (Ure, 1913: 21–40). They began by organising the grave groups stratigraphically. The pottery was then arranged chronologically according to three local fixed points. The material found at the *polyandria* at Thespieae, probably the resting place of the Thespians killed during the battle at Delion in 424 BCE, provided the earliest fixed date (Schilardi, 1977: 19–40). Despite delays in the final publication of the material, P.N. Ure was able to see the material soon after its discovery (Ure, 1913: 23–24). The finds at the *polyandria* from the battle of Chaironeia of 338 BCE, where the Sacred Band and the Macedonians were buried, supplied later fixed points (Ure, 1913: 23). Attic pottery sequences were used to verify the unfolding Boeotian chronology when imports were found. The result of their efforts was a series of publications that furnished subsequent excavations in the region with illustrated chronologies that could be used and evaluated. Theirs was an especially innovative approach during a time when convention prioritised the most aesthetically pleasing pieces (Sabetai, 2006).

Excavations at the site of ancient Halai, located approximately forty miles north-west of Rhitsona, are particularly helpful for establishing a partial chronology for the soft youths. A team from Cornell University under the leadership of John Coleman has most recently investigated the site during a series of campaigns in the 1990s. These efforts have been concentrated on the acropolis and the urban structures. Two female archaeologists, Hetty Goldman and Alice Walker, first excavated the site during the early twentieth century. Goldman and Walker initiated investigations into the city's acropolis but they focused their efforts on the necropolis (Goldman & Walker, 1915: 423).

The two World Wars in addition to extraneous circumstances intervened in the plan of systematic publication of the site. While many of the finds remain unpublished, the terracotta figurines have been the subject of two studies. Goldman first published them as part of her doctoral thesis submitted to Radcliffe College in 1916. Frances Jones then revised Goldman's thesis into an article published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (Goldman & Jones, 1942). This article made the coroplastic discoveries available to the broader scholarly community.

Like the Ures, Goldman and Jones organised the graves chronologically according to their stratigraphy and the pottery deposited in them. The dates of the figurines were determined on the basis of the grave groups. They ascertained that the cemetery at Halai was in use at least

between about 550 and 200 BCE (Goldman & Jones, 1942). Terracotta figurines of soft youths were included in graves that date to between c. 450 BCE and c. 280 BCE. These figurines have been particularly useful for dating other examples of Boeotian coroplasty because they were found in secure archaeological contexts with the result that they can be dated by external means.

5 Funerary Gifts and Sacred Votives

Residents of Boeotia buried their dead with terracotta figurines of soft youths and gave them as gifts to the gods during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. These figurines were also appropriate in more public settings. In addition to the graves of private citizens of Tanagra, Thebes, Halai, Eutresis, and Rhitsona, they were included in the *polyandria* that kept the bodies of the fallen from battles in Thespieae and Chaironeia. Finally, these figurines were dedicated in large quantities to the gods worshipped at the Kabirion outside of Thebes. A versatile form, the type of the soft youth served a variety of functions.

In funerary contexts, the soft youth was one of several iconographic types that the residents of Boeotia included in the burial ceremony. At Halai, people also chose figurines of standing women, seated women, *hydrophoroi*, masks, fruit, as well as animals as funerary trappings. Some figurines were found intact, interred with the dead, while others were found in pieces scattered around the graves (Goldman & Jones, 1942: 369–370). Similar to funerary customs elsewhere in Greece, the people of Halai used the figurines during the ceremony in different ways. Sometimes they were burnt in the funerary pyre and other times they were placed in the grave around the body, framing it before the grave was sealed. In the *polyandria* at Thespieae, the soft youths were found in the tomb and buried in cists around it (Schilardi, 1977: nos. 457–461). Strigils, two arrow heads, some bronze ornamental sheathing as well as other terracotta figurines were also amongst the excavated grave goods. Despite the militaristic character of this ceremony, the soft youths were still suitable gifts in honour of the war casualties in the context of these public ceremonies.

These grave assemblages indicate that the soft youth supplemented existing funerary gifts. For example, terracotta horses found in the fifth and fourth century graves adhere to a type that had been in circulation since the Geometric period. The type of the standing woman, also found in similar funerary contexts, began in the Archaic period. Thus it appears that the soft youth entered the visual repertoire alongside these pre-existing ones, as a

new option for mourners to include in the burial ceremony in addition to the traditional ones.

In addition to their function as burial gifts, the terracotta figurines of soft youths also played an important role at the sanctuary of the Kabiroi outside of Thebes. It is clear that the figurines were given as votives to the gods who were the focus of the mystery cult. Unfortunately, any further details about their role in the sanctuary's activities remain obscure. This is due both to the manner in which the site was excavated and to the reality of investigating a mystery cult.

Excavations conducted in the late nineteenth century unearthed fragments of approximately seven hundred examples of soft youths at the sanctuary of the Kabiroi (Schmaltz, 1974: 1–3). Evidently this type was a very common votive dedication there (Schachter, 1981–1994 vol. 1: 98–103). Unfortunately, the precise archaeological contexts in which they were found were not recorded. It is difficult to date these figurines or to reconstruct their role in the ritual activities without this archaeological information. Comparisons with related figurines from Halai suggest that the soft youth was dedicated at the sanctuary from about 450 to about 350 BCE. Painted scenes on the distinctive Kabiric ware found at the site strongly suggest that the figural type of the soft youth was identified with the younger of the two male gods who were the focus of cult at the sanctuary.

The precise identities of the Kabiroi in their various mystery cults throughout ancient Greece are notoriously unclear (Hemberg, 1950: 137–189). In the Theban sanctuary, extant votives and inscriptions suggest that two males and possibly a mother were the focus of cult (Schachter, 1981–1994 vol. 11: 88–96). Although there are several possible identifications of the divine males, age was a constant differentiation between the two. Kabiros and his son are attested epigraphically whereas the pairs of Hermes and Pan as well as Dionysos and a younger *pais* appear on the Kabiric ware (Schachter, 1981–1994 vol. 11: 88–96). Pausanias mentions another pair, Prometheus and his son Aitnaïos (Pausanias 9.25.6). Regardless of their precise identities, one deity was an older man and the other was a youth (Schachter, 1972: 20–21). Patterns of votive dedications further distinguished the two. The divine youth was the primary recipient of terracotta figurines at the sanctuary while the older male received bronze bulls and featured more prominently in inscriptions (Schachter, 1981–1994, vol. 1: 89, n. 1).

The soft youth figurine type probably had a particular sacred function in the context of the Theban Kabirion. Its relevance to the cult beyond the sanctuary in other areas of Boeotia, however, is unclear. It is possible that the

figurines were buried in the graves of initiates (Schachter, 2003: 113). It is just as likely, however, that the soft youth was a versatile representational type that had different meanings in distinct contexts. Its success as a visual trend may be due to its suitability to a variety of functions.

6 Soft Youths and the Tanagras

The soft youth as a figural type reappears significantly at different moments in Western art after its emergence in the middle of the fifth century BCE in Boeotia. It can be seen shortly thereafter in the Tanagras of the fourth, third and second centuries, in the statues of ephebes beloved by the Romans and in the painted figures of youths in early modern European paintings. The longevity of this figural type has long been understood as evidence of the influence of Praxiteles' sculptures. The terracotta figurines collected here suggest a different reason for the type's endurance. Just as it emerged organically across Boeotia as part of a cultural phenomenon, the type reappeared in later artistic representations when it resonated with the current cultural climate. In the instance of the Romans and the early moderns, the cultural climate was heavily indebted to classicism (Hölscher, 2004; Marvin, 2008). The relationship of the soft youths to the later Tanagra figurines is somewhat more complicated. Although technique definitively divides the two groups of terracottas, stylistic similarities suggest that they are more closely connected than previously recognised.

The Tanagra style refers to coroplastic figurines that probably emerged in Athens between 340 and 330 BCE and which subsequently spread through the Greek world during the third and second centuries (Thompson, 1966). The style is defined by the subject matter (youths, Erotes, Aphrodites, dancing women, well-dressed women, so-called grotesque women and young girls playing games), the manner of production (hollow figurines made out of joined pieces which are individually made from moulds) and the formal characteristics (marked by movement, youth and a soft articulation of the human form) (Higgins, 1986; Jeammet, 2003; 2007; 2010). The Tanagras have also been described as the first "secular" terracotta figurines, to be distinguished from the "religious" protomes and enthroned women of the Archaic and Classical periods (Thompson & Thompson, 1987: 210). This, however, is not a particularly useful distinction as the prevalent Erotes and Aphrodites of the Tanagras are certainly religious subject matter.

Despite its Athenian origins and Pan-Hellenic appeal, the style has long been associated with the small Boeotian

town of Tanagra. Beginning with a series of clandestine excavations in 1870 and 1873, a significant concentration of beautifully wrought terracotta figurines was discovered in the cemeteries of ancient Tanagra. Highly marketable in Western Europe, these graves fell subject to rampant tomb robbing as people came looking for more figurines to sell (Jeammet, 2010: 16–19). The site of their original discovery has been retained in their nomenclature even though it has since become clear that the Tanagras were a much larger phenomenon in antiquity.

A significant distinction between the soft youths and the Tanagras is their manner of production. The front half of the earlier figurines were made out of one mould. The back of the figurine was usually finished off with a plain, curved piece of clay. The two pieces were then joined to make the complete hollow object. The Tanagra figurines, on the other hand, were made out of a series of moulds (Jeammet, 2010: 100–109). Head, torso and limbs, were made separately and then joined before firing.

These differences in technique have served as a dividing factor in the study of Classical and early Hellenistic figurines. The choice to divide the material in this way has directly affected the study of ancient coroplasty. Some of the soft youths have been dubbed as “pre-Tanagran” but they have never been studied as a group (Kleiner, 1984: 127–131; Higgins, 1986: 109, 123–124, 144). Differences in technique, however, are not the only way to organise the material. Another way is to focus on the figural type itself and trace the development of the ephebic youth from its emergence in the soft youths of the fifth and fourth centuries through to the later Tanagrans of the third and second centuries BCE.

7 Conclusions

Reconceptualising the history of the soft youth as a figural type that began in the Boeotian terracottas, continued through the ephebes of the Tanagrans, and on to the Roman statues commonly attributed to Praxiteles, has specific advantages. This history adheres to the archaeological evidence by acknowledging the appearance of the soft youth in the coroplastic arts of Boeotia prior to Praxiteles' *floruit*. By tracing the figural type through various media and historical contexts, the potential for artistic objects to participate in the changing cultural contexts in which they were made is recognised. Different social forces were at play in the fifth century when the type was developed than in the first century CE when the Romans adopted it to adorn their baths and gardens. Identifying the figural type's humble beginnings in terracotta form

prompts the consideration of the style as a cultural phenomenon. The repetition of the type in various media through time no longer needs to be tied to the influence of a single artist. Instead, the soft youth was a visual trend that was fashionable at different points in history for specific socio-cultural reasons.

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“Visiting Gods” Revisited. Aphrodite Visiting Artemis, or Bride?

Arthur Muller

Abstract

According to the traditional identification of several terracotta types, Aphrodite is a common “visitor” in sanctuaries of other gods. But the examination of attitudes and attributes, reinforced by parallels with more explicit scenes in vase painting, suggests a reinterpretation of these figurines and *protomai* in the sanctuaries of Artemis in Thasos and Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion. They represent in fact mortal women, more specifically brides, even when an erotic character underlines the iconographic assimilation with Aphrodite. The dedication of these terracottas to Artemis, guarantor of the passage from the status of *parthenos* to that of *nymphe*, ensured divine protection for the young bride.¹

1 The Problem and the Method

Some years ago, Alroth (1989: 65–105) conceived the category of “visiting gods” to explain the presence of images of one deity in a sanctuary dedicated to another, most often when the field of activity was close. This category is convenient insofar as it can be used to explain all the apparent incongruities in the repertoire of dedications to a given deity. Thus, the concept of “visiting gods” proliferated in the publications of offerings from sanctuaries and sometimes I myself have used the facilities which it offers (Muller, 1996a: 489–493; 1996b: 899).

But the appreciation of the very existence of this phenomenon, or its importance, depends largely on the identifications proposed for figurines, the fragility of which Alroth (1989: 66) underlined herself in certain cases. The problem is that the Greeks created their gods in their own image: unless inscriptions, or unambiguous attributes refer to specific divinities, or when there are significant differences of size in an assemblage of figures, or external criteria such as the location in a temple for a cult statue,

the human figure and the divine one cannot be distinguished from one another. Thanks to the progress of our knowledge and greater appreciation of the contexts, many sculpted or painted representations that previously were identified with divinities are now recognised as simple mortals (Brommer, 1986): it is a dominant trend of present research in iconography. Paradoxically, it is in the field of small plastic arts that this “downgrading” seems to raise the most problems, as if scholars were anxious to compensate for the modesty of their objects of study with the grandeur of the subjects they believed to have been represented. So, for identical iconographic schemes, the “gods” in terracotta continue to be particularly numerous, while fewer and fewer of them can be found in marble or bronze and even in vase painting.

Twenty years ago, I showed that the numerous terracotta “Demeters” and “Kore-Persephones” dedicated in the Thesmophorion of Thasos were in fact mortal women represented as orants, in a gesture of prayer (Muller, 1996a: 468–482). For a few years, Huysecom-Haxhi and I have been systematically promoting the idea that, as a general rule, dedicants offered in sanctuaries not the representation of the honoured divinity but rather their own conventional image, in the form of a full length statuette or of an abbreviated one, a *protome* (Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, 2007; Muller, 2009). It is now more and more widely accepted that, in terracotta as well as in marble or bronze, the most frequent iconographic types of the Archaic period, at last, are in fact representations of mortals unless characterised by unambiguous divine attributes (e.g. Ismaelli, 2011: 219–222; Jeammet, 2011: 391; contra: Croissant, 2013: 191). In the same way, the great majority of the iconographic types that replaced them from the fifth century BCE onwards also represent humans, especially when they depict obviously daily or ritual attitudes – although divinities may also be represented in these attitudes (Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, 2007: 236–237).

Some words about the methodology: the main reason why it is difficult to identify figurines is that they almost always represent single characters, isolated from any context, under banal iconographic schemes difficult to decipher for us moderns, or even, as in the case of *protomai*, in the form of a partial representation. So, to identify the figured terracottas we have to put them back into

¹ I am grateful to G. Hilmoine (University of Lille) and to J. Uhlenbrock (University of New Paltz) for their help in the translation of my paper, and to the authorities in Greece (18th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Kavala) and Albania (Centre for Albanological Studies/Archaeological Institute, Tirana) for the facilities that they offer to my team every year, in the museums of Thasos and Durrës respectively.

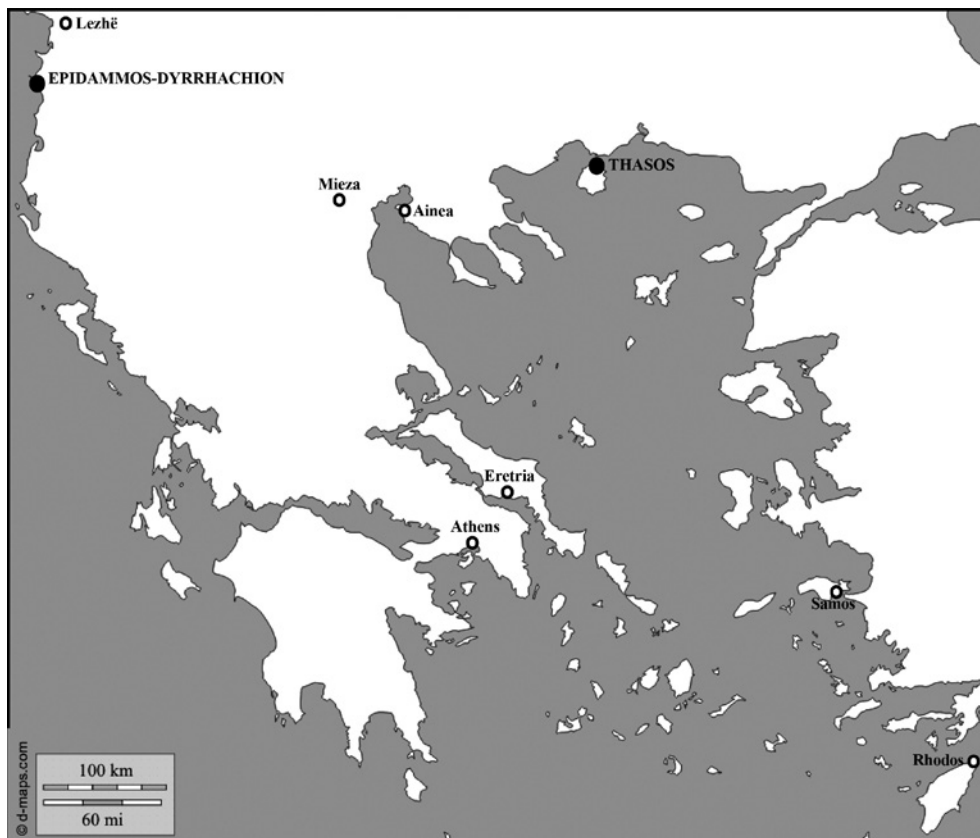


FIGURE 17.1 Location of Thasos, Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion and other sites mentioned in the text

their “context”, which can take various forms as the case may be.

In the case of the *protomai* which I have just mentioned, I was able to arrive at a valuable conclusion by considering a given iconographic type of full length figurine in comparison to its abbreviated form (Muller, 2009: 86, fig. 1, 88–90). For the Archaic statuettes of the most common iconographic types, such a conclusion was reached by considering these types in relation to each other and in the virtual assemblage that they constitute; the famous group in Samos, sculpted by Geneleos, gives us an indisputable example of such an assemblage known already for a century, but for which an understanding is quite recent (Walter-Karydi, 1985). Indeed this represents the family of the donor, [...] *ilarches* (the first letters of his name are lost), by juxtaposing the statues of each of its members in the conventional attitude that symbolises his/her social and family status and which we find, in an identical way and with the same meaning, in the small terracotta figurines. So, the banqueter represents the head of the family at a symposium, the form par excellence of sociability among citizens, the woman seated on a *diphros* represents the wife responsible for the *oikos* and mother of legal children, the standing *kore* represents the nubile girl

and the *kouros*, nude or dressed, the boy, a future citizen (Huysecom-Haxhi, 2009: 583–587; Muller, 2009: 89, fig. 2).

For more recent coroplastic types, that is to say, of the Classic and Hellenistic periods, I would like to investigate another form of contextualisation of isolated figurines. Recently, Sabetai (1997) has significantly improved our understanding of female scenes painted on small vases, with only one or two figures: she showed that they were in fact “extracts”, or “quotations” of complex scenes of weddings or sequences of scenes belonging to the iconography of marriage, well known on larger ceramic shapes. However these images do not necessarily represent a precise moment of the wedding ceremonies, but can combine elements which, in reality, belong to different moments. Can we apply this method to the small world of terracottas? In other words, could isolated figurines be simply understood as “extracts” or “quotations” of scenes with several characters, whose representation on other figurative media would give the key to the interpretation of isolated figurines?



FIGURE 17.2 Artemision of Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion: shoulder busts with special headdress (Durrës, Archaeological Museum)

PHOTO 1–5: G. NAESSENS/UMR 8164; DRAWING 6: N. VASIA/DURRËS

2 Aphrodite Visiting Artemis, or Bride?

Aphrodite is a very frequent “visitor” in the sanctuaries of other deities, according to the publications that accept the traditional identifications of several iconographic types (Alroth, 1989: 109–110, table 19). It is impossible to discuss here all the figurines identified with the goddess of love: I will examine only some hypothetical Aphrodites “visiting” the sanctuaries of Artemis in Thasos and Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion (Fig. 17.1), both surely identified by dedicatory inscriptions, and whose numerous votive finds are currently under investigation by my teams in Greece (Muller, 1996b; 2002; Huysecom-Haxhi, 2009; Maffre & Tichit, 2011) and Albania (Muller & Tartari, 2005; 2011; Dufeu-Muller *et al.*, 2010: 385–400). There is no a priori objection to such “visits”: indeed, Aphrodite is – just like Artemis – involved in women’s lives and is highly concerned with marriage, an important transition for which Artemis is often the main guarantor (Huysecom-Haxhi, 2009: 599–604).

2.1 Thasos: korai with Bird

I will not linger over the case of the Archaic *korai* holding a bird, generally identified as a dove: in the bibliography

and in the *Lexicon Iconographicum*, this very common iconographic type is mostly said to be a representation of Aphrodite (Delivorrias, 1984: 15; Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, 2007: 238–239). The sanctuary of Artemis in Thasos yielded several dozen *korai* with a dove, which could easily be identified as visiting Aphrodites.

But Huysecom-Haxhi has already refuted this possibility: like Philippa, Ornithe and her sister, the three *korai* of the Geneleos group in Samos, these young women represent in a conventional way mortals, more exactly *parthenoi*, nubile girls, old enough to get married, or even *nymphai*, brides, when they are wearing a crown, or a veil, or both a crown and a veil. The bird they hold is their pet, the usual companion of the gynaecium and a symbol of the domestic and feminine world (Huysecom-Haxhi, 2009: 575–576), as evidenced, for example, in funerary stelae or in the painting of the fourth century BCE grave II in Ainea, Macedonia (Vokotopoulou, 1999: 35–49).

2.2 Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion: Female protomai with mitra

I prefer instead to give more consideration to a particular type of feminine *protome* (fourth and third centuries BCE) found in a very large number of copies – several

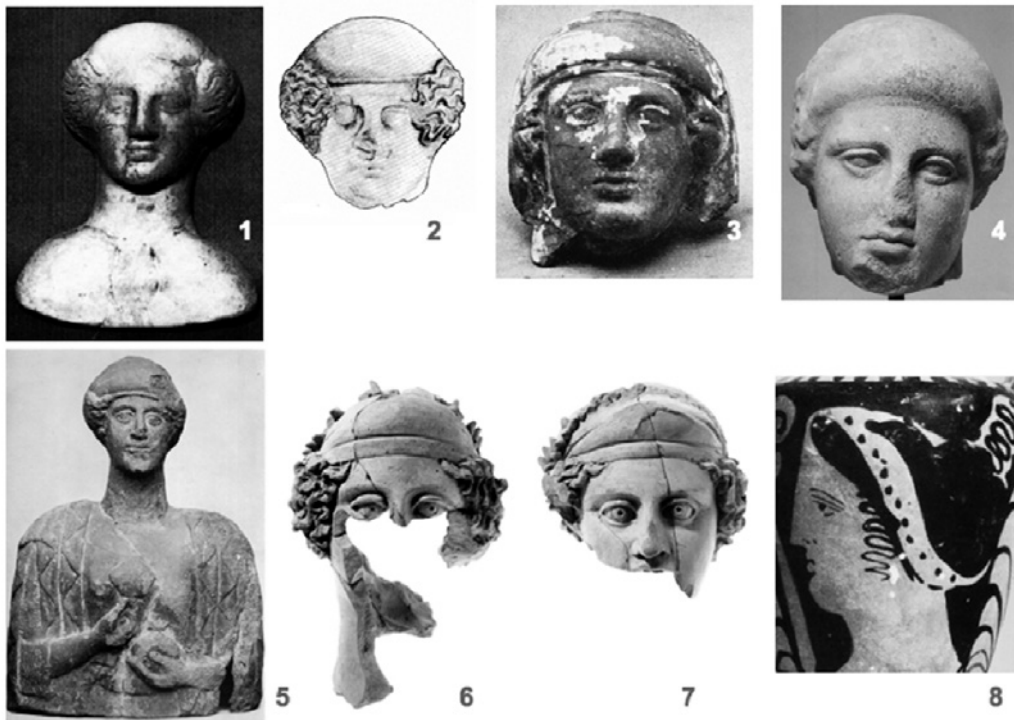


FIGURE 17.3 Examples of other representations of feminine figures with the same headdress: 1–2, *protomai* from Spina (after Araneo, 1987: 43, nos. 55–56); 3, *protome* from Rhodes (after Higgins, 1954: pl. 41, no. 240); 4, marble head from Asia Minor (after Reeder, 1995: 140, no. 9); 5, *protome* from Locri (after Higgins, 1954: pl. 166, no. 1208); 6–7, terracotta statue heads, from a rural sanctuary in Lucania (photo: M. Osanna); 8, Apulian red figured vase (after Todisco 2012: pl. 188, no. 2)

hundred – in the sanctuary of Artemis in Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion (Fig. 17.2). It represents a female bust, wearing a special headdress, a kind of narrow headband which does not always cover the top of the head, with two thick masses of hair sticking out at the temples.

This sanctuary was formerly identified by the excavator as an Aphrodision, and this particular type, which was compared by Albanian scholars to the traditional hairstyle of the women in Zadrima, near Lezhë (ancient Lissos), North Albania, as illustrated in Shijaku's beautiful painting *The Bride of Zadrim* (1982) (Hudhri, 2003: 6), was thought to be the image of a “peasant Aphrodite”, of Illyrian origin (Eggebrecht, 1988: 390–391). The sanctuary having recently been identified as an Artemision (Muller & Tartari, 2005; 2011), the “Illyrian peasant Aphrodite” now could be considered a “visiting goddess”.

In fact, this type, effectively very popular in Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion, is not specifically Illyrian. One can find the same particular headdress on other *protomai* and terracotta or marble sculptures from the Greek world: for example from Rhodes (Higgins, 1954: pl. 40–41, nos. 239–240), from Asia Minor (Reeder, 1995: 140, no. 9), from the Black Sea (Winter, 1903, I: 250, no. 2), from North Italy (Araneo, 1987: 36, type C, and 43, nos. 55–56), and mostly

from South Italy, in Locri (Higgins, 1954: pl. 166, no. 1208), Ruvo (Winter, 1903, I: 251, no. 4) and in Lucania (Osanna & Sica, 2005: 190, no. 15, and 196, no. 64) (Fig. 17.3, nos. 1–7). Moreover, it seems to me that some of the large feminine heads painted in profile on many fourth century red figured vases from South Italy wear also the same headdress (Todisco, 2012: e.g. pl. 305, nos. 1–4, 315, no. 3) (Fig. 17.3, no. 8) instead of the more usual *sakkos*. In all these examples, the women are probably wearing the *mitra*, a wide headband, an archetypal feminine accessory known in ancient texts as a symbol of femininity: at the moment of their marriage the girls adorned themselves with the *mitra* (Sabetai, 1997: 328–329), as can be seen in several scenes of bridal preparation depicted on fifth and fourth centuries BCE red figured *lebetes gamikoi* and other vases (Fig. 17.4). In the iconography, *mitra* and *sakkos* are not always easy to distinguish, but the *sakkos* is also a symbol of sexual maturity (Krouser, 2004: 98, 102–103). Far from representing a local Aphrodite, these *protomai* of the Artemision in Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion have to be understood as the conventional and abbreviated image of the *nymphē*, the bride with this particular element of bridal dress.

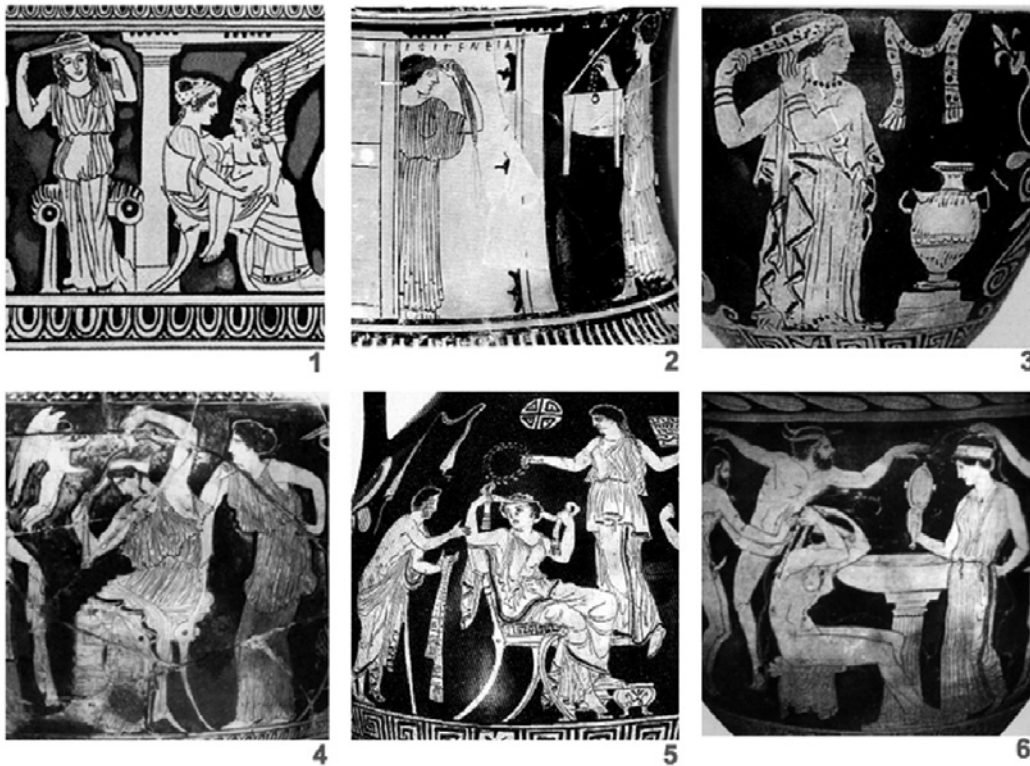


FIGURE 17.4 Brides binding the *mitra* in the iconography of red figured vases, details of bridal preparation scenes: 1–2, pyxides (after Sabetai, 1997: figs. 1 and 12); 3, *skyphos* (after Todisco, 2012: pl. 25, no. 2); 4, hydria (after Sabetai, 1997: fig. 13); 5, *pelike* (after Todisco, 2012: pl. 130, no. 1); 6, bell crater (after Todisco, 2012: pl. 10, no. 2)



FIGURE 17.5 Artemision of Thasos, female figurines (Thasos, Archaeological Museum)
PHOTO: P. COLLET/ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES

2.3 Thasos: Seated Woman with Eros

Let us return to the Artemision of Thasos for the third iconographic type, whose identification as Aphrodite appears to be obvious at first glance (Muller, 1996b: 899). Two technical types illustrate this iconographic type (Muller, 1997: 449–451), dated to the fourth century BCE: one is

known in only two copies of rather poor quality resulting from a long serial production. The other, of better quality, has been preserved in at least seven fragmentary copies from two successive generations; thanks to our restorers, we have at least one complete example 13.9 cm high from the second generation (Fig. 17.5). The type represents a

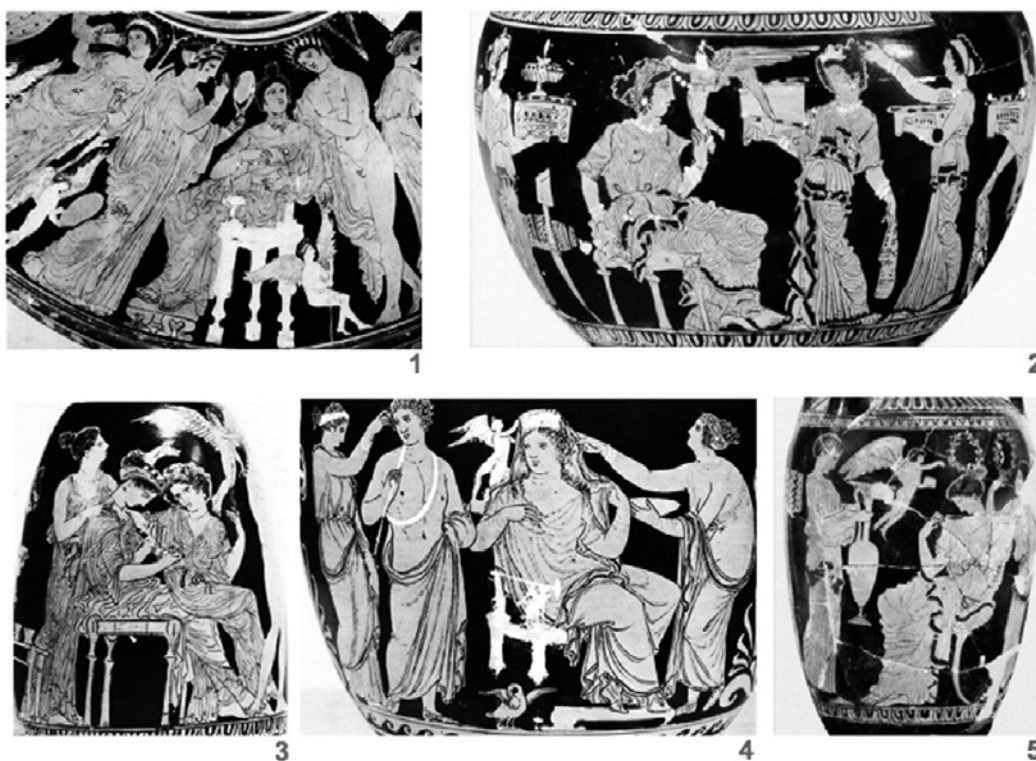


FIGURE 17.6 Preparation of the bride in the iconography of red figured vases: 1, pyxis (after Delivorrias, 1984: no. 212); 2, *lebes gamikos* (after Kaltsas & Shapiro, 2008: 318, no. 142); 3, *lekythos* (after Delivorrias, 1984: no. 210); 4, pyxis (after Delivorrias, 1984: no. 806); 5, *loutrophoros* (after Sabetai, 2008: 295, fig. 5)

female figure, seated on an ornate *diphros*, whose torso is twisted to be viewed frontally, while her legs are in a three-quarter view. Visible is the front left leg of the *diphros*, which is ornamented with a large rosette.

The woman may be dressed in a chiton represented as being so transparent that her body appears to be nude, but a fold of cloth pulled across her breast and her right shoulder indicates that she is indeed wearing a chiton. Her legs are draped in a heavy himation, whose wide flat folds fall vertically from behind her legs to cover a large part of the *diphros*. The left arm is lowered, slightly flexed, with the hand placed on the edge of the seat. The right arm is bent upwards and her hand grasps the edge of her himation: she appears to be uncovering or covering her head with a large gesture that inflates the himation like a veil. Under the left part of the himation on her shoulder is a child in profile with long hair who appears to be snuggling against the woman, with the left arm across her upper chest and the head approaching hers.

Other than the apparent nudity of the upper body, it is the presence of the child that allows one to identify this image as Aphrodite. Although the wings of the child are not visible, his position, appearing to hover over the shoulder of the woman, is in effect that of a flying Eros.

The iconographic type of the standing or seated goddess approached by a young Eros is banal (Winter, 1903, II: 198–201) but in his compilation of the images of Aphrodite for the *Lexicon Iconographicum* Delivorrias (1984: 101, 150–151) suggested already that many of them also could represent mortals, even when accompanied by Eros.

In fact, large red figured vases, in particular the Attic *lebetes gamikoi* and *loutrophoroi* of the fifth century BCE, show numerous scenes of the preparation of the bride, veritable *topos* of marriage imagery (Reeder, 1995: e.g. 227, no. 56, 232, no. 58; Sabetai, 2008: e.g. 295, fig. 5). The same imagery appears on fourth century BCE red figured vases from South Italy (Todisco, 2012: e.g. pl. 62, no. 1, pl. 177, no. 4, pl. 320, no. 1) (Fig. 17.6). The bride is most often seated on the *diphros*, her legs enveloped in a himation, while she is turned toward her companions and, in particular, toward the *nympheutria*, who presents a mirror, perfume flasks, jewellery boxes, or helps in the preparation of her hair. She often carries out a gesture of unveiling, taken from another moment of marriage, that of the *anakalypsis*. Eros is a regular presence in these images, more or less closely associated with the bride, as a symbol of her erotic attraction and of the love that must unite her with her husband, or of the future child whose birth will



FIGURE 17.7 Artemision in Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion: red figure *lekythoi* (Agrinion group) with representation of the seated bride (Durrës, Archaeological Museum)

PHOTO: G. NAESSENS/UMR 8164

transform the *nymphe* into a *gyne*, an achieved woman. This is the same iconography for a simple mortal woman or for a heroine from mythology, such as Harmonia in the scene on the left side of the famous *epinetron* from Eretria (Krousser, 2004: 105).

It seems to me that the modellers to whom we owe the prototype of the series of Thasian terracottas and those of other analogous iconographic types brought together in the catalogue *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* (Winter, 1903, II: 198–201) or in the *Lexicon Iconographicum* (Delivorrias, 1984) have somehow taken out from the familiar and conventional image of the wedding and the preparations of the bride only the main character, that of the bride. The figurines from Thasos then are a kind of quotation, an easy iconographic scheme that women knew how to contextualise and to recognise without ambiguity as the image of a mortal woman, and more precisely that of a bride: the gesture of unveiling alludes precisely to marriage. By this offering to Artemis young women placed their own passage from the status of *parthenos* to that of *nymphe* under the protection of the goddess, guarantor of transitions and crucial moments in the life of women (Huysecom-Haxhi, 2009: 599–603; Dufeu-Muller *et al.*, 2010: 399). This reading, instead, seems to me to better reflect the significance of these figurines than that of the usual identification with the goddess Aphrodite.

2.4 *Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion:* *Red Figured lekythoi with Seated Women*

It is not only in coroplastic images that one finds scenes of the preparation of the bride for marriage reduced in a conventional way to its principal character, the bride accompanied by Eros or not. The same reduction is evident for example in a plastic fourth century BCE *lekythos* from Mieza (Kephaliidou, 2012). The Artemision of Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion has yielded numerous red figured *lekythoi*

of the fourth century BCE decorated with only one figure (Shehi & Tichit, 2013). The surface of these perfume vases is very degraded, to the point where all the interior details of the figures are missing. But in spite of this, one can clearly recognise the silhouettes of seated women, who perform the gesture of unveiling or who are accompanied by a winged Eros or hold a chest or a mirror (Fig. 17.7).

Among the many painted vases of Southern Italy these figures of seated brides are veritable “stock images.” Since perfume was an offering of choice at the moment of marriage (Bodiou & Mehl, 2008; Kephaliidou, 2012; see Kaltsas & Shapiro, 2008: 322–323, no. 144b), thus the image of the bride was extremely suitable for the decoration of perfume vases like the *lekythoi*.

3 Conclusions

Finally, we can only emphasise the conventional aspect of coroplastic imagery which used formulas or quotations, i.e., “stock figures”, an expression used by Trendall (1967: e.g. 654), to describe iconographic motives that everyone understood. We know this for the Archaic period, and now we are beginning to understand this for later periods as well. I am confident that this suggestion will find further confirmation through the imagery of painted vases and that it will allow the recognition of other “quotations” from complex scenes and a better understanding of individual figurines.

In the case of Aphrodite and the bride, we are in the presence of a completely normal conflation of imagery. In any case, a systematic examination of terracotta figurines and marble statuettes identified as Aphrodite will significantly result in a decrease in the presence of this goddess as a “visitor” in the sanctuaries.

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Aphrodite, Coming of Age and Marriage: Contextualisation and Reconsideration of the Nude Young Women Kneeling in a Shell

Stéphanie Huysecom-Haxhi

Abstract

We have chosen to study here the naked female figure kneeling in a shell: this is a relatively uncommon theme which is articulated in several types with significant differences in the gestures, ornaments, accessories or companions. Whenever the context is known, it has always to do with sanctuaries of female divinities or graves. Our objective here is to reconsider the interpretation of this image by taking into consideration the different data at our disposal. The main question would not be to establish if they represent Aphrodite or not, but to try to understand the values that the image of a naked female body, emerging from a shell, might well represent, and help explain the presence of this object in this particular context, by or for an individual, at a particular moment of life.¹

1 Introduction: the Difficult Interpretation of the Female Nudity

It may be surprising to discover that the meaning of self-explanatory images that have never provoked problems of interpretation from the moment of their initial discovery are being reconsidered here. Indeed, the image of the nude young girl kneeling inside the two valves of a seashell (here a *Pecten jacobaeus*) has been universally interpreted as the representation of the birth of Aphrodite rising from the foam of the sea for which the shell is a metaphor and thus a significant symbol.

However, the shell is not mentioned in the stories of Aphrodite's birth, as told, for example, by Hesiod (*Theogony* 189–206). The goddess, in fact, was born from the foam that arose from the sperm of the severed genitals of Ouranos that was thrown into the sea by Cronos (and we quote from Hesiod's *Theogony* 189–191, “all around, a white foam sprung from the divine member and in it grew a maiden”). There is no mention of the shell in this narration, which appears to be a later addition. Indeed, the first

mention is found in Plautus' *Rudens* (111.3.704): “We say that you arose from a shell. That their shells do not inspire you with disgust”. This short extract obviously could be used in support of an interpretation of the seashell, which in antiquity was believed to represent a woman's vulva. However, the seashell can be interpreted in another way. The deep bond that exists between the seashell and the woman is obvious in this image, especially as the young woman is at the acme of her beauty and her sexuality, which in this series of images is epitomised by the nude body that corresponds to the value attributed to a slightly open scallop. This evocation of the female body with its power of seduction and potential for intimacy conveys a message that is not fully compatible with the mere identification of the character as Aphrodite.

The question then, at least to us, is not whether such an image is ultimately an appropriate representation of Aphrodite, which it absolutely does not need to be. The question, rather, lies in trying to understand, through an analysis of the various elements of the composition, the values that these images of a nude female body emerging from a shell can appropriately convey and explain their deposition in a given milieu, by a specific person, and at a given moment of life. This interest in these images, and more generally for the representations of the female nude, whatever the type, chronology, and context, is, in fact, the result of discussions with our colleagues in Lille on the coroplastic votive contexts of the Artemision at Thasos (Huysecom-Haxhi, 2009: 569–604) and of the Artemision at Dyrreion in Albania (Dufeu-Muller et al. 2009; Dufeu-Muller, Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, 2012: 385–400), where representations of nude women are present in significant quantities. Moreover, from the Artemision of Dyrreion come two other figurines showing a half-naked female kneeling between the valves of a shell (Fig. 18.1).

The presence of such objects in an Artemis sanctuary, where the goddess was worshiped primarily for her involvement in the different stages of women's lives, had aroused my curiosity from the outset. More recently, we had the opportunity to work with a colleague at

¹ I would like to thank R. Jammal for helping me to translate this text and J. Uhlenbrock for correcting it.

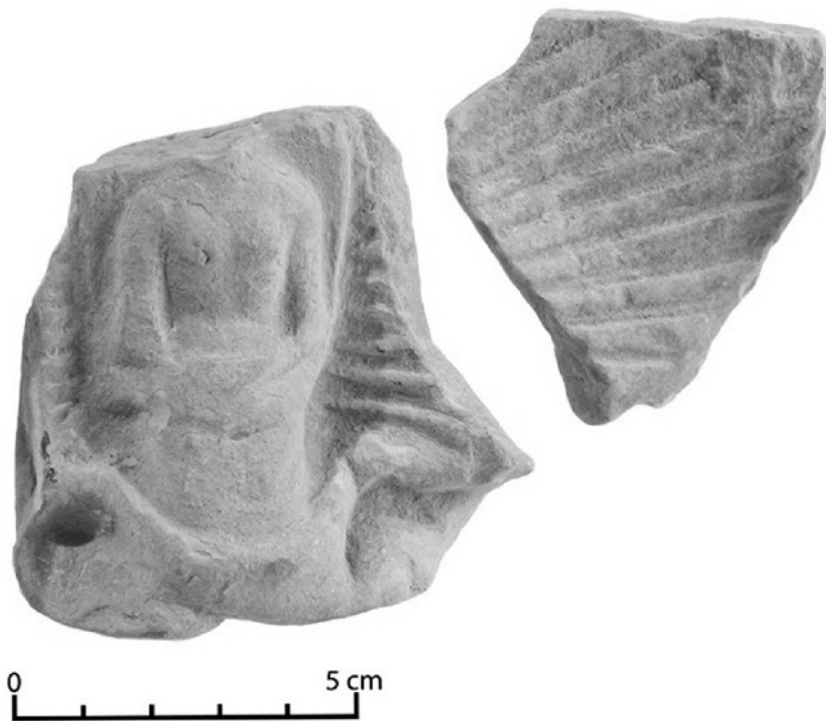


FIGURE 18.1 Figurine fragments of kneeling women from the Artemision of Dyrrhachion, Albania

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the University of Nanterre, Irene Papaikonomou, who is studying the material from the necropolis of Thasos that concerns an ensemble from a grave of a baby, probably female, 9 to 12 months of age (Huysecom-Haxhi, Papaikonomou & Papadopoulos, 2012). In this ensemble there were three identical figurines representing a seated, nude female, without arms, and without a seat (Fig. 18.2). This is a very frequent iconographic type, much more diffused than the type of the woman in the seashell, having been found in both tombs and sanctuaries, such as at the Artemision of Dyrrhachion. These are now understood to represent mortal women at the onset of their maturity as women, and are to be further understood in relation to the rituals of marriage, especially the prenuptial bath for both bride and groom. In the special context of the grave, this image can only represent an anticipation of one of the main stages that the young girl should have undergone during the preparations for, and the actual accomplishment of, marriage should she had lived. These figurines thus symbolised her unfulfilled role of *nymphe*, or bride, and spouse. In the sanctuaries, the offerings of these figurines demonstrated the piety of the *nymphai* toward their protective divinity, which enabled the achievement of the maturation stage leading to marriage (Reilly, 1997; Larson, 2001: 101–112; Schwarzmaier, 2006;

Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, 2007: 240; Papaikonomou, 2008: 695–706).

In the well-defined initiation rituals for the integration of young women into adult society, female nudity does not appear either as particularly shocking or in any way relevant to the concept of sacred prostitution. Nudity is simply the required means of demonstrating the biological changes that take place in the body of a young girl that are revealed to the community by the development of the most important parts of her body, such as the breasts or the abdominal area, that are so important in the cycle of reproduction. Nudity can thus be considered a particular garment, characteristic of a particular age class and of a stage in the lives of young girls. Therefore, it is not necessary to see such images as representations of hierodules, or sacred prostitutes, or even oriental Aphrodites, as is still often the case merely because they represent nude women. These images under consideration in this paper give rise to still further reflections on the identity and meaning of the themes of the nude young woman and the shell, and not because such themes must represent the birth of Aphrodite. I propose to offer some guidance for alternate readings of this iconography, as well as suggestions for alternate directions for analytical explorations.



FIGURE 18.2 Figurine of seated nude female without seat, from the tomb L-XIIIa of the Ladikas' Ground in Thasos
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2 The Nude Woman Emerging from a Shell: a Rich and Complex Iconography

2.1 Some Images but Few Archaeological Contexts

Let us take a quick look at the corpus of types of a nude woman emerging from a shell, which as far as can be determined, is one of the rarest of types within the terracotta repertoire, and in particular within that dealing with the female nude. A review of the available evidence has yielded some twenty examples, unfortunately many without archaeological contexts, so that precious information about their meaning and use is lost. Two examples

already noted were found in the votive material from the sanctuary of Artemis in Dyrhachion (Fig. 18.1), another example comprises the right side of a shell fragment from the temple of Demeter and Koré in Corinth published by Merker (2000: 234, no. H270, pl. 47). A third example, unique for the interpretation of the theme, comes from a grave in Taranto, which was probably of an immature girl, as is suggested by the iconography of the associated material (Graepler, 1997: 204, fig. 195, no. 196.6). The excellent state of preservation of most of the figurines discussed in this study strongly suggests that they often formed part of funerary ensembles. Further research surely will yield additional examples from votive contexts.

2.2 Two Main Groups

Several types illustrate the theme, which can be divided into two groups depending on the position of the shell, the attitude of the woman, and the nature of the associated accessories. In the main group, the young woman is completely naked, kneeling, most of the time on a high circular base, with her toes touching the ground and her buttocks touching her heels. Sometimes a motif made of wavelets replaces the circular base (Winter, 1903: 202, no. 2) (Fig. 18.3). The arms are extended away from the body, sometimes expressing a movement, with the hands holding objects such as an unguentarium containing fragrant oil that the young woman is pouring into her other hand (Fig. 18.4) (Winter, 1903: 204, no. 2; Ventrelli, 2004: 121, no. 91, 122, no. 92, 123, no. 93), or a round-shaped, seedy fruit, such as an apple or a quince (Breitenstein, 1941: no. 670, pl. 84), to underscore fertility. Sometimes it is an umbilicate *phiale* or a mirror (Fig. 18.3) (Winter, 1903: 202, no. 2; Schmidt, 1994: 149, fig. 241, pl. 43; Hamdorf, 1996: 133, no. 159). A necklace of beads is sometimes around her neck (Schmidt, 1994: 149, no. 241, pl. 43; Hamdorf, 1996: 133, no. 159). Aside from the presence of the woman, the other notable element obviously is the shell itself, whose valves spread open behind the young woman like a pair of wings. As composed, the types depicted here recall the representations of Nike within the coroplastic repertoire, on vases with images of women in daily life, in a *gynoeceum*, and particularly in scenes of ceremonial wedding preparations. This visual play is not fortuitous. It was the choice of the coroplast or painter, who understood that such images could be read at different levels of meaning.

The second group includes types showing the woman kneeling, the lower part of her body sometimes wrapped in a garment covering the thighs and masking the exact position of the legs and feet. A flying Eros above the head of the young woman is apparently handing out to her a large cloth, possibly a himation, as she rises from the water, with



FIGURE 18.3 Figurine of nude woman in a shell, with mirror
FROM WINTER, 1903: 202, NO. 2

the broad expanse of the drapery enhancing her body, as if to emphasise its apparition. The effect is one of presentation and is accentuated by the spacing of the valves of the shell that reveal the young woman. The accessories held by the young woman are either an open jewel box (Fig. 18.5) (Winter, 1903: 202, no. 5), a *phiale* or perhaps a mirror, such as one can imagine in the hands of the woman in example CA 596 in the Louvre (Fig. 18.6) (Winter, 1903: 202, no. 3; Besques, 1972: 52, D 293, pls. 61a–c), where the head turned to the left gives the impression that the young woman holds a mirror in her left hand in the same way as another young woman on another very similar figurine in the Louvre, but one that lacks a seashell (Fig. 18.7) (Winter, 1903: 202, no. 6; Besques, 1972: 67, D 416, CA 641, pl. 89a).

2.3 Some Rare Types

Other models show a slightly different interpretation of the theme. From the necropolis of Taranto a fine example

shows only one valve of the seashell, as a background to the scene in which the young woman is almost standing, pulling a garment with her left hand in a seductive, rather than chaste movement, while looking towards a bird resting on her right hand (Graepler, 1997: 204, fig. 195, no. 196.6). Pigeons and doves are frequently associated with Aphrodite, but should also be considered a symbol of youth, the youth of the woman well represented here in its company. The bird in fact appears on funerary stelae in the hands of young deceased girls; birds are furthermore a specific marker of identity found also in the hands of archaic *korai*, who are (as demonstrated elsewhere) representations of young marriageable women, *pro gamou*, but not Aphrodites (Huysecom-Haxhi, 2008: 63–65; 2009: 575–578). Close to the right shoulder of our example, we can notice a seated figure, probably to be identified with Eros, a frequent companion found on other examples. On an uncommon type in Würzburg, the young woman is on



FIGURE 18.4
Figurine of nude woman in a shell with *alabatron*
FROM WINTER, 1903: 204, NO. 2

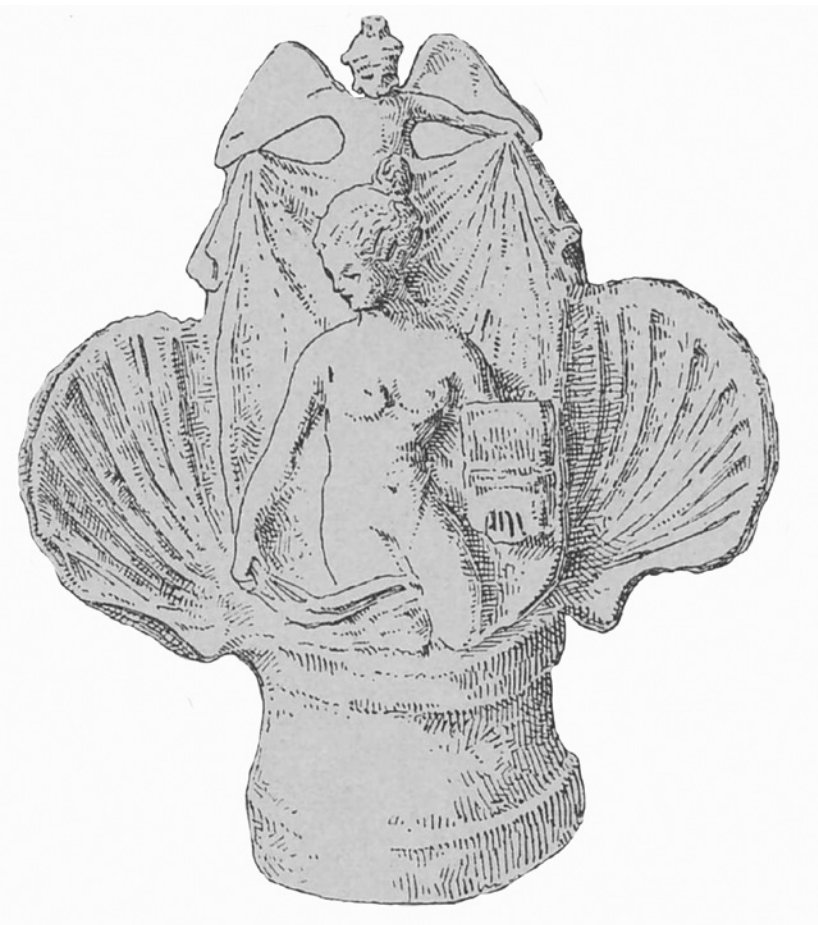


FIGURE 18.5
Figurine of nude woman in a shell with Eros and
with a box
FROM WINTER, 1903: 202, NO. 5



FIGURE 18.6

Figurine of nude woman in a shell with Eros and a mirror?

FROM WINTER, 1903: 202, NO. 3



FIGURE 18.7

Figurine of nude woman with Eros and a mirror

FROM WINTER, 1903: 202, NO. 6



FIGURE 18.8
Plastic vase with nude bust of woman
FROM WINTER, 1903: 203, NO. 3

a kind of rock carved with multiple cavities representing small sea waves, she is opening wide the seashell valves which seem to be attached to her back (Schmidt, 1994; no. 242, pl. 43). Some vases depict the same theme. On a vase from Boston the theme is very close to the figurines of the second group, the only difference is the pair of Erotes flying above the woman, helping her to hold her garment or cloth which she also holds with both hands, and which is decorated with rosettes that could echo the blossoming of the physical aspects of the young body, as well as flowery meadows (Simon, 1959: 44, fig. 27). This latter recalls Hesiod's narrative (*Theogony*: 190–206) where the grass grows where Aphrodite walks. In Aphrodite's passage, the vegetation blooms. The coming of female charms is within the sphere of activity of the goddess, who with Artemis does everything to accompany the young *parthenos* to her wedding day, endowing her with beauty, grace, sensuality and seduction to bring to fulfilment a proper marriage (Dufeu-Muller, Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, 2010: 399).

The final example of this motif is evident on an unpublished *pelike* from Apulia, now in the Museum of Art and History in Geneva (Parada, 2016). The body is decorated with a nude female emerging from the valve of a large scallop; her neck is highlighted with a double beaded necklace around a medallion, a high diadem is on her head, and her face is made up. Only her bust is shown emerging from a heavy cloth that the young woman lifts with her raised arms. We are almost assisting an apotheosis, where each detail is set to draw the eye towards the young woman and her generous femininity, instead of simply presenting an unveiling of the body. Similar in presentation is the image of a young woman whose bust emerges from the valves of a shell on two other vases, one from the Hermitage Museum (Fig. 18.8) (Winter, 1903: 203, no. 3), the other from the National Museum of Athens (Fig. 18.9) (Winter, 1903: 203, no. 2). Both busts are surrounded by drapery and adorned with numerous jewels, and with a diadem, with cosmetics on the face.



FIGURE 18.9
Plastic vase with nude bust of woman
FROM WINTER, 1903: 203, NO. 2

In fact, facial makeup itself is part of the dress code. The young marriageable woman must be made up when she offers her beauty and seduction in a display to the community: cosmetics, glittering jewellery and attractive attire were all characteristic of the attributes of the marriageable young girl. Pyxides, small boxes, and chests were also part of the bridal ensemble, as we can see on many scenes where female beauty is exalted: scenes of weddings, preparation ceremonies in which Eros is helping the *nymphé* as a reminder that Aphrodite with all her magnificence is never far from this feminine environment (Lissarrague, 1998: 155–198; 2011: 17–22; Ferrari, 2002: 52–57; Bodiou & Mehl, 2008a: 13–40; Bodiou, 2009: 184–186; Gherchanoc, 2011: 24–28).

3 Aphrodite, Pandora, Helen and the Others: When the *Parthenos* Turns to *Nymphé*

3.1 *Mythical Births and the Blossoming of Female Beauty*

This is how the goddess is shown at her birth, which was not an ordinary one: Aphrodite emerges from the waves as a young girl, an exceptionally beautiful *kore*, with delicate feet and beautiful hair. Pandora has similar qualities. She was the first mortal woman to have been modelled by Hephaistos who gave her the shape of a *parthenos* that other divinities were charged with endowing (Hesiod, *Theogony*: 572–585; *Works and Days*: 60–76): Athena dressed her with a white tunic and a

belt, the Charites put necklaces around her neck, the Horai covered her with blossoming flowers, and Athena again placed on her head a rich chiselled golden crown. Pandora is fashioned as such a young marriageable maiden with the main characteristics of beauty, elegance, grace and sexual attraction. She is thus prepared, ready to be married and accomplish what she was born to do (Schmitt, 1977: 1063–1064; Pirène-Delforge, 2001: 83–99; Pironti, 2007: 153–208; Bodiou & Mehl, 2008a: 25–27; Gherchanoc, 2009: 207–212).

Such exceptional births seem to parallel the biological evolution of the young girls and their natural passage through adolescence, a very important moment of their lives that was placed under the auspices of various divinities: Artemis helping in the maturation process and allowing the integration into society by means of marriage; the sensual Aphrodite giving sexual charm in order to awaken desire and allow the union of marriage. At that very special moment, when the development of the body reveals the female form, the young woman is at the height of her beauty and seduction, dressed with the attributes of Pandora and Aphrodite seen here as mythical paradigms (Sabetai, 1997: 319–335). This moment is crucial in a woman's life, because the blossoming of femininity is the starting point for the process of integration into society (Motte, 1973: 8–15, 40–41; Kéi, 2007; Bodiou & Mehl, 2008b: 150–153; Bodiou, 2009: 175–191). Thus it is not surprising that the birth of femininity and beauty (Ferrari, 2004), as have been expressed in the other figurines and vase painting just reviewed, are used as symbols of the morphological transformation, as well as changes in identity and social status at a nubile age, when the *parthenos* becomes *nymphé*. The image of the mortal overlays the one of Aphrodite, expressing her wish to equal the goddess in beauty, as when Aphrodite seduced Anchises.

3.2 *The Toilet of Women and the Nymphikon Loutron*

This well-known episode brings us to the intimacy of a woman's toilet, a theme often depicted on painted vases that began in the sixth century BCE, with many scenes of young women heading to the fountain to draw water or to bathe (Pfisterer-Haas, 2002; Kosso & Lawton, 2009; Pilo, 2012). Such images continued to be made during the fifth century with the inclusion of a *louterion* (Hosoi, 2007; Sabetai, 2009; Sutton, 2009a; Huysecom-Haxhi, Papaikonomou & Papadopoulos, 2012: 353–354, fig. 13) and of crouching women often washing their hair with the help of an Eros or a servant pouring water (Sabetai, 1997: 319, fig. 1; Sutton, 2009b: 62, pl. 1).

These images of crouching women are very frequent in the vase iconography and very numerous in the coroplastic repertoire, where they are often identified with Aphrodite. But on vases and with the absence of an inscription clearly identifying the mythological character, the women depicted have to be considered as representations of simple mortals taking their nuptial bath accompanied by servants or friends, by Erotes or peeping satyrs who give a sexual overtone to the scene (Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, 2007: 240; Huysecom-Haxhi, Papaikonomou & Papadopoulos, 2012: 347). On some images, the attitude of the women depicted is very similar to our kneeling woman in a shell. There is no doubt that these images in terracotta are also related to the bath and to the female toilet: this is suggested by the pose and by the presence of bath accessories such the *alabastron* containing fragrant oil used in the bath and to anoint the body (Fig. 18.4), or the presence of the mirror (Fig. 18.3 and 18.6), an actor in the complexity of female beauty. There is probably a play of the superposition of ideas between the birth of Aphrodite emerging from the sea and the nuptial bath of young women (Ginouves, 1962: 282, 421–422; Ferrari, 2002: 47–51; Papaikonomou, 2007: 448–449; Bodiou, 2009: 181–184).

Through the theme of the bath, we find that of water often associated with young girls. In tomb 567 in the necropolis of Lucifero at Locris, two *louteria* were found in association with other objects related to the female world, five valves of large scallops (Meirano, 2012: 121, fig. 10). Tomb 1 of Rione Italia, Via Polibio, in Taranto contained two female burials along with rich earthenware utensils, among which was a figurine of a nude young woman with a *louterion* at her toilet, a pair of shoes placed on the ground (Meirano, 2012: 124, fig. 12). Such shoes are part of the kit accompanying the prematurely dead young girl: as in the famous tomb, the material of which is preserved at the British Museum, that contains aside from the shoes, a *lebes gamikos* and an *epinetron*, both miniatures, and a terracotta figurine of a young, nude female seated on a separate throne (Higgins, 1954: 186–187, pl. 91; Haentjens, 2002; Langdon, 2008: 130–143, 134–137; Dasen, 2010: 28, 42, fig. 8). Grave 191 from the Western necropolis of the Madonelle at Herakleia, which was one of a child, probably female, contained thirteen terracotta figurines among which was one of a seated, nude, young woman but no seat (Meirano, 2012: 124, fig. 14). The same iconographic type is found in three other examples in an infant's tomb, certainly female, in the necropolis of Thasos mentioned above (Fig. 18.2). Another example of the same type is also found in grave 196 at Taranto, which has yielded one of the rarest in-context

examples of a young nude woman kneeling in a shell. The finds from that tomb require further consideration than that the present article permits, but it can be said that they provide a certain contextual association for two seated nude figurines without a seat, male and female very probably “working” in association (Graepler, 1997: 213, fig. 222, 223; Huysecom-Haxhi, Papaikonomou & Papadopoulos, 2012: 356–357, n. 69 & n. 70). As has been demonstrated, regarding the tomb of the infant on Thasos, these representations should be understood in relation to aspects of the prenuptial rituals, particularly the bath, that are performed for the bride-to-be (Huysecom-Haxhi, Papaikonomou & Papadopoulos, 2012: 353–356). If the *nymphikon loutron* accomplished by the bride during the *protelia* is well known, the one accomplished, among other rituals, by the future husband remains less known. The husband’s bath has been clearly unambiguously identified only on one vase (on the Attic hydria 142290 of the Leningrad painter, in the National Museum of Varsovie), making it the only representation we know of a nuptial bath (Oakley & Sinos, 1993: figs. 11 & 13; Bodiou, 2009: 183–184, fig. 4; Huysecom-Haxhi, Papaikonomou & Papadopoulos, 2012: 356–358, fig. 18).

Considering that the bath of the *nymphé* is still difficult to clearly identify among the representations of the female toilet, some have noted that only the presence of the *loutrophoros*, used to collect water for the nuptial bath, should be a good indicator of this scene, as we can see on vase NMA 1972.18.148 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (von Bothmer, 1961: 61–62, no. 243, pl. 91; Sabetai, 1997: 319, fig. 1; Sutton, 2009a: 273, fig. 8). According to recent research, it appears that the bath was followed by the exhibition of the couple in order to show their bodies purified of the past and ready for marriage (Huysecom-Haxhi, Papaikonomou & Papadopoulos, 2012: 356). This means that the girl had reached the necessary level of physical maturity to give birth to legitimate children, which is the goal of marriage and for which the girl is prepared by means of a variety of rituals relative to puberty and maturity. It is also why she must excite desire in her future husband, by showing herself to be beautiful and in all her magnificence, like Aphrodite wishing to seduce Anchises (*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 53–201).

Toilet and adornment are very important, as they make girls desirable, through beauty and longing, as if they were unearthed treasures waiting to be discovered with fascination. At the right moment, the young girl emerges resplendent and shining like a necklace pulled from a chest, like an Aphrodite emerging from the sea foam or from her seashell with ideal beauty and grace. The future bride is

at the centre of all treatments, surrounded by attendants who offer accessories designed to perfect her beauty and give her all the attributes of an Aphrodite: cosmetic boxes, pyxides, chests filled with jewels, *alabastra*, headbands, mirrors, beautiful clothing to put on her body, all of which are requirements of the marriageable young girl at the height of her seductive power. Some of these objects are found in the hands of the nude women emerging from a seashell: some hold the *alabastron* and appear to anoint their bodies, others carry open jewellery chests, while others admire their own beauty in the mirror. The *phiale* some of them hold in their hand could be more than an act of piety towards the goddess but a contract for a safe fulfilment of the whole process leading to the wedding. The particular position of the valves of the shell on a large number of examples in which Eros is absent could have an alternate meaning if we accept an allusion here to the wings of Nike that symbolise the protection given to the young girl by the divinity and also the successful transition to the status of *nymphé*.

3.3 Bath, Fertility and Maternity, Women's Destiny

The intervention of Eros and the assistance of Aphrodite are necessary to transform the girl into a desirable *nymphé*, raising the desire of her future husband that will lead to a union. The goddess intercedes also for the accomplishment of marriage and its ultimate aim: the procreation of legitimate children. The birth of a beautiful, marriageable woman in turn evokes the future births her body shall bear in order to give to society the children it needs to realise its perpetual renewal (Dasen, 2003; Sabetai, 2008; Mehl, 2009; Papaikonomou & Huysecom-Haxhi, 2009; Papaikonomou, 2013). In the images of the young woman emerging from the seashell, the seashell itself, because it contains a mollusc and would symbolise the feminine vulva when it opens its valves, may refer to the female body, especially the ventral zone during pregnancy; like all objects that open and close – pyxides, chests, and certainly flowers – the double-valved seashell here recalls female sexuality and its main purpose: procreation and childbirth. The presence of water in these images of emergence from a shell, sometimes represented by the depiction of wavelets, confirms the link with fertility, pregnancy and childbirth. As an element of the purification rituals of brides by cleansing them of the past and preparing them for another state of life, water is the essential element that enables the continuation of life. We believe that water and all its symbols are to be associated with young girls and fertile women, as well as the round seedy fruits, the apple and the quince, that some of our examples hold in their hands.

4 Conclusions: the Birth of Aphrodite as a Metaphor of Femininity and Women's Destiny

These images of the nude young woman emerging from a shell should not only be understood as the representation of the birth of Aphrodite. Whether they are of Aphrodite or not does not really matter. What, on the other hand, seems interesting is the visual play of images, the implications that exist between the different symbols, the use of metaphor allowing different levels of understanding which renders difficult the interpretation of the figurines, if one does not take into account all the signs used by the artist. The goal is to try to understand the values represented by the motif of the nude young women emerging from a shell. We can see only a representation of nude Aphrodite at the time of her extraordinary birth where she emerges from the sea. But we can try to go further and see there a metaphor for the biological development of the female body, when young girls reach the age of marriage leading to childbirth and their definite status of *gyne*. This explains the presence of such figures in tombs of prematurely deceased young girls, who could not accomplish their female roles. This also explains their presence in sanctuaries of female goddesses other than Aphrodite, such as Artemis at Dyrrhachion, for example, a goddess who took care of young girls at various biological stages and with different types of interventions, allowing their safe achievement of adulthood and female accomplishment.

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Terracottas from Pergamon's Residential Area: Comments regarding Chronology and Relations to Other Sites

Sven Kielau

Abstract

A significant number of terracotta figurines and objects, mainly dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, were found in Pergamon's residential area between 1973 and 1993. These cannot be confidently attributed to domestic contexts, and a possible provenance from a small sanctuary or a votive deposit, a shop or a workshop should also be considered as possible. Nevertheless, considering other, already known Pergamene types, these new fragments give a wider and better insight into several issues, such as the relations between groups of workshops, the coroplastic production of other sites, and religious preferences.¹

1 Introduction

Approximately 5,400 fragments of terracottas found in a residential quarter of Pergamon expand the knowledge of the coroplastic production of this region. The article also explains why stratigraphy does not allow precise conclusions on use and chronology. It is all the more important to look at the existing chronology and also to shed a light on contradictions in the hope of stimulating discussion. Is it possible that the terracottas of the "Coroplathe des Eros et des Victoires", traditionally dated to the early second century BCE, are of a later date? Were terracottas of Roman Imperial times indeed as few and as poor? The article finally concentrates on examples of relations with other sites (Myrina, Smyrna, and Corinth).

¹ This contribution is a modified version of the paper I delivered during the conference on Hellenistic and Roman terracottas at the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus in Nicosia. The presented thoughts, questions and results were in part preliminary. See the extended publication of the terracottas from Pergamon's "Stadtgrabung": Kielau, 2018. I wish to thank Wolfgang Radt, former director of the excavations in Pergamon, for permission to study this material. B. Engels kindly allowed me to mention preliminary results of his dissertation (see the section "Fine Terracottas of the second or first century BCE?"). And I have to thank the anonymous reviewer and G. Papantoniou, D. Michaelides and M. Dikomitou Eliadou and for helpful remarks.

From 1973 to 1993, Pergamon's residential area on the south slope of the acropolis was excavated, in a project named "Stadtgrabung" (Radt, 2011: in particular 95–112, fig. 79) (Figs. 19.1–19.2). The numerous fragments of terracottas, including figurines and objects, such as *protomai* and masks, were found within the residential quarter. These include figurines of the Mother of the Gods/Cybele (the most important religious figure among these terracottas – in Pergamon usually referred to as *meter theon* or *megale meter*, cf. Ohlemutz, 1940: 184–185), Aphrodite, Artemis, Eros, Asklepios, Herakles, Dionysos and his *thiasos*, many different types of female figurines, including Tanagra types, not so many male types, figurines of children, many of the seated nude female types, "grotesques", actors, quite a few masks in various sizes, the Panhellenic *protomai* of women and also *arulae* (small altars). In addition, during the examination of the street and lane system of the acropolis ("Gassensondagen"), some 350 terracottas were found in the neighbourhood of the excavation site. Based on my dissertation at the University of Münster, a selection of all these terracottas has recently been published (Kielau, 2018). Only the terracottas from two buildings within the excavated residential area were not included in my work: the pieces from the so-called "Podiensaal-Gebäude" (building with a banquet room with daises for the *symposium* participants) published by Schwarzer (2008); and the few terracottas from the so-called "Bau Z" that will be published by S. Japp. For the two buildings see Fig. 19.2. Some figurines connected with Egyptian religion were published by Radt (2005), director of the "Stadtgrabung". Instead of giving an overview on the variety of the terracottas from the "Stadtgrabung" and the "Gassensondagen", I decided to focus on two aspects: chronology and relations to other sites such as Myrina and Smyrna. But first I wish to provide a brief account of the contexts.

2 The Contexts

Most of the 5,400 figurines and objects (plus the 350 pieces from the "Gassensondagen") were found in the residential area, but not one of them can be attributed

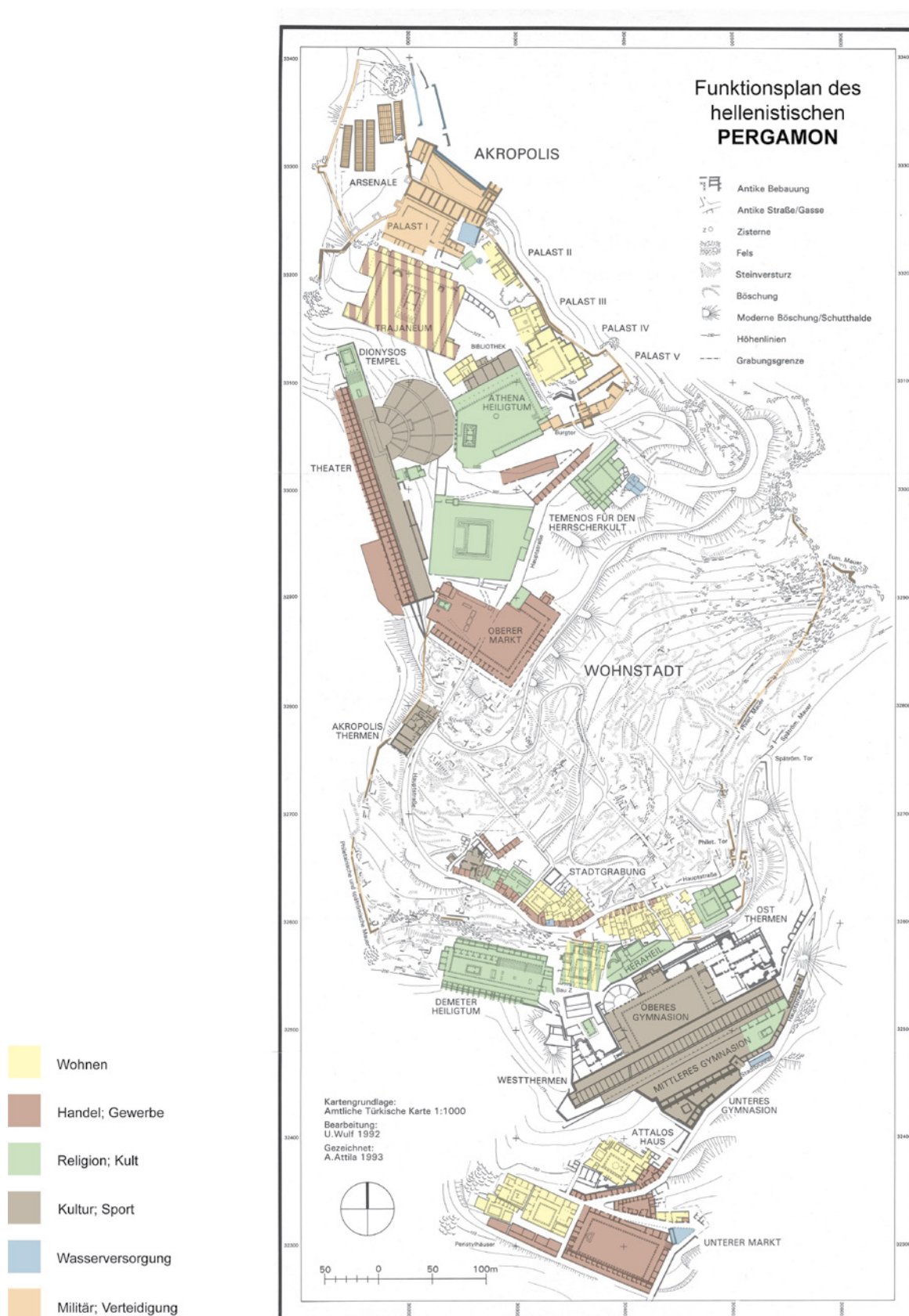


FIGURE 19.1 Plan of the acropolis of Pergamon, the excavation area of the “Stadtgrabung” is in the lower part. Additional so-called “Gassensondagen” were undertaken halfway up the acropolis, above the “Stadtgrabung” section (not listed in the plan)

PERGAMON EXCAVATION (DESIGN: U. WULF; DRAWING: U. WULF. & A. ATTILA; ADDITIONS: T. ZIMMER)

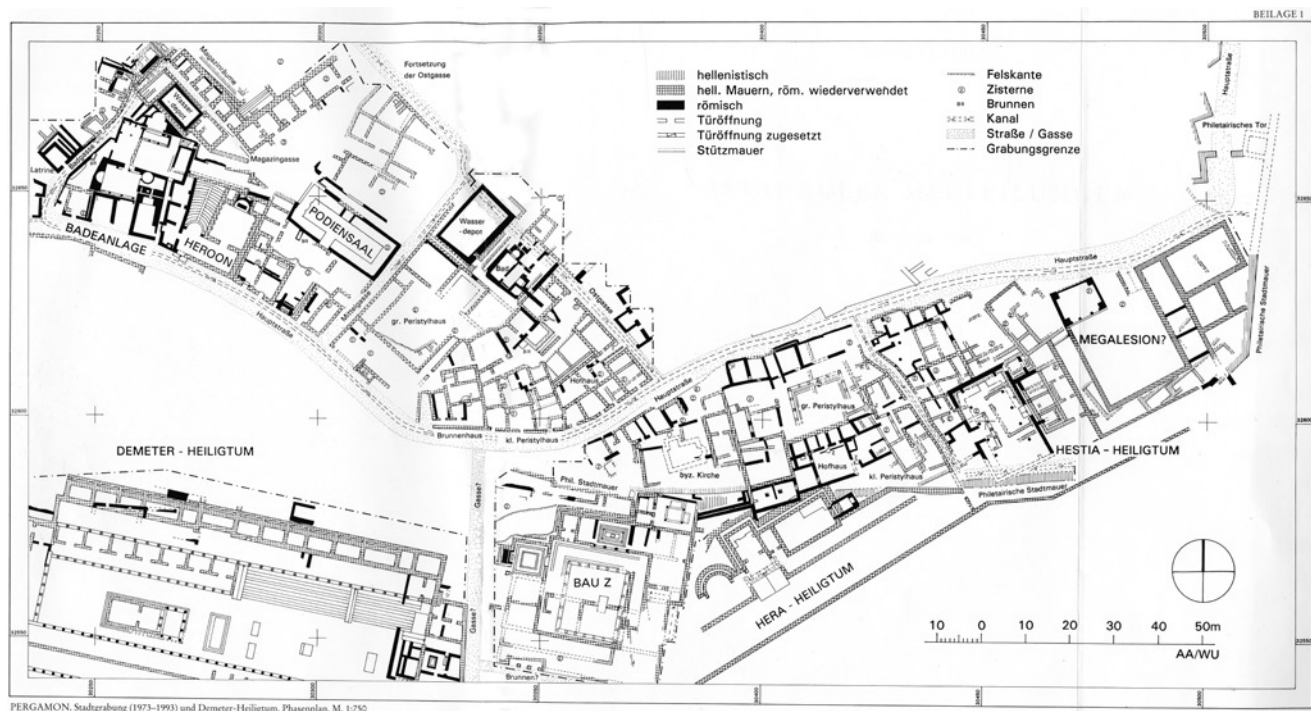


FIGURE 19.2 Plan of the "Stadtgrabung"

PERGAMON EXCAVATION (DESIGN: U. WULF; DRAWING: U. WULF & A. ATTILA)

with certainty to a given room or even to a domestic context. Each piece could also have been part of a votive cache of an unidentified sanctuary, or of the stock of a shop or a building such as the mentioned building with the "Podiensaal", home of a Dionysiac cult association (Schwarzer, 2008). Why is that so?

The residential area (Figs. 19.1–19.2) had developed increasingly since 300 BCE and consisted of one- or two-storey houses of very different sizes. Representative peristyle houses were situated next to less extensive *prostas* and *pastas* houses (Wulf, in Grüßinger, Kästner & Scholl, 2012: 266–268). In the excavated residential area, amidst the houses, there existed also at least one club house (the so-called "Podiensaal-Gebäude"), an *odeion* combined with a sanctuary (which was identified by the excavators as a *heroon* for the *euergetes* Diodoros Paspáros), several shops, a bath and buildings, the identification of which is not entirely clear, such as the so-called "Bau Z" and a house named *megalesion*, because of a *magna mater* inscription there – the latter situated on the east edge of the excavation area (see Fig. 19.2) (Radt, 2011: 95–97, 102, 110–112. Radt's interpretation has recently been disputed but not disproved by Auinger, in: Grüßinger, Kästner & Scholl, 2012: 47–48, figs. 1–4).

Terracottas were found in all these contexts. It should only briefly be noted that isolated and scattered findings of clay and plaster moulds also make clear that workshops existed within the residential area (Schwarzer, 2008: 225–226,

nos. ZG4, ZG9, ZG13–15, pls. 31–32; Kielau, 2018: 302–304). But it is impossible to say that the location of any piece found in this excavation was also the location of its original use. The numerous renovations since the Hellenistic period and in later centuries revealed a dense and often disturbed sequence of layers (cf. Heimerl, 2001: 42–43). The long use of the Roman houses in Byzantine times to the Middle Ages and the associated modifications additionally affected the stratigraphy (Radt, 2011: 289–292). Only seldom the antique layers contained, for example, exclusively late Classical and/or Hellenistic pottery or Roman wares. But even in such cases, conclusions from the location regarding the original usage of the finds are impossible. These may have originally belonged to the room they were found in, to the top floor of the building, to a neighbouring room or even to a building in the neighbourhood. However, their transport as a filling material into these layers from further afield, such as from the upper acropolis, is considered unlikely by the excavator W. Radt (personal communication, 2012). Also, the often better preserved terracottas from the cisterns in the residential area can, in my opinion, hardly be re-contextualised (see below).

3 Remarks on Chronology

Due to the circumstances described, the terracottas of the "Stadtgrabung" cannot provide the expected contribution

to the chronology of Pergamon's terracottas and of the coroplastic products found in the region, including the grave finds from Myrina. Thus, the chronology of the Pergamon terracottas is partially still based on a system of comparisons and stylistic considerations (see below). Recent and still unpublished findings from the east slope of the acropolis will obviously bring some clarity for the first century BCE (see below). I would like to start by giving an overview of terracottas from Pergamon published earlier, as well as their dating.

3.1 Overview

The terracottas found in Pergamon since the beginning of the research until about 1970 were the subject of the work of Töpperwein (1976, with 621 catalogue entries). Due to the lack of stratigraphic evidence, her datings were primarily based on comparisons with the terracottas from Myrina, on stylistic considerations – and on experience, as the author stated (Töpperwein, 1976: 175). Töpperwein (1976: 11, 192) came to the conclusion that the coroplastic production in Pergamon declined in 100 BCE, both in terms of number and quality (Töpperwein, 1976: 12). In the Augustan period, she noted an increase in productivity: “Bezeichnenderweise aber lebt der starre, leere Hellenismus mit der klassizistischen augusteischen Zeit wieder auf” (Töpperwein, 1976: 192). Töpperwein (1976: 193–194) referred to this period as the “Diphilos time” (25 BCE to 50 CE), named after the coroplast Diphilos, whose workshop products are well known from Myrina (often signed, see Kassab Tezgör, 1988: 32–43, nos. 1–44, figs. 43–91) and in fewer numbers from Pergamon (without signatures, see Töpperwein, 1976: 195, nos. 59–60 and 207, 443 pls. 9, 34 and 67). Following Thompson (1965: 325), Töpperwein (1976: 198) finally stated that the production of terracottas ended around 50 CE, in Pergamon as well as in Myrina. All these considerations are in general closely related to Burr's theory concerning the style and chronology of the terracottas from Myrina (Burr, 1934: 6–8; see below). It seems useful and necessary to revise all published information on the dating of terracottas from Pergamon. De Luca, for example, dated some of the terracottas from the *Asklepieion* area on stratigraphical evidence (Ziegenaus & de Luca, 1968: *passim*) and it is not clear if Töpperwein (1976) referred to this information (these and other chronological hints are collected in chapter 4 of Kielau, 2018).

Schwarzer dated the terracotta finds from the “Podiensaal” building, excavated in the “Stadtgrabung” (see above), also mainly to Hellenistic times (Fig. 19.2). Only 13 out of 90 terracottas are dated, sometimes with uncertainty, to the first half of the first century CE (Schwarzer, 2008:

212–224, pls. 32–37). The majority of the pieces were found in two rooms, which according to Schwarzer (2008: 54, 61–62, 212–213) were abandoned in the early first century CE. Schwarzer is also confident that the terracottas found in the “Podiensaal” building belonged to the club house. Thematically, however, they are as diverse as the rest of the terracottas from the “Stadtgrabung”. Interestingly, also among the “Podiensaal” building findings, the terracottas depicting the Mother of the Gods are quite numerous, as they are among the rest of the finds in the residential area (Kielau, 2018: 40–42). Only occasionally were Dionysiac themes found in the “Podiensaal” building, as were fragments of, for example, Eros, Aphrodite or Tanagra types. Schwarzer's contextualisation might therefore be too optimistic.

Among the terracottas in the catalogue of the Berlin Pergamon exhibition of 2012, only a few pieces were dated to the late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods: a music-making Eros on a *kline* from Myrina is dated 50 BCE–20 CE (Grüßinger, Kästner & Scholl, 2012: 491, no. 4.6). An extremely indistinct so-called “grotesque” with a knobby nose and a hole in the front is dated to the first century BCE or the first century CE (Grüßinger, Kästner & Scholl, 2012: 486–487, no. 3.148). The bust of a young man, forming the stand of a lamp dated to the second century CE (Grüßinger, Kästner & Scholl, 2012: 482, no. 3.123), with terracottas from the “Stadtgrabung”.

As the coroplastic finds of the cities of Pergamon and Myrina, 40 km apart, are very closely related, the chronology of the Myrina terracottas is of direct importance for the chronology in Pergamon. The dating of the numerous grave finds from Myrina is partially based upon information which can be drawn from Pottier and Reinach (1887: for example, information about pottery or coins found in the graves, see also Kassab Tezgör, 2010: 186). The chronology was mainly established by Burr (1934) and Mollard-Besques (1963) – a system consisting of some contextual dating and stylistic considerations and comparisons and the ceasing of production after the earthquake of 106 CE. Burr (1934: 6–8) for example, speaks of a “fine period” (c. 200–130 BCE), a “mediocre period” (c. 130–60 BCE), a “decadent period” (c. 60 BCE to 30 CE) and a rather poor “Roman period” (c. 30–106 CE). Most of the pieces are dated to Hellenistic times and up to the middle of the first century CE.

The terracottas attributed to the productive so-called “Diphilos workshop”, for example, are traditionally dated to the first century BCE and partly to the Augustan period (see also Hasselin Rous, Laugier & Martinez, 2009: 206 no. 119). The high-quality products of the so-called workshop of the “Coroplathe des Eros et des Victoires” (sometimes



FIGURE 19.3 Eros, from Pergamon, “Stadtgrabung” (H: about 23.5 cm); photomontage, head in the Museum of Bergama

HEAD (PHOTO: E. STEINER, PERGAMON EXCAVATION) BODY (PHOTO: AUTHOR)

referred to as of the “Coroplaste des Victoires”) are usually dated to the second century BCE (Besques, 1964: 310). Examples in the style of both “workshops” were also found in Pergamon, in earlier excavations and, as far as the “Coroplaste des Eros et des Victoires” is concerned, in particular in the “Stadtgrabung” (Töpperwein, 1976: 185–186, 196; Kielau, 2018: 218–219 – for pieces of this “workshop” from the “Stadtgrabung” see the section below on new links between Pergamon and Myrina).

3.2 *Fine Terracottas of the Second or First Century BCE?*

New findings from Pergamon bring the first century BCE into focus. In the so-called cave shrine (“Grottenheiligtum” or “Grotte 2”) on the rocky east slope of the acropolis of Pergamon, pottery, animal bones and terracottas were

found, obviously remains from ritual and festive activities (Pirson, 2011: 116–120). Among these terracottas, well-preserved and common Pergamon types are found (Pirson, 2011: figs. 47–51), such as a fine and exact “twin” (not yet published) of an Eros figurine, found in the “Stadtgrabung” (Fig. 19.3). The assemblage from “Grotte 2” is not yet published, but according to Benjamin Engels of the Freie Universität Berlin, who is doing a broader context study of the finds, the ceramics here can be confidently dated to the time between 100 BCE to the end of the first century BCE.

The above-mentioned Eros from the “Stadtgrabung” (Fig. 19.3) was found shattered into at least ten fragments within the central fill of a cistern in the residential area (for the cistern in general, see Meyer-Schlichtmann, 1988: 20–27; the fill contained finds some of which were dated by the author to the period from 150 BCE to 25 CE). I would assign both of these Eros figurines to the close “neighbourhood” of the workshop of the so-called “Coroplaste des Eros et des Victoires” – the fine products of this “workshop” found in Myrina are traditionally dated to the early second century BCE (Besques, 1964: 310; see below). A comparable Eros from Myrina, for example, has recently been dated to the period around 200 BCE (in Hasselin Rous, Laugier & Martinez, 2009: 213, no. 128). The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston has an Eros very similar in style (presumably from Myrina), dated to the early second century BCE (Uhlenbrock, 1990: 137–138, no. 25). If the mentioned preliminary dating of the context of the “twin” Eros (and the other figurines) from the east slope of the acropolis is correct, which is quite probable, this might lead to a complementary reconsideration of the terracotta chronology of the second and first century BCE for the entire region (including Myrina). Taking into account the possible periods of use of ceramics and terracottas before they ended up in a sanctuary (up to half a century?), a dating of the above-mentioned comparable Eros figurines to the period of around 200 BCE may be too early. However, as the terracottas from Pergamon can only seldom be dated on a stratigraphical or contextual basis, a re-examination of the Myrina figurines occurs as a desideratum. Rumscheid (2006: 161–177) added a Myrina chapter to his book about the terracottas from Priene, with a new rendition of the recorded and known grave inventories from Myrina; and Duchêne & Mathieux (2007), in a catalogue of an exhibition in the Louvre Museum, revised the contexts of three Myrina graves (e.g. grave “No. 51”) by publishing and evaluating letters written by Edmond Pottier, one of the excavators, containing some additional information (Duchêne & Mathieux, 2007, for grave “No. 51” see esp.: 55–57, 98–105,



FIGURE 19.4 Head of Aphrodite, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 5 cm)

PHOTO: AUTHOR

112–129, pl. 8–10 – pl. 8 with a pictorial and in parts hypothetical reconstruction of the grave's inventory; for this grave see also Rumscheid, 2006: 164–165).

3.3 First and Second Centuries CE

Pergamon was a growing city in the second century CE, residential quarters existed even in the plain situated west of the acropolis (Radt, 2011: 58–59, fig. 12) while the top of the acropolis was temporarily turned into a giant temple construction site (Radt, 2011: 209–220). According to the previously described state of research (see above), we hardly know of any terracottas from Pergamon and Myrina dating to the later first century CE. The following, in part contradictory and selective collection of published results and statements, are to be understood as a stimulus to the discussion of the question of whether terracottas in Pergamon in the late first and second century CE were no longer "in fashion", as is usually suggested.

Töpperwein dated only single figurines, in particular the so-called "gladiator dolls", to the second century CE (Töpperwein, 1976: 198. As these dolls do not show any typical gladiator features, I suggest the term "warrior dolls", cf. Kielau, 2018: 136–137). Four heads of an obviously popular Aphrodite type rather contradict this opinion (see Fig. 19.4, dated by the coiffure to about 70 to 120 CE; and the section on the links between Pergamon and Myrina). Töpperwein briefly refers to high-quality terracotta figurines from Pergamon's *Asklepieion* and suggests dating them to the second century CE (Töpperwein, 1976: 198). However, de Luca, who published these pieces, dated them mainly to the Hellenistic period (second century BCE). In her opinion only two quite outstanding figurines of Sirens or Harpies "may be late" (Ziegenaus

& de Luca, 1975: 117–118, nos. 552, 559, 562, 591 and 592). Fragments of two similar figurines of old women from the "Stadtgrabung" belong to the same stylistic group (or workshop group) as the "Sirens" and can doubtlessly be dated by the coiffure of the better preserved example (Fig. 19.5) to about 70–130 CE. Thus, these two figurines from the "Stadtgrabung", together with the mentioned *Asklepieion* finds, are another good addition for enhancing our knowledge of the coroplastic art and its variety in the broader region at that time (see the section below on links between Pergamon and Smyrna).

The interpretation of the Pergamon findings from Turkish excavations of the 1970s and 1980s by Özyiğit, and the consequences that would result from this interpretation are diametrically opposed to Töpperwein's theory. Unfortunately, Özyiğit's thesis is unverifiable due to its incomplete publication. He affirms that the so-called "Diphilos style", a major coroplastic style of this region, dates to the times of the Emperor Trajan. His theory is based on finds made during an excavation in Pergamon's potter valley, where a sarcophagus with a "Pergamene coin dated to the years 80–130 AD" inside and "numerous terracottas" placed outside it ("leaning against" it) were unearthed (Özyiğit, 2004: 343–346; no illustration of the coin is given). As this excavation is thus far only preliminarily published, the author's theory cannot be confidently adopted, but it is nevertheless interesting (Özyiğit, 2004: 343–346, figs. 14 and 16; for reports and the publication of selected findings, see Erdemgil, 1980; 1981; Özyiğit, 1990; 2000; also Radt, 2011: 111–112, fig. 62). N. Mathieux rejected this theory for Myrina: "Mais la destruction de Myrina en 106, porte certainement un coup d'arrêt à la production artisanale" (Duchêne & Mathieux, 2007: 104 n. 3).

Numerous fragments of theatre masks made of clay were found in the "Stadtgrabung" (Fig. 19.6). The masks have holes for the mouth and eyes and often holes on the sides for hanging. Töpperwein did not give precise dates for similar masks from earlier excavations in Pergamon, but wrote that they existed together with figurines of actors dated to c. 50 CE (Töpperwein, 1976: 121). Rumscheid dated similar fragments from Priene confidently to the second century BCE (Rumscheid, 2006: 528, no. 376, pl. 156,1–2; 529–530, no. 381, pl. 158,1–2; 41: "Terminus ante quem von ca. 135 v. Chr."). Similar masks from Morgantina, for example, are dated to the late Hellenistic period (Bell, 1981: 217–222). It is now interesting, if not confusing, to compare the Pergamon masks with those found in Tarsos, published by Goldman. These masks belong to the same type; they look very similar to those from Pergamon, with regard to style and types



FIGURE 19.5 Grieving old woman, from Pergamon, “Stadtgrabung” (H: about 18.5 cm); photomontage, head in the Museum of Bergama

HEAD (PHOTO: E. STEINER, PERGAMON EXCAVATION). BODY (PHOTO: AUTHOR)

(Goldman, 1950: 346–349, nos. 277–313, figs. 234–236).² According to Goldman (1950: 346–347) the mask fragments originate exclusively from non-stratified contexts. However, according to the author, it is striking that the mask fragments were barely found in the dated contexts

of the first century CE, while a plaster mould for a mask was found in a context of the second century CE (or of an even later date). Goldman (1950: 305, 346–347), therefore, believes that the masks must very likely date to the second century CE. It is thus not clear if the masks from Pergamon should be dated to late Hellenistic or Roman Imperial times (Rose, 2006, in general; for details see Kielau, 2018: 276–277).

A figurine of a Silenos actor in a furry costume, which was originally painted pink, represents a common Pergamon type (Fig. 19.7) (Kielau, 2018: 138, no. 439, pl. 26), already known from earlier excavations (Conze, 1913: 259, no. 14, lost, probably belonging to the same “family tree”; Töpperwein, 1976: 123, no. 512, pl. 75, smaller, but from the same “family tree” of moulds). In addition four more fragments of actors in originally pink fur costumes were found in the “Stadtgrabung” (Kielau, 2018: 138–139, nos. 440–442, 444). I mention these actors because of an interesting late, dated parallel in a wall painting found in the “Podiensaal” in the “Stadtgrabung”. This mural shows a comparable “actor” or *choregos* in a similarly colourful but blue fur costume and has been confidently dated to 260 CE (Schwarzer, 2008: 23, 98 pl. 4.3; Radt, 2011: 198, fig. 139). I do not dare to take this late date as an exact dating criterion for these terracottas, but the mural shows clearly that this type of Silenos actor played a certain role in Pergamon in the third century CE. If the terracottas are to be dated earlier than the mural, the similarities between these representations would then show how traditional and therefore resistant to fashion and stylistic changes these types of colourfully dressed Silenos actors or *choregoi* were, even if the third century CE image is a painted one.

4 Relations to Other Sites

4.1 Previous Research

Most pieces for comparison come from the graves of Myrina, which was situated about 40 km south-west of Pergamon on the Mediterranean coast (Mollard-Besques, 1963; see also Uhlenbrock, 1990: 73–76; Kassab Tezgör, 2003; Rumscheid, 2006: 161–176 – see brief remarks on the chronology in “Overview” above). The many and often well-preserved coroplastic products found in a number of graves in Myrina are very closely related to the often not so well preserved Pergamon finds. A considerable number of pieces found in both Pergamon and Myrina apparently come from the same or from closely related workshops. The discussion of the connections between Myrina and Pergamon, therefore, occupies a special position in the research (see Töpperwein, 1976: 171–172). A French study

² In 2012, thanks to Jeammet and Mathieux, I had the chance to look at other Tarsos mask fragments and to verify this impression in the depots of the Louvre Museum.



FIGURE 19.6 Mask, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 15.3 cm)

PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 19.7 Actor, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 11.4 cm)

PHOTO: AUTHOR

could show that Myrina was a minor place of production (e.g. of early Hellenistic figurines in the Tanagra style) but a major “centre de consommation” (Gautier, 1985: 72, cited in Kassab Tezgör, 2003: 242 n. 4 and Kassab Tezgör, 2010: 186 n. 4). In Gautier’s study, aiming at provenancing a number of well-known terracottas from Myrina, finds from grave “112 B” and figurines that are attributed to the “Coroplathe des Eros et des Victoires”, were examined by various means (e.g. thermoluminescence, X-ray diffraction) with the aim of defining the origin of the presumably imported figurines from these workshops. Kassab Tezgör (2003: 242, referring on Gautier, 1985: 71) noted that “Toutefois, l’analyse des pâtes montrerait que seules les figurines tanagréennes et les premières figurines ailées de Victoires et d’Eros pourraient être une production locale” (see also Calamiotou, Filippakis, Jones & Kassab, 1984 with related results).

The connections between the coroplastic art of Smyrna and Pergamon were not as close as those between Myrina and Pergamon, but still considerable – pieces found in Pergamon have been hypothetically identified as imports from Smyrna (for example, Töpperwein, 1976: 172). The products from Smyrna and Pergamon apparently differ technically (Hasselin Rous, Laugier & Martinez, 2009: 200). However, many pieces “found in Smyrna” came from the art market into museums, their origin is unknown (Hasselin Rous, Laugier & Martinez, 2009: 14–19).

The road from Pergamon to Priene passed via Smyrna, but we still cannot trace coroplastic connections between Pergamon and Priene (Töpperwein, 1976: 173). On the other hand, among the finds of Ilion (Troy), about 200 km away north-west of Pergamon, some isolated connections can be detected. Given the few terracottas found at Ilion this is quite surprising (Thompson, 1963: 15; Töpperwein, 1976: 172).

All these relations or, in the case of Priene, non-relations have been recognised in previous research, in particular by Töpperwein. In the case of Myrina, Töpperwein (1976: 171) assumed that the terracottas found there either came from Pergamon or were copied from Pergamene pieces. Smyrna is usually regarded as independent: Pergamene finds that look “Smyrnaic” were described by Töpperwein and others as imports from Smyrna. Thompson on the other hand spoke of imports in Ilion coming from Pergamon, and of a general influence of Pergamon on Ilion (Thompson, 1963: 15).

The finds from the “Stadtgrabung” confirm all of these perceived relations and expand the picture, and also allow the detection of new relations with the coroplastic art of Corinth.

4.2 *Some New Links between Pergamon and Myrina*

In the following section, I would like to discuss three fragments of figurines from the “Stadtgrabung”, which emphasise again the general stylistic proximity of the terracottas found in Pergamon to those found in Myrina:

4.2.1 Eros

An Eros figurine (Fig. 19.3, Kielau, 2018: 149–151, no. 517, pl. 30; examples for comparison from Myrina: cf. Eros LY 1598, attributed to the “Atelier du Coroplathe des Eros et des Victoires”, and MYR 62, Mollard-Besques, 1963: 35, 38, pls. 39b, 44a, without workshop attribution) from a cistern in the residential area in Pergamon is evidently related to Myrinaic Eroses from the (in the absence of signatures or trademarks) so-called “Atelier du Coroplathe des Eros et des Victoires”. Products of this workshop consist of homogenous clay (cf. Drillhon, Lahanier & Gautier, 1978: 332). Moreover, the aforementioned study by Gautier (1985: 60, 72) and also Drillhon, Lahanier & Gautier (1978: 332) came to the conclusion that the well-known Eros MYR 62 (= Mollard-Besques, 1963: 38, pl. 44a) consists of material that stands out in Myrina. This fact is then discussed as a hint for an earlier date of production (see for substantiation Drillhon, Lahanier & Gautier, 1978: 332). A preliminary result from a 2012 analysis of a sample of the Pergamene Eros showed that this terracotta is made of Pergamene clay – but this, so far, is an isolated result not yet correlated to the Myrina studies. Kassab Tezgör (2016) recently lined out the multiple and convincing connections between Nike and Eros terracottas from the two mentioned workshops and Hellenistic sculpture from Pergamon, from Alexandria and elsewhere (Kassab Tezgör, 2016: 289–296, for Myrina and Alexandria see also Kassab Tezgör, 2003 or 2010).

The group of high-quality boy heads (one is shown on Fig. 19.8) in the style of the heads of the workshop of the “Coroplathe des Eros et des Victoires” is another important example for the connections between Pergamon and Myrina (Kielau, 2018: 218–219); cf. especially the head of Eros M 29 of the “Coroplathe” workshop in the Louvre Museum, as illustrated in Besques, 1964: 309, fig. 21. The preliminary results concerning the chronology of the Eros figurine and its newfound “mould twin” have already been mentioned. In addition to the traditional dating of the products from the “Coroplathe des Eros et des Victoires” to the early second century BCE, this new evidence brings a date of the later second and first centuries BCE into the discussion – terracottas from the “Atelier du Tombeau 112 B”, which are also related, are commonly dated to the late third and early second century BCE (see Kassab Tezgör, 2016: 289, 293).



FIGURE 19.8
Head of a boy (Eros?), from
Pergamon, Stadtgrabung
(H: 2.8 cm)

PHOTO: AUTHOR

4.2.2 Ariadne

This head (Fig. 19.9, Kielau, 2018: 80 no. 100 pl. 9; example for comparison from Myrina: cf. a complete “Ariadne” figurine, Mollard-Besques, 1963: 79, pl. 96c) seems to be similar to the “Ariadne” from Myrina. Only the leaves are missing here. Another head probably of Ariadne, found in the “Stadtgrabung” (Kielau, 2018: 80 no. 101 pl. 9) is similar to the head in a group of Dionysos and Ariadne from Myrina (Inv. MYR 180, cf. Mollard-Besques, 1963: 78, pl. 94b). The latter has already been discussed as a product of a so-called “Pergamene workshop” (meaning an unlocated workshop or a group of unlocated workshops that were inspired by sculpture from Pergamon and other centres, cf. Calamiotou, Filippakis, Jones & Kassab, 1984: 107–108, fig. 5 and in general Kassab Tezgör, 2016: 286, 296–297).

4.2.3 Head of Aphrodite

This head of Aphrodite (Fig. 19.4, Kielau, 2018: 73 no. 64 pl. 5; example for comparison from Myrina: cf. a complete Aphrodite figurine, Mollard-Besques, 1963: 20, pl. 20f) and three other heads (approximate height 5 cm), of this larger than average type, found scattered in the “Stadtgrabung”; must certainly belong to a type very similar to that of the Aphrodite from Myrina (height of the complete figurine 30 cm). They all show an elaborate coiffure which in my opinion has to be dated to the Flavian-Trajanic period (about 70 to 120 CE): it consists of a toupet with snail-like curls, a bow-knot on its top and corkscrew curls on either side of the neck. Mollard-Besques (1963: 20) described the coiffure as “une sorte de coiffure rituelle”, comparable to “celle que portent au IV^e siècle certaines figures en terre cuite qui proviennent de Thèbes” and dated the Aphrodite figurine to the second half of the first century BCE. But quite similar coiffures (without bow-knot) appear in Roman sculpture of the Flavian-Trajanic period (cf. Fittschen & Zanker, 1983: 63–64, no. 63, pl. 79; 50–51, no. 64, pl. 81; 6–7, no. 5, pl. 6) and thus contradict Mollard-Besques’ dating

to the late Hellenistic period. The four heads found in the “Stadtgrabung” were obviously cast in moulds of a later generation, as the dull features (for example, nose, lips and eyes) indicate. Three of the heads, including that in Fig. 19.4, were apparently cast in the same mould or generation of moulds. The backs of the heads are rather voluminous but smooth, the heads were made in two moulds, joined with a careless and clearly visible seam. All heads show the same large and lumpy earrings, which seem to be characteristic features of Roman imperial terracottas. The four heads from Pergamon and the figurine from Myrina demonstrate that this type of Aphrodite figurine was most popular in the Pergamon region during this period.

4.3 On Links between Pergamon and Smyrna

A group of 49 terracottas in the Louvre Museum, which, as a result of recent French research, can be referred to with great certainty as of Smyrna, have some particular features, which distinguish them from most of the Pergamene findings (Hasselin Rous, Laugier & Martinez, 2009: 100–120, 220–221; Kielau, 2018: 317–320). The Smyrna clay clearly has more mica than that of Pergamon, the backs of the Smyrna figurines are often as elaborate as the front sides (seldom the case in Pergamon) and they seem to be less polychrome. A particularly popular genre of Smyrna’s coroplastic production is obviously represented by the many so-called “grotesques”; and the following two examples from the “Stadtgrabung” in Pergamon seem to be closely related to them.

4.3.1 Grieving Old Woman

The figurine of a grieving old woman³ (Fig. 19.5, Kielau, 2018: 113, no. 345, pl. 18) has special features that point to Smyrna, such as a monochrome reddish slip (or painting) and a carefully elaborate back (see above). The face is highly expressive, the expression (open mouth) and the eyes (ball-shaped eyeballs, drilled pupils) are closely related to the head of an African from Smyrna. Another figurine of the “grieving old woman” was found in the “Stadtgrabung”, was obviously cast in the same mould or in a mould from the same generation (Kielau, 2018: 345). In general, some of the figurines found in Pergamon seem to belong to this style or group, including a small Herakles mask-*protome* from the “Stadtgrabung” (Kielau, 2018: 194,

3 The head is in the Museum of Bergama, the other fragments in the depots of the Pergamon excavation; restoration by Mustafa Savaşgan; example for comparison from Smyrna: cf. the head of an African, Hasselin Rous, Laugier & Martinez, 2009: 163 no. 83 (Hellenistic, the Smyrna origin proved by analysis, see discussion above).



FIGURE 19.9 Head of Ariadne, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 7 cm)

PHOTO: E. STEINER, PERGAMON EXCAVATION

no. 886, pl. 47) and fragments of at least two impressive Sirens or Harpies from Pergamon's *Asklepieion* (Ziegenaus & de Luca, 1975: 118, 122, no. 591, pl. 66.1.2; for more examples of this style, including heads of Africans, see nos. 559–562, 582). Whether the terracottas come from the same workshop or they represent a local or transregional style, is unclear.

The dating of the pieces of this style or workshop has in part already been discussed above. The coiffure of the old women finds very good parallels among coiffures in Roman sculpture of the Flavian-Trajanic period (Fittschen & Zanker, 1983: 61, no. 81, pls. 101–102; Bartman, 2001: 9–10, figs. 6–7, 11–12, fig. 9). It is thus clear that the two terracottas from the "Stadtgrabung" and at least the closely related "Sirens" from the *Asklepieion* have to be dated to about 70 to 130 CE, as already proposed by Töpperwein and de Luca.

4.3.2 Head of a Peasant or Slave

The distinctive head of an elderly man⁴ (Fig. 19.10, Kielau, 2018: 114–115, no. 554, pl. 19) with a *petasos*, possibly a shepherd or a slave, has many stylistic similarities with a curved male figure in the Louvre Museum (Hasselin Rous, Laugier & Martinez, 2009: 183, no. 100). The above-mentioned analysis could not verify its Smyrna origin (Hasselin Rous, Laugier & Martinez, 2009: 220). The similarities in the facial features are striking, the piece in the Louvre Museum, however, has drilled pupils, placing it also close to the group from Roman Imperial times described above (compare the drilled eyes and the general expressive style of the face

⁴ Example for comparison from Smyrna: cf. a figurine of an old man from Smyrna (origin unproved), Hasselin Rous, Laugier & Martinez, 2009: 183, no. 100 (first century BCE to first century CE).



FIGURE 19.10 Head of a peasant or slave, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 3.2 cm)

PHOTO: AUTHOR



FIGURE 19.11 Two female heads, from Pergamon, "Stadtgrabung" (H: 6.9 cm; 4.8 cm)

PHOTO: AUTHOR

of the old women in Fig. 19.5 and of the "Sirens" from the *Asklepieion* with the drilled eyes and the open mouth of the old man from Smyrna). Does this relationship indicate a dating of the two "peasants" from Pergamon and Smyrna to Roman Imperial times?

4.4 *On Links between Pergamon and Corinth*

Finally, I would like to present an astonishing link between Pergamon and Corinth. As other connections between the coroplastic production of Pergamon and Corinth are so far unknown, the presented observation is of value.

Whether the discussed heads are dispersed products of an unknown workshop or local products with close stylistic connections, remains thus far unclear.

4.4.1 Two Female Heads from the "Stadtgrabung"
These two heads (Fig. 19.11, Kielau, 2018: 107–108, nos. 294, 295, pl. 16; examples for comparison from Corinth: cf. two similar heads, Merker, 2000: 226, nos. H201 and H202, pl. 42 – of early Hellenistic date) are stylistically very different from the terracottas discussed so far. Their special features are on the one hand the *lampadion* hairstyle

(cf. Thompson, 1963: 41–42), which makes the face appear longer. On the other hand the heads are of a greater size, compared to many other heads of female figurines, for example, of the Tanagra style. The same applies to the two corresponding examples from Corinth (height including neck 6.5 cm). But this type is not limited to Pergamon and Corinth. A quite good example for comparison (Jeammet, 2003: 161, no. 107 – dated to 330–300 BCE; height including the shorter neck 5.4 cm), is a mould in the Louvre Museum, which was found in Athens and is attributed to Smyrna (Besques, 1972: 188, pl. 264g, h, i – height unclear). As stated above in the discussion concerning Smyrna, these surprisingly related heads might also possibly belong to a (copied and exported) workshop group or just as well represent a transregional and in this case rather Panhellenic style.

5 Conclusions

Regarding the chronology of Pergamon's coroplastic production, new findings bring the first century BCE into focus. The preliminary dating of the Eros figurine (and others, which are not yet published) from a context from the east slope of the acropolis might – in the nearer future – be considered as an addition to the terracotta chronology of the second and first century BCE for the entire region (including Myrina). And, according to the state of research, terracottas from Pergamon and Myrina dating to the later first century CE are hardly known. The popular Pergamene group of Aphrodite heads with good links to Myrina is attributed here to the times of Trajan, in which the earthquake of 106 CE led to the ceasing of terracotta production or consumption in Myrina, as is generally assumed. This type might therefore belong to the latest produced or consumed terracottas not in Pergamon, but in Myrina. The presented selective collection of published pieces may function as a stimulus to further discussions. Finally, the finds from the "Stadtgrabung" confirm all the perceived relations between Pergamon and other cities, such as Myrina, Ilion and Smyrna, while new relations are detected via the study of the coroplastic art of Corinth.

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PART 3

Italy



Production and Consumption of Terracottas: A Case Study at Metapontion in Southern Italy

Rebecca Miller Ammerman

Abstract

The site of Sant'Angelo Vecchio at the Greek city-state of Metapontion in southern Italy is notable for a group of kilns dating to the later fourth century BCE that are associated with the production of moulded terracotta figurines and plaques. In addition to investigating technical practices of a coroplastic workshop, this large assemblage of terracottas allows for preliminary assessment of their production with varied, but well-defined, imagery against the local consumption of terracottas with the same imagery at sanctuaries and farmhouses throughout the territory of Metapontion and, in some cases, at neighbouring Greek city-states as well as Lucanian sites.¹

1 Introduction

In the course of an archaeological investigation, terracottas are routinely recovered from a sanctuary, a house, or a burial. In these cases, the archaeological context marks the place of consumption of a given figurine. Not infrequently, a terracotta may, however, comprise part of the fill of a dump. The artefact no longer comes then from the setting of its original use, but rather from a secondary deposit marking the discard of an object that no longer serves a useful purpose. In short, the figurine has been tossed with the rest of the garbage. In contrast to these

situations, it is rare to find a terracotta figurine at the place of its own industrial production.

While dozens of kilns used for making roof tiles and pottery have come to light in the ancient Mediterranean, few kilns are known in the archaeological record that can, with certainty, be associated with the production of terracotta statuettes. One such set of kilns was discovered at the site of Sant'Angelo Vecchio in the *chora* of the Greek city-state of Metapontion in southern Italy. Sant'Angelo Vecchio is located north of the Basento River about 8 km inland from the urban centre of Metapontion which lies near the coast (Fig. 20.1). In 1979, a bulldozer, widening a level space for the construction of a gravel road, encountered large quantities of roof tiles and figured terracottas. At the invitation of the Archaeological Superintendency of Basilicata, Professor Ingrid Edlund of the University of Texas conducted rescue excavations at the site in 1979, with smaller-scale investigations continuing in 1980 and 1981 (Edlund, 1984: 284–290; 1986; 1988). In 2010 and 2011, Dr Francesca Silvestrelli of the University of Salento, who is coordinating the final publication of the excavations at Sant'Angelo Vecchio, conducted further interventions to clarify certain aspects of the site, such as the nature of a compacted stone feature, thought to be a retaining wall. All of the archaeological work at Sant'Angelo Vecchio forms part of larger, long-term research directed by Professor Joseph Carter of the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Texas in collaboration with the Archaeological Superintendency of Basilicata. My role in the project is to study and publish the figured terracottas. I should emphasise that my research on this sizable assemblage is still a work in progress and that the results presented here are preliminary.

Excavations at Sant'Angelo Vecchio have revealed several different periods and areas of activity at the site (Fig. 20.2). The earliest structure is a modest rural house, dated by associated pottery to the mid-sixth century BCE. It stands at the top of a hill that rises above the later industrial complex. A group of at least 10 tombs lines the side of a path that curves up from the lower slope of the hill toward the farmhouse. Eight date to the second half of the fifth century BCE, while the

¹ I would like to thank G. Papantoniou, D. Michaelides, and M. Dikomitou-Eliadou for their kind invitation to participate in the conference “Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas: Mediterranean Networks and Cyprus” at the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus. Thanks are also due to J. Carter for his permission to reproduce the plan of Sant'Angelo Vecchio in Fig. 2, and his generous support of my research at Metaponto. I am likewise grateful to M. Barretta, M. Holobosky, C. Raho, J. Trelogan and C. Williams for their excellent photography and preparation of illustrations. I. Edlund-Berry, F. Silvestrelli, A. Concilio, S. Bertesago, A. Goldmacher, L. Schneider, K. Ponturo, and the many staff members at the National Archaeological Museum at Metaponto have provided valuable assistance in different aspects of the work. My research has been supported by grants from the Picker Research Interdisciplinary Science Institute, the Research Council, and Division of the Humanities at Colgate University and by the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Texas.

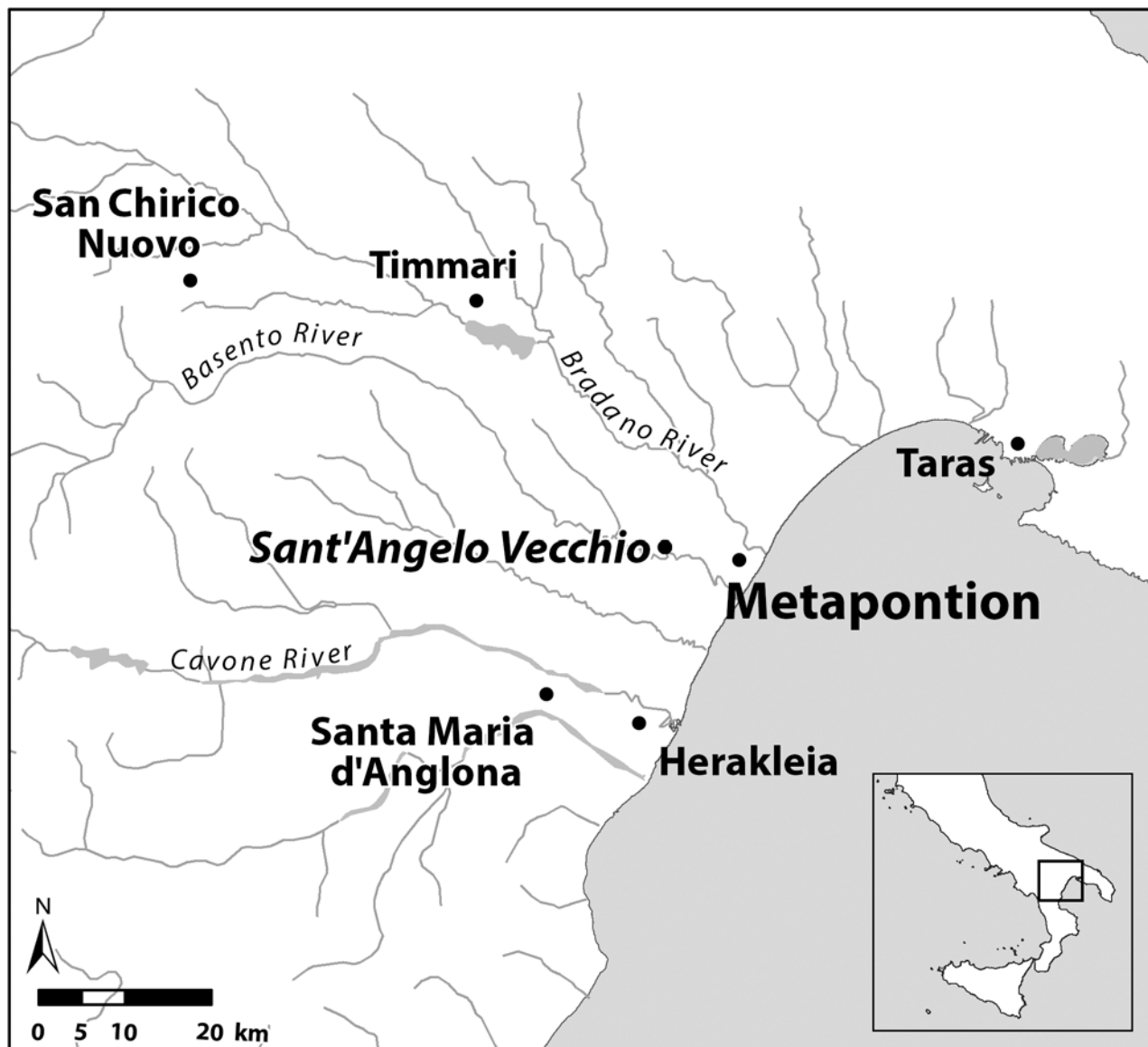


FIGURE 20.1 Greek and Lucanian sites of southern Italy mentioned in text
MAP: J. TRELOGAN

easternmost two date to the decades around 300 BCE. In the fourth century BCE, the lower portion of the hill took on an industrial character with the construction of two, and possibly three, oval-shaped kilns that were used to produce terracotta plaques. Up the slope from the kilns, walls with pilasters made of stacked tiles and stones that supported a tiled roof were built directly over the earlier burial ground. The structure may have served as a workshop and open shed related to the production of the objects fired in the kilns. Finally, a second more sturdily constructed set of kilns was erected near the oval-shaped kilns of the fourth century. These kilns remained in use until at least the late second century BCE. Judging from the numerous stamped tiles and fragments of coarse ware and grey ware discovered in the

structure, the later kilns were used for the manufacture of roof tiles and ceramic vessels.

The industrial complex of the later fourth and possibly early third century BCE at Sant'Angelo Vecchio presents a special opportunity to investigate the workshop practices and technology employed by ancient coroplasts in their production of moulded terracottas. Most of the terracottas were intended to serve as attractive votive gifts to a deity. It is common for the archaeologist to ask questions about the methods of production of terracottas that are found often in the thousands at a sanctuary. However, since the ritual deposition of a figurine, as a votive offering, usually marks the final moment in the life-history of that object, many questions about its production must, of necessity, go unanswered. The association of almost 2800

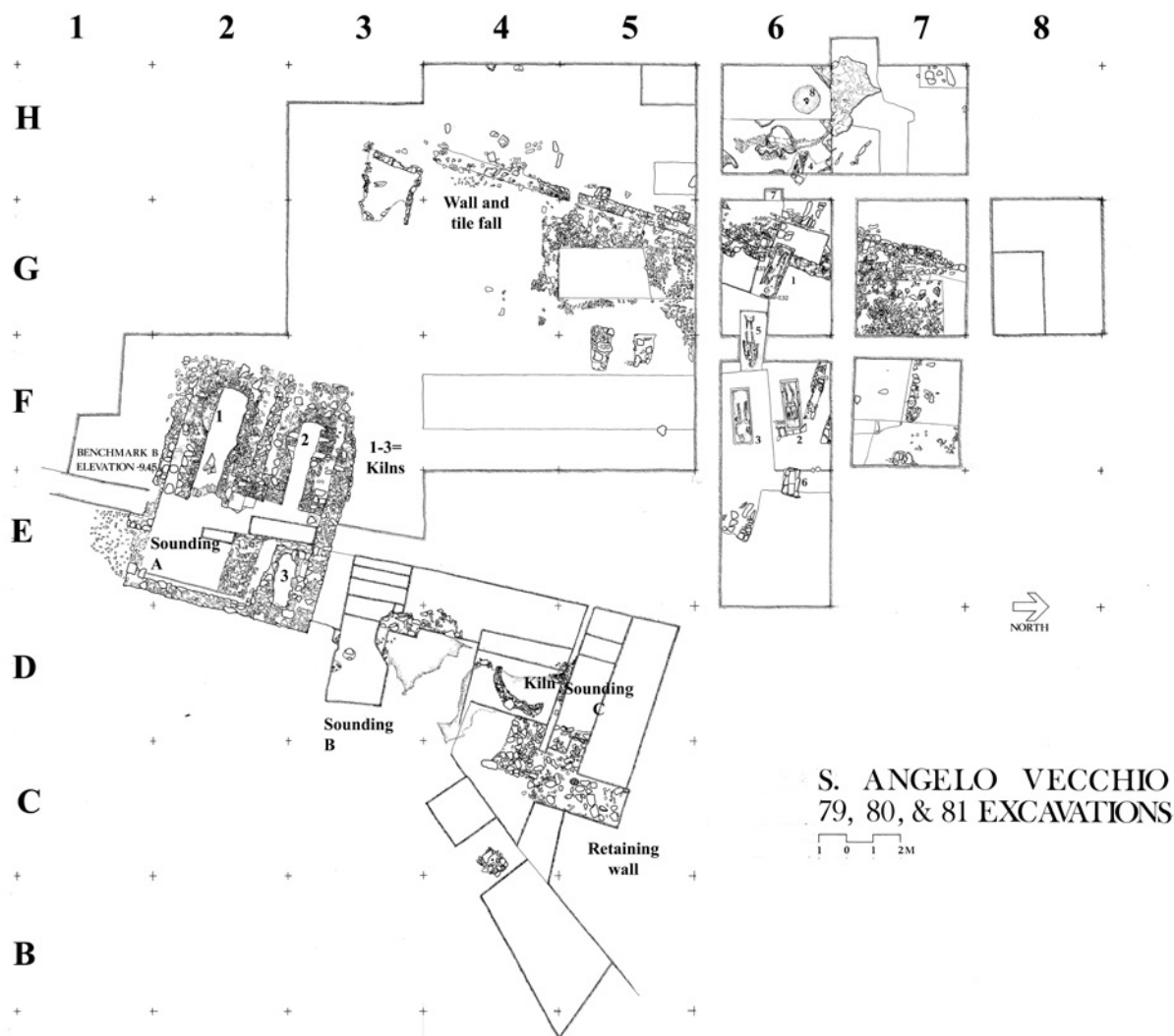


FIGURE 20.2 Plan of excavation at production area at Sant'Angelo Vecchio
COURTESY OF J.C. CARTER

fragments of terracottas as well as the moulds used to create them with the kilns at Sant'Angelo Vecchio, instead, offers a rare chance to explore, in depth, a wide range of questions about the production, variability and distribution of these statuettes and reliefs at Metapontion.

As is well known, mould technology may be transferred between coroplastic workshops through the exchange of the moulds themselves or of the casts from which derivative moulds may be made. The resulting family of related moulds and casts, that is, a mould series, may often be quite extensive in terms of both relative chronology and spatial distribution. Artisans often introduced small or more substantial differences to the image of the original prototype during the process of its replication in later generation moulds. These practices could, in many cases, generate a vast array of variants within a single mould series.

This preliminary study aims to assess the production of terracottas that exhibit a varied, yet individually

well-defined, set of subjects at the rural workshop at Sant'Angelo Vecchio against the local consumption of terracottas belonging to the same mould series that have been found at sanctuaries and farmhouses throughout the territory of Metapontion. In some instances, evaluation may move beyond Metapontion to neighbouring city-states. What follows are the mould series represented in the assemblage from Sant'Angelo Vecchio.

2 Standing Female with Cross-Torch

2.1 Small Scale

The mould series represented by the largest number of casts is that which portrays a standing female figure that holds a cross-torch and basket of fruit in her left arm and an *oinochoe* in her right hand (Fig. 20.5). The cross-torch is closely associated in southern Italy with the worship

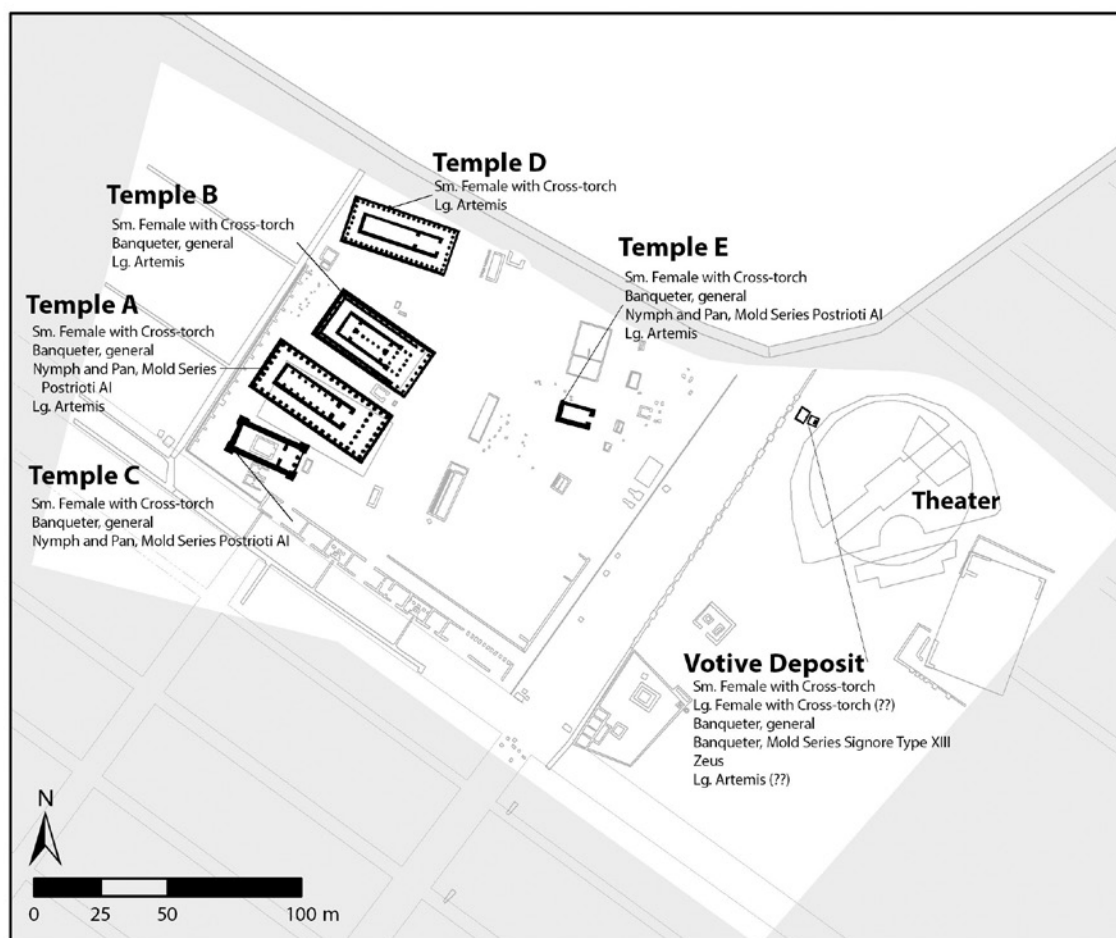
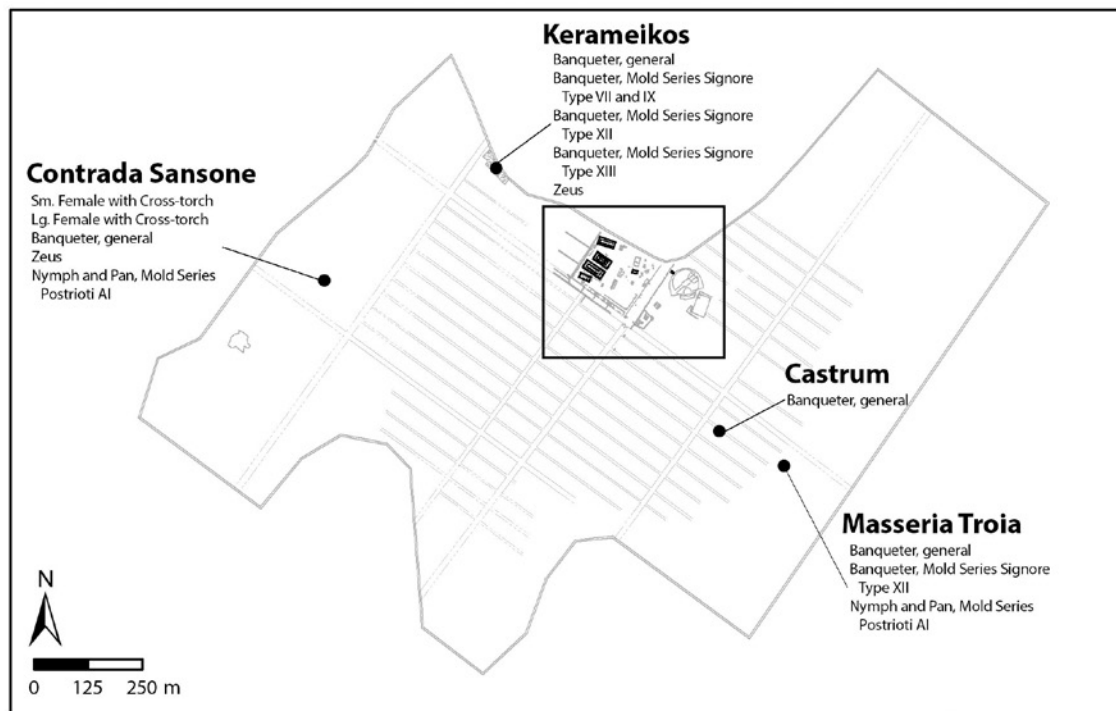


FIGURE 20.3 Distribution of main mould series produced at Sant'Angelo Vecchio within urban center of Metapontion
 MAP: J. TRELOGAN

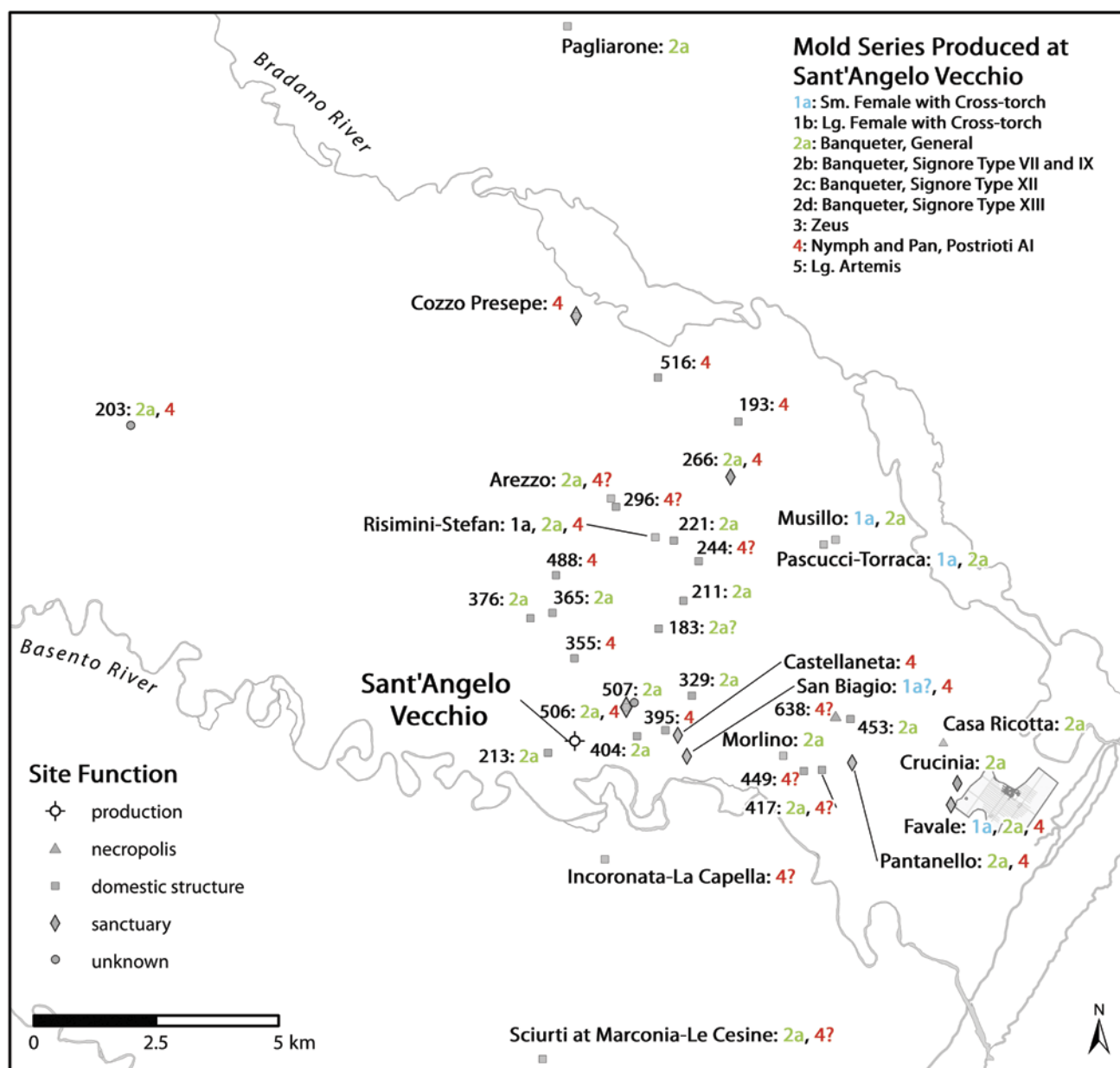


FIGURE 20.4 Distribution of main mould series produced at Sant'Angelo Vecchio within territory of Metapontion

MAP: J. TRELOGAN

of Demeter and Persephone (Letta, 1971: 115, 154; Otto, 2005: 12–13, 15–16). Complete figurines manufactured on a small scale measure 37–38 cm in height. The casts from Sant'Angelo Vecchio all belong to the same variant and generation. This implies that only a single mould, or possibly parallel moulds, may have been used in their production. In fact, a fragment of one such mould (Inv. SA 79.1100T) that is a perfect match for the figurines was found among the mass of fragments of casts of this mould series.

At Metapontion casts belonging to this same mould series have been found in a variety of different contexts representing their use in sanctuaries as well as in private

domestic settings. In the urban centre (Fig. 20.3) the figurines are attested at the complex of monumental Temples A, B, C and D (Letta, 1971: 117, pl. 22.3; Meirano, 1996: 76–77, fig. 12; Piccarreda, 1999: 69–70, 80, figs. 10–12, 26; Calabria, 2005: 71, figs. 1–3) as well as at the smaller Temple E (Postrioti, 1996: 101, pl. 16c). Fragments of such figurines have likewise been found in a votive deposit north-west of the theatre (Meirano, 1996: 76, figs. 9–10). In addition, a few fragments were recovered in 1955, still within the urban centre of Metapontion, but from a less well-defined context in Contrada Sansone at some distance from the large urban sanctuary and agora (Lo Porto, 1966: 164, fig. 26.3). Moving beyond the walls of the ancient city, a handful of



FIGURE 20.5 Small-scale figurine of standing female holding cross-torch, basket of fruit, and oinochoe (inv. no. 319980, SA 79.0411.01)

PHOTO: C. RAHO

figurines of the standing woman holding a cross-torch and a basket of fruit occurs at the extramural sanctuary at Favale (Liseno, 2004: 45–46, 63–64, pls. 13a–d, 29e–g) and possibly also at the sanctuary at San Biagio (Letta, 1971: 115), which is located north of the Basento River, about 2 km from Sant'Angelo Vecchio (Fig. 20.4).

The figurines have likewise turned up in domestic contexts at three excavated farmhouses. At Risimini-Stefan, one fragment (Inv. RI-ST/CO 169) preserves a variant of the mould series in which a pomegranate is represented among the fruit in the basket (Barberis, 1995:

23, n. 70, fig. 6, lower centre). Other fragments are reported at farmhouses at Saldone Musillo (Barberis, 1995: 23, n. 70, fig. 6, left; Meirano, 1996: 82, fig. 18) and Saldone Pascucci-Torraca (Barberis, 1995: 23, n. 70; Meirano, 1996: 76, n. 58). Another fragment of such a figurine that is a sporadic find from the *chora* has also been published (Barberis, 1995: 23, n. 70, fig. 6, upper centre; Meirano, 1996: 82, n. 90).

Numerous casts from the mould series occur moreover among the votive offerings from sanctuaries at the neighbouring Greek city-state of Taras. Some casts found at Taras differ from the figurines produced at Sant'Angelo Vecchio in that the cross-torch is absent (Lippolis, 1995: 58–59, pl. 18.3; 2005: 99–100, fig. 9) or has been shifted to the female's right side (Iacobone, 1988: 25, pls. 15b–16a). The terracottas have been recovered from votive deposits within the ancient city (Iacobone, 1988: 24–25, 332–335, pls. 14a–15a, 26b–d, 27a–e; Lippolis, 1995: 58–59, pl. 18.3; 2005: 99–100, fig. 9) as well as at the sanctuary at Satyrion (Lo Porto, 1964: 250–252, fig. 66, nos. 4, 7, 9). Other figurines, thought to come from Taras, now comprise part of the holdings of museum collections at Brindisi (Sciarra, 1976: 46–47, no. 345) and Legnano (Bonghi Jovino, 1972: 47–48, pl. 22, nos. 71–72).

South of Metapontion, excavations in the urban centre of Herakleia recovered at least one fragment of a figurine representing a female holding a basket of fruit that belongs to this mould series. The fragment has not yet been published. Of great interest are also terracottas belonging to variants of the mould series that were found at a sanctuary at Timmari (Lo Porto, 1991: 79–81, pl. 25, no. 11; pl. 26, no. 15), a Lucanian site north-west of Metapontion.

2.2 Large Scale

Careful analysis has enabled me to distinguish a second mould series among the products of the kilns at Sant'Angelo Vecchio that presents the same imagery of the female holding a cross-torch, but does so on a much larger module or scale (Fig. 20.6). Alternatively, it may be that we are dealing with a variant belonging to a much earlier generation of the same mould series attested on a small scale by the majority of casts of the female with a cross-torch. Currently, I am unaware of any casts that may be securely identified from this large-scale mould series other than the few (at least seven) that I have been able to identify in the assemblage from Sant'Angelo Vecchio. There is, however, a single fragment from the votive deposit north-west of the theatre (Meirano, 1996: 82, n. 88, fig. 17) and another from Contrada Sansone in the urban centre (Lo Porto, 1966: 162–163, fig. 24.2) that, with regard to the position of the fingers of the left hand that grasps the outer

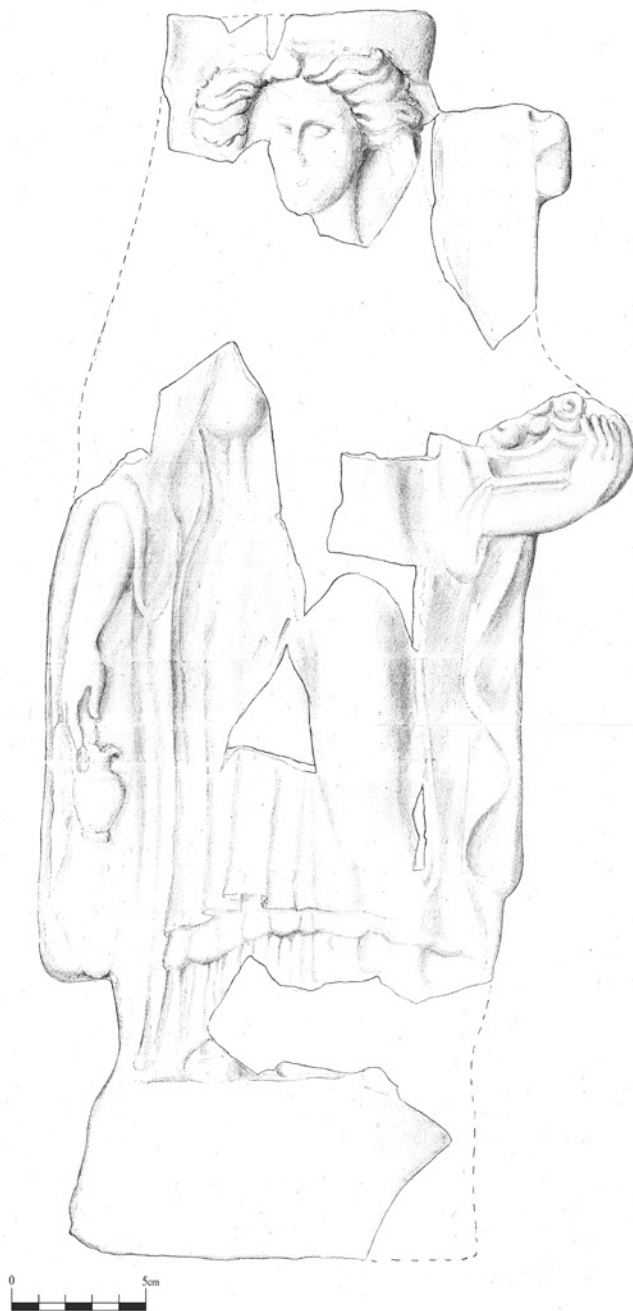


FIGURE 20.6 Reconstruction of large-scale figurine of standing female holding cross-torch, basket of fruit, and oinochoe

DRAWING: M. BARRETTA

edge of the basket as well as the raised border that defines the base and upper rim of the basket, closely resemble the basket and the manner in which the female holds it in the large-scale figurines from Sant'Angelo Vecchio. The two fragments may therefore represent a variant of this large-scale mould series. As discussed below, it is possible that the former fragment may alternatively belong to a terracotta, also produced on a large scale, representing Artemis.

3 Banqueter

3.1 Small Scale

The next most numerous mould series represented at Sant'Angelo Vecchio is that of a bearded male banqueter (Fig. 20.7) whose specific identity is a vexed question (Iacobone, 1988: 166–169; Lippolis, 1995: 51–53; Signore, 1996: 351–355; Ammerman, 2011: 495, for brief summary). A veiled female sits at the foot of his *kline*. She holds a *phiale* in her right hand and at her left side sits an infant who grasps the handle of a *kantharos* that the banqueter extends towards the child. The head of a horse completes the group portrait. Most of the terracottas from Sant'Angelo Vecchio belong again to a single variant and generation of this mould series.

3.2 Large Scale

A small number of variants and plaques fashioned on a larger module have, however, been recognised among the more than 200 fragments of a reclining banqueter. In particular, a few casts belong to a mould series that is distinguished by its larger size and an architectural volute that frames the left side of the banqueter's head (Fig. 20.8). In addition, a mould (Inv. SA 79.0047) recovered from the site was used to produce a large-scale terracotta (Inv. SA 79.0417) that portrays a female figure with a male child standing at her left side. The two figures probably accompany a banqueter, as in a plaque found at the urban *kerameikos* of Metapontion (Signore, 1996: 330–333, figs. 46–47) and another from a votive deposit north-west of the theatre (Pugliese Carratelli, 1996: 708, no. 205) that may belong to the same mould series as the pieces from Sant'Angelo Vecchio. The presence of both the mould and a fragmentary cast again demonstrates the local production of these terracotta plaques at Sant'Angelo Vecchio.

At Metapontion, plaques portraying a reclining banqueter are extremely common (Figs. 20.3 and 20.4). A deposit excavated in the urban *kerameikos* yielded 100 fragments of terracottas which include 84 plaques of a banqueter as well as three fragmentary moulds, suggesting that such plaques were likewise produced in this industrial area (D'Andria, 1975: 418–423; Signore, 1996). Unfortunately, the fragments of the moulds are so small that their subjects cannot be recognised (Signore, 1996: 302, n. 35, 346, fig. 73). The recliners occur as votive offerings at most sanctuaries from the urban centre including Temples A, B, C and E, as well as in a deposit north-west of the theatre (Ammerman, 2011: 495, for detailed bibliography). Others come from extra-mural sanctuaries at Favale (Liseno, 2004: 61, pl. 26f) and Crucinia (Lo Porto, 1981: 332, 334, fig. 41.1–3), as well as the spring sanctuary in the *chora*



FIGURE 20.7 Reconstruction of plaque of banqueter with seated female, child, and horse
DRAWING: M. BARRETTA



FIGURE 20.8 Plaque of banqueter flanked by Ionic capital (SA 79.0510.01)

PHOTO: C. WILLIAMS

at Pantanello, where they comprise a quarter of the votive assemblage (Ammerman, 2011: 495). They are moreover attested at two sites (266 and 506) identified as possible rural sanctuaries by the University of Texas survey (Ammerman, 2011: 495, 508, 518, 534–535). In addition, the plaques are prevalent at farmhouses: they have turned up at the excavation of seven farmhouses (Ammerman, 2011: 495, n. 52) and at as many as 12 sites identified as farmsteads by the University of Texas survey (Ammerman, 2011: 509–510, 514–517, 523, 525, 528–529, 535–537). Finally, one such plaque was found at a Hellenistic tomb near Casa Ricotta (Lo Porto, 1981: 351–352, fig. 65.1).

This review of the distribution of banqueter plaques at Metapontion shows not only that terracottas portraying a reclining banqueter are ubiquitous, but also that they belong to a wide array of mould series exhibiting many variants. Coroplasts could elaborate a given mould series by introducing such small differences as the presence or absence of a beard, the position of the child's arms and legs, the size and shape of the *kantharos*, or the head of a horse.

In this way an artisan could easily create multiple variants from an original prototype. Although many banqueter plaques have been recovered at Metapontion, most are in a fragmentary state. It is therefore challenging to develop a comprehensive typology and trace the extended family of closely related variants of a given mould series for all the known casts. Signore (1996), in her study of the fragmentary banqueter plaques found at the *kerameikos* in the urban centre of Metapontion, has nevertheless been able to develop a useful typology that distinguishes 13 mould series and provides several reconstructions of complete plaques with banqueter imagery.

Returning to Sant'Angelo Vecchio, the mould series represented by the vast majority of plaques (Fig. 20.7) closely resembles in many respects Signore's Type VII (1996: 323–324, fig. 38) and Type IX (1996: 325, fig. 40). Type VII is attested by two fragmentary casts from the *kerameikos*; Type IX by only a single cast which differs from the plaques found at Sant'Angelo Vecchio in that a snake is depicted below the *kline*. Looking beyond Metapontion

to Herakleia and Taras, where plaques portraying a banqueter have been found in large numbers, I am aware of no other casts from this specific mould series. There are mould series attested at Taras that are similar (Iacobone, 1988: 79–80, 85, pls. 73a–c, 80b) but they exhibit significant differences: for instance, the seated female does not hold a *phiale* and the child's limbs are not placed in the same position.

The plaques portraying the head of a bearded banqueter flanked by an Ionic volute (Fig. 20.8), on the other hand, belong to the mould series of Signore's Type XII (1996: 329–330, fig. 45) that is represented by three terracottas found at the *kerameikos*. A closely related terracotta from Masseria Troia in the urban centre appears to be a variant of the mould series in which the banqueter is beardless (Letta, 1971: 88, pl. 13.3, no. 32).

As noted above, the mould and cast of a female and standing male child probably belong instead to Signore's Type XIII (Signore, 1996: 330–333, figs. 46–47). This mould series is attested by nine plaques at the *kerameikos* and others from the deposit north-west of the theatre (Pugliese Carratelli, 1996: 708, no. 205) in the urban centre of Metapontion. Two fragmentary plaques belonging to this mould series are also documented at Taras (Iacobone, 1988: 72, 86, pls. 62b, 81b).

4 Zeus

The third most common typology at Sant'Angelo Vecchio is a mould series used to produce rectangular plaques with an arched upper edge that portray a standing Zeus who holds a lightning bolt in his left hand and a sceptre in his right (Fig. 20.9). An eagle standing on a column is represented at his left side. The casts from Sant'Angelo Vecchio all belong to the same variant and generation of a single mould series. Two fragments from this mould series were found in 1955 in Contrada Sansone in the urban centre of Metapontion (Fig. 20.3) (Lo Porto, 1988: 15–20, figs. 12.4–5). The exact context – votive deposit, private dwelling, or workshop – in which the fragments were found is regrettably unknown. One plaque belonging to this mould series comes from the *kerameikos* (Signore, 1996: 340–341, fig. 60, no. 86), while the votive deposit north-west of the theatre in the urban centre yielded at least one other plaque from this specific mould series (Moreno, 1974: 196; Todisco, 1992: 76, figs. 163–164; Vorderstein, 2006: 46–47, fig. 7) among many terracottas belonging to several other closely related mould series. As noted above, this deposit contained also terracottas representing a standing female with the cross-torch and a banqueter. In the case of the

plaques portraying Zeus, it is of particular interest to note that this deposit has been associated with the nearby *temenos* of Zeus Agoraios.

Plaques from this exact mould series are not known outside of Metapontion. Excavations in the urban centre of Herakleia did recover, however, a mould that was used to produce a closely related type (Moreno, 1970: 294–296, pl. 52; 1971: 289–290, figs. 1–2; Lo Porto, 1988: 18–19, fig. 14).

5 Nymph and Pan

Many plaques representing the dancing couple of a Nymph and Pan were also found in the assemblage (Fig. 20.10). The Nymph raises her veil with her right hand and holds a cornucopia in her left arm. To her left Pan follows her lead, embracing her with his right arm and lifting a volute crater with his left. The pair dance within a rocky grotto festooned with clusters of grapes among which panpipes and a *tympanon* are nestled. Again, most of the plaques belong to the same variant and generation of a single mould series. One fragment does, however, attest to a slightly different variant of the mould series, while two fragments belong to a generation of larger size.

The coroplasts at Metapontion fashioned a few closely related mould series to depict the subject of a Nymph dancing with Pan, or with a Silenos, and the resultant plaques were perhaps the most popular votive terracotta at Metapontion during the later fourth and third centuries BCE (Ammerman, 2011: 498–500; 2015: 363–372; 2016). As is the case with the plaques of a reclining banqueter, the fragmentary state of many of the terracottas recovered in archaeological investigations at Metapontion often makes it difficult to assign a given fragment to a specific variant of a mould series. Nevertheless, the plaques at Sant'Angelo Vecchio belong to a variant of the mould series portraying the Nymph and Pan that is probably the one most frequently attested in the archaeological record. Such plaques are the dedication of choice (Fig. 20.3) occurring in the hundreds from Temple E in the urban centre (Postrioti, 1996: 26–33, 40–50, pls. 1–2) while isolated fragments have been found in the areas of the other temples (Letta, 1971: 129, pl. 26.2; Adamesteanu, 1975: 94–96, 203–205, figs. 85f, 86f, 213d–e; Lo Porto, 1988: 23–25, fig. 20.4–6; Ammerman, 2011: 499, n. 79). Only three fragments belonging to this mould series, on the other hand, have been recovered at the extramural shrine of Favale (Adamesteanu, 1975: 275–276, figs. 288i, 289e; Liseno, 2004: 64–65, pls. 30a, c).

In the *chora*, they turn up at five and possibly as many as seven sanctuaries (Fig. 20.4). At the spring sanctuary of



FIGURE 20.9 Plaque of Zeus holding scepter and lighting bolt (inv. no. 319913, SA 79.0509.01)

PHOTO: C. RAHO

Pantanello, for instance, more than 300 plaques portray the Nymph in the company of Pan or a Silenos, and at least two-thirds of these plaques belong to the mould series (or a closely related variant) that is attested at Sant'Angelo Vecchio. Other plaques portraying the dancing couple are reported at San Biagio (Letta, 1971: 14, 127–128; Barberis, 1995: 29, n. 110 and 34, n. 141; Meirano, 1996: 85, n. 108) and at a third sanctuary associated with a spring in proprietà Castellaneta (Barberis, 1995: 16, n. 22 and 29, n. 110). Since none of the plaques from these two sanctuaries has been published, it is not yet possible to determine to which specific mould series or variant the fragments belong. The survey of the *chora* conducted by the University of Texas recovered fragments of plaques belonging to the mould series that was also produced at Sant'Angelo Vecchio from two sites that are likely to be rural sanctuaries: Site 266 yielded at least two, and possibly as many as five fragments



FIGURE 20.10 Plaque of dancing Nymph and Pan (inv. no. 320003, SA 80.0010.01)

PHOTO: C. RAHO

of the plaques and Site 506 at least three, and possibly as many as four fragments (Ammerman, 2011: 508, 518–519, 534–535). Many plaques portraying the dancing Nymph were found at Site 203 which might also be a rural shrine (Ammerman, 2011: 506, n. 139). Finally, the discovery of such terracottas at Cozzo Presepe at the north-western boundary of the *chora* has led to the suggestion that the plaques may indicate the presence of a sanctuary also there (Prag, 1977: 381).

More striking is the frequent presence of these plaques in domestic contexts: they have been found at four excavated farmhouses at Risimini-Stefan, proprietà Arezzo in Lago di Lupo, proprietà Sciurti at Marconia-Le Cesine, and Incoronta-La Capella (Barberis, 1996: 29, n. 110), as well as at a fifth house at Cozzo Presepe (Prag, 1977: 379–381, fig. 150.1). My own study of the terracottas from Risimini-Stefan shows that several fragments belong to variants of the mould series attested at Sant'Angelo Vecchio. Again, the fragments from the other three farmhouses in the *chora* have not been fully published and so it is impossible to determine the specific mould series portraying

the dancing Nymph to which the fragments may belong. Finally, plaques portraying the Nymph accompanied by Pan or a Silenos have been recovered from 14 sites identified by the University of Texas survey as farmhouses. Of these, six sites yielded fragments that definitely belong and four that probably belong to variants of the mould series found at Sant'Angelo Vecchio (Ammerman, 2011: 498–500, 514–517, 520, 524, 526, 528, 533–534, 536). In addition, a single fragment was found at Site 638 that has been identified as a necropolis (Ammerman, 2011: 537).

6 Artemis

6.1 Large Scale

Finally, another mould series used to fashion figurines at a large scale is represented by several casts. The subject is Artemis (Fig. 20.11) wearing a lion's skin over her head and a *nebris* over her *chitoniskos*, a costume that is often thought to represent the goddess in the guise of Bendis (Letta, 1968; Curti, 1989: 23–30; Lippolis, 2005: 95–100). She stands next to a herm of Artemis at her left. A panther stands at her right side. She raises a burning torch in her right hand. A more complete cast from Timmari (Lo Porto, 1991: 68–69, 74–75, 81, pl. 26.16) shows that she holds a basket of fruit in her left arm in the same manner as the large-scale standing female figure with a cross-torch described above. All of the fragments of the terracottas portraying Artemis from Sant'Angelo Vecchio belong to the same variant and generation of this large-scale mould series.

Excavations at Metapontion and neighbouring sites have yielded numerous terracottas on a smaller scale that portray Artemis in a similar, but not identical fashion. It may be instructive to review briefly the distribution of these smaller-scale figurines with closely related imagery. At Metapontion they are attested at the urban sanctuary (Letta, 1971: 121–123, pl. 24.4; Adamesteanu, 1975: 91, 93–94, 145–146, figs. 79a, 84a, 150a; Piccarreda, 1999: 80, fig. 26; Calabria, 2005: 73–81, figs. 5–8, 11–13) and elsewhere in the urban centre (Pesce, 1936: 445, no. 17; Lo Porto, 1966: 145–146, fig. 5.3; 1988: 8–10, figs. 4–5, nos. 1–5) including the *kerameikos* (D'Andria, 1975: 437–438, fig. 70.373). One appears among the votive terracottas from the extramural sanctuary at Favale (Liseno, 2004: 62–63, pl. 28b) while others are reported at San Biagio (Adamesteanu, 1974: 254; Lo Porto, 1988: 8). Small-scale figurines of Artemis likewise turn up among the materials found at four excavated farmsteads: Inconronata-La Capella, Lago di Lupo (proprietà Arezzo), Marconia-Le Cesine (Barberis, 1995: 25, n. 89), and Rismini-Stefan (Inv. RI-ST/CO157 and RI-ST/CO215bis). A broad range of mould series

depicting Artemis on this smaller scale have been found beyond Metapontion at Taras (Forti & Stazio, 1983: 645, 679, fig. 655; Iacobone, 1988: 21–24, 30–31, pls. 11–12, 23d, 24a–e, for additional bibliography; Abruzzese Calabrese, 1996: 75–76, 202, 204–205, nos. 72, 148, 154; Lippolis, 2005: 95–101, figs. 4–7), Herakleia (Lo Porto, 1961: 138–139, fig. 13; Neutsch, 1967: 167–169, pl. 28.1–3; 1968: 777, fig. 23, lower left; Hänsel, 1973: 455, 457, fig. 34b; Orlandini, 1983: 506, fig. 579; Pianu, 1989: 108, pl. 15.1), Santa Maria D'Anglona (Schläger & Rüdiger, 1967: 349–352, figs. 22a–d, 23b–c, 24a, c), and at the Lucanian sanctuary of San Chirico Nuovo (Tagliente, 2005: 120–121, figs. 10–11).

Terracottas belonging to the mould series that was employed at Sant'Angelo Vecchio to produce larger-scale figurines of Artemis are far less well attested (Fig. 20.3). At Metapontion, two fragments have been recovered from the urban sanctuary (Adamesteanu, 1975: 93–94, fig. 84d, misidentified as part of a reclining group; Calabria, 2005: 74–75, fig. 10), and a third from the area of Temple D (Piccarreda, 1999: 80–81, fig. 27). It is perhaps worth noting a single fragment of a fruit basket from the urban sanctuary that has likewise been associated with a representation of Artemis (Calabria, 2005: 74–75, fig. 9). The fragment belongs, however, to a different, though closely related, mould series. Finally, there is a possibility that a fragmentary terracotta representing a fruit basket with a base and rim defined by a raised border from the votive deposit north-west of the theatre (Meirano, 1996: 82, n. 88, fig. 17) that, as discussed above, more probably belong to a large-scale standing female with a cross-torch, might instead belong to a large-scale figurine of Artemis.

Of great interest is a fragment of a mould from Taras (Higgins, 1954: 355–356, pl. 179.1307bis) and a fairly complete cast from the Lucanian sanctuary at Timmari (Lo Porto, 1991: 68–69, 74–75, 81, pl. 26.16) that belong to this same mould series. The mould preserves only the head of the panther and the goddess' hand that holds a torch. The cast lacks only the head and left shoulder of the goddess. A second mould from Taras probably belonging to a variant of this mould series should also be noted (Breitenstein, 1941: 45, pl. 48.399).

7 Distribution of Terracottas and Implications for Production and Consumption

Discussion thus far has focused on the distribution of terracottas belonging to the same mould series as those of the terracottas manufactured at Sant'Angelo Vecchio. But what does this distribution tell us about the consumption of the terracottas that were produced at Sant'Angelo

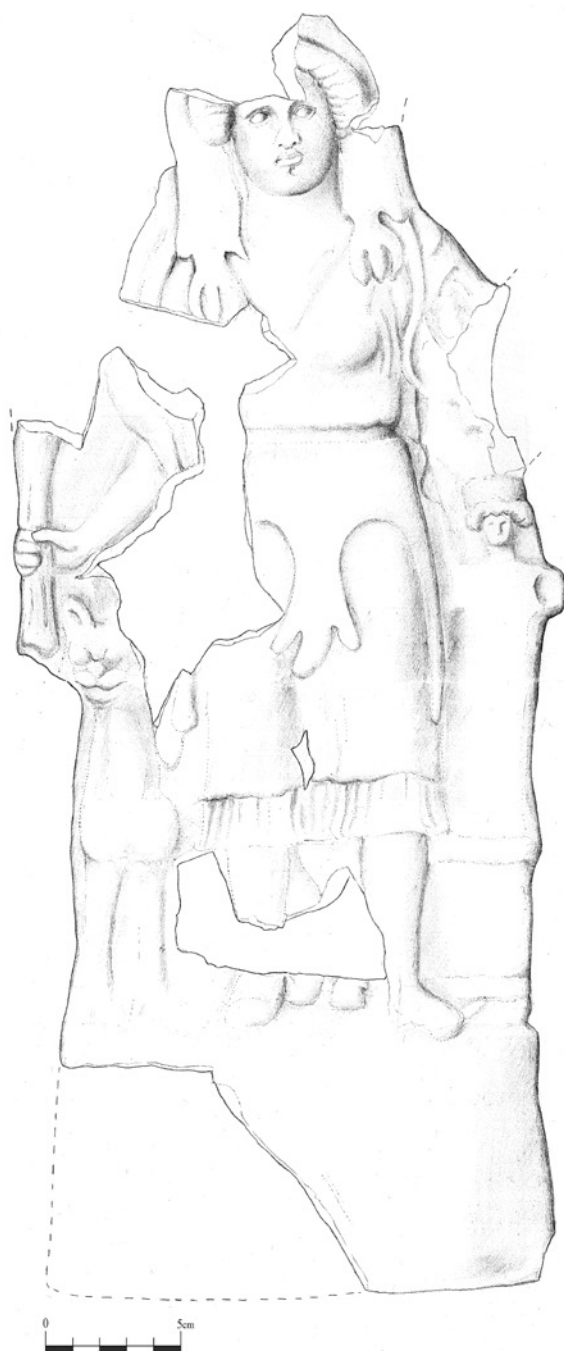


FIGURE 20.11 Reconstruction of large-scale figurine of Artemis

DRAWING: M. BARRETTA

Vecchio? We need to know more. For a start, we need to learn specific details about the technological relationship of the plaques found at a site where they were used by consumers in terms of the position of each cast within the larger family tree of its respective mould series. In other words, do the figurines of the standing female holding a cross-torch found at Favale and at the urban sanctuary belong to the same variant and generation that was produced by the mould found at Sant'Angelo Vecchio? If not,

where do they fit within the mould series? How, in turn, does this technological information shed further light on our understanding of the production (and circulation) of the casts dedicated at these two sanctuaries?

For the three mould series of the reclining banqueter which appear to have been produced not only at Sant'Angelo Vecchio but also at the urban *kerameikos*, there are even more intriguing questions regarding production that must be asked of the evidence. The technological relationship in terms of variants and generations between the casts and moulds documented at the two industrial sites needs to be fully investigated in order to understand better the links between the workshop operating in the urban centre and that in the countryside. One may then move on to ask further questions of those plaques of banqueters that have been found in their various contexts of consumption – be it a sanctuary, a farmstead, or a burial – throughout the territory of Metapontion.

For those mould series that are attested beyond the territory of Metapontion, other questions regarding the technological relationship of the different members of the mould series abound. The mould series of the large-scale figurine of Artemis, for instance, is documented by a mould from Taras and a cast from Lucanian Timmari. Were coroplastic workshops at Taras the source for this imagery, as is frequently asserted for several other mould series of the fourth and third centuries BCE? If so, did moulds or casts move in two independent paths from Taras directly to workshops at both Sant'Angelo Vecchio and Timmari? Or did the transfer of technology move first from Taras to one site and then from this site to the second? Clearly more detailed, comparative analysis of the several mould series employed by the coroplasts working at Sant'Angelo Vecchio is required to answer these and other questions for each of the terracottas belonging to one of these mould series that has been recovered from its respective place of production or consumption.

The second major question (or set of questions) has to do with the location of clay sources and characterisation of the ceramic fabrics of which the terracottas are made. A project that aims to integrate multiple approaches to ceramic analysis – petrographic, chemical, and physical – in seeking answers to questions regarding exploitation of natural resources, ceramic technology, industrial organisation, and mercantile exchange is indeed being carried out on the terracottas from Sant'Angelo Vecchio. The project is funded by the Picker Interdisciplinary Science Institute at Colgate University and being conducted with the Archaeological Superintendency of Basilicata, Dr Iannis Iliopoulos of the University of Patras, and several other collaborators. Preliminary analysis of the terracotta

fabrics of the tiles and plaques produced at Sant'Angelo Vecchio has distinguished two main fabric groups. The next step is to see if the fingerprints of the natural clays and manufactured objects from the production site at Sant'Angelo Vecchio may be matched (or not) by the fabrics of the figurines that belong to the same mould series that have been found at different sites where consumers dedicated them as votive offerings or employed them in a private home, presumably in the practice of domestic rites. But these are subjects for a future study regarding the results of these archaeometric analyses.

Although this study is still ongoing, I can nonetheless share a few initial observations regarding the terracottas that have been found at the rural sanctuary at Pantanello that belong to mould series employed to make casts in the kilns at Sant'Angelo Vecchio. In short, the sanctuary material exhibits greater diversity in terms of (1) variants and generations of a given mould series and (2) fabrics – although more analyses are needed to confirm preliminary petrographic observations. The implication is that terracottas from more than one production site were dedicated at Pantanello. This is not surprising, but it may be, I believe, the first time that one has been able to demonstrate such a difference of patterns between a production site and a consumption site for terracottas. In other words, at Sant'Angelo Vecchio, the assemblage of casts for the Nymph and Pan plaque, for instance, exhibits little variation. Most belong to the same variant and generation of the mould series. Only two fragments belong to a larger generation and one fragment belongs to a closely related variant. All the plaques appear to belong to the same ceramic fabric group. At Pantanello, many more variants and generations are attested and the fabrics also appear to be more diverse.

In closing, I would like to return to the terracottas found at Santa Angelo Vecchio and consider what the relative quantities of casts from the different mould series may indicate about workshop practices and patterns of consumption. Each of the mould series fashioned on a larger scale – the standing female with a cross-torch, the reclining banqueter, and Artemis – is documented by a minority of fragments. Does this reflect something about the networks of exchange of mould technology between different coroplastic workshops? Was it standard practice, for instance, to bring a large-scale figurine or mould to a given workshop from which a limited number of new moulds or casts were made, and from these, in turn, a smaller generation of figurines was subsequently manufactured in larger numbers?

On the other hand, how should we interpret the differences in the quantities of each type of terracotta in

terms of issues of consumption? Should we see the figurines represented in greater numbers at the production site as the ones in greatest demand by consumers? Or are the ones represented by fewer numbers of casts the ones of greatest popularity? In other words, did the workshop make certain to have a surplus of popular types on hand or did it have difficulty keeping its shelves stocked with the more requested images? After the mould series that were fashioned on a larger scale, the mould series represented by the smallest number of casts at Sant'Angelo Vecchio is that portraying the Nymph and Pan. Given the ubiquitous presence of such plaques at sanctuaries as well as private households, one might argue that the plaques of the dancing Nymph were indeed the ones in greatest demand and the workshop struggled to keep a large supply of the reliefs readily available. There are, however, many other scenarios that could account for the relative frequencies of the terracottas recovered from the kilns at Sant'Angelo Vecchio. As research continues, more refined interpretations of the data will hopefully emerge to illuminate this intriguing chapter in the history of coroplastic production and consumption at Metapontion.

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Coroplastics from the House of Marcus Fabius Rufus in Pompeii: Archaeological Artefacts from a Sacred Place

Alessandro Russo

Abstract

Some fragments of terracotta figurines and votive clay furnishings were unearthed during the 2006/2009 excavation campaigns, which were conducted in the garden of the House of Marcus Fabius Rufus in Pompeii in the *Insula Occidentalis*. Votive deposits became prominent in the fourth century BCE, during the Samnite period, when Pompeii underwent significant infrastructure and urban development. The tradition of making votive deposits in this area remained constant until the early first century BCE, when votive offerings finally stopped to be deposited. Urban restructuring on *Insula Occidentalis* took place after Pompeii was turned into a colony by the Roman general Sulla.

1 The Context

Some fragments of terracotta figurines and votive clay furnishings were unearthed during the 2006/2009 excavation campaigns, which were conducted in the garden of the House of Marcus Fabius Rufus in Pompeii (Fig. 21.1, Grimaldi, 2014; 2008: 115–123; Grimaldi *et al.*, 2012: 127–165). This suggested that an in-depth analysis regarding the occupation phases of the area during the Samnite period (third and second centuries BCE) was necessary. Almost all the archaeological evidence comes from the layers of construction debris and other discarded materials found in the peri-urban zone just below the limestone walls, in the section overlooking the *Insula Occidentalis*. During the first Imperial Age, this area became part of the propriety owned by Marcus Fabius Rufus including a magnificent mansion built near the city walls (Grimaldi, 2006: 259–418) (Fig. 21.2).

The first excavation works and removal of volcanic material, carried out initially by Maiuri and then by Cerulli-Irelli, during the 1960s, were interrupted because of the discovery of the level of the garden, dated to the time of the eruption in 79 CE (Maiuri, 1960: 166–179; Cerulli-Irelli, 1981: 22–23). In order to identify and examine the different phases of the site development and the urban settlement of the area under study, it was thought pertinent that we should initiate a study of the stratigraphic sequence of the site below the ground level dated to 79 CE.

The stratigraphic succession recovered in “Saggio 3” offers a temporal succession of discarded materials and allows the definition of different settlement periods. Dumping was necessary to flatten an earlier, differing morphology of the ground. In fact, an ongoing investigation revealed that there was a big difference in altitude between the tuffaceous stratum, on top of which the fortification is founded, and the sudden drop that runs parallel to the city wall, at a distance of about 4.5 m. The foundations of this part of the fortified walls belonging to the third phase are no longer visible because of an excavation, carried out in the first century BCE, which modified the level of the original altitude. As a matter of fact, at the time of the construction of the walls the ground level was about 25 m above sea level, whereas following the water tank and portico built in the Roman period, it was lowered by 3 m. The foundations were laid bare during excavations, and then covered by the inner wall of the portico, in *opus reticulatum*, as it is now.

The altitude difference found in the tuffaceous stratum could be interpreted as a large defensive moat. Near the bottom of the moat, evidence of ritual activity concerning the abandonment of an ancient river channel (paleochannel III) dug into a tuffaceous layer was recovered. Over the sediment surface (river channel III) traces of ritual practices that defined the closure of this channel were identified. These remains date to a period between the third and second centuries BCE (Fig. 21.3). This kind of ritual is compared with similar practices, which were performed for the blocking of small streams, as can be seen in other excavation phases (Cerchiai, 2008: 23–27).

At the eastern limit of the excavation site, a deposit of pottery was also found including numerous fragments of a large *louterion* (Fig. 21.4) (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983: 236), some plates and cups, two globular black gloss *lekythoi* and many loom weights. In this site, filled with alluvial deposits alternating with layers of discarded materials, some votive offerings and everyday objects were recovered in secondary deposition. They come from *stratigraphic* contexts dated between the third and the end of the first centuries BCE. Among these, coroplastics play a major role in specifying the function and character of the votive offerings.



FIGURE 21.1 General plan of Pompeii



FIGURE 21.2 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: the archaeological site, "saggio 3"

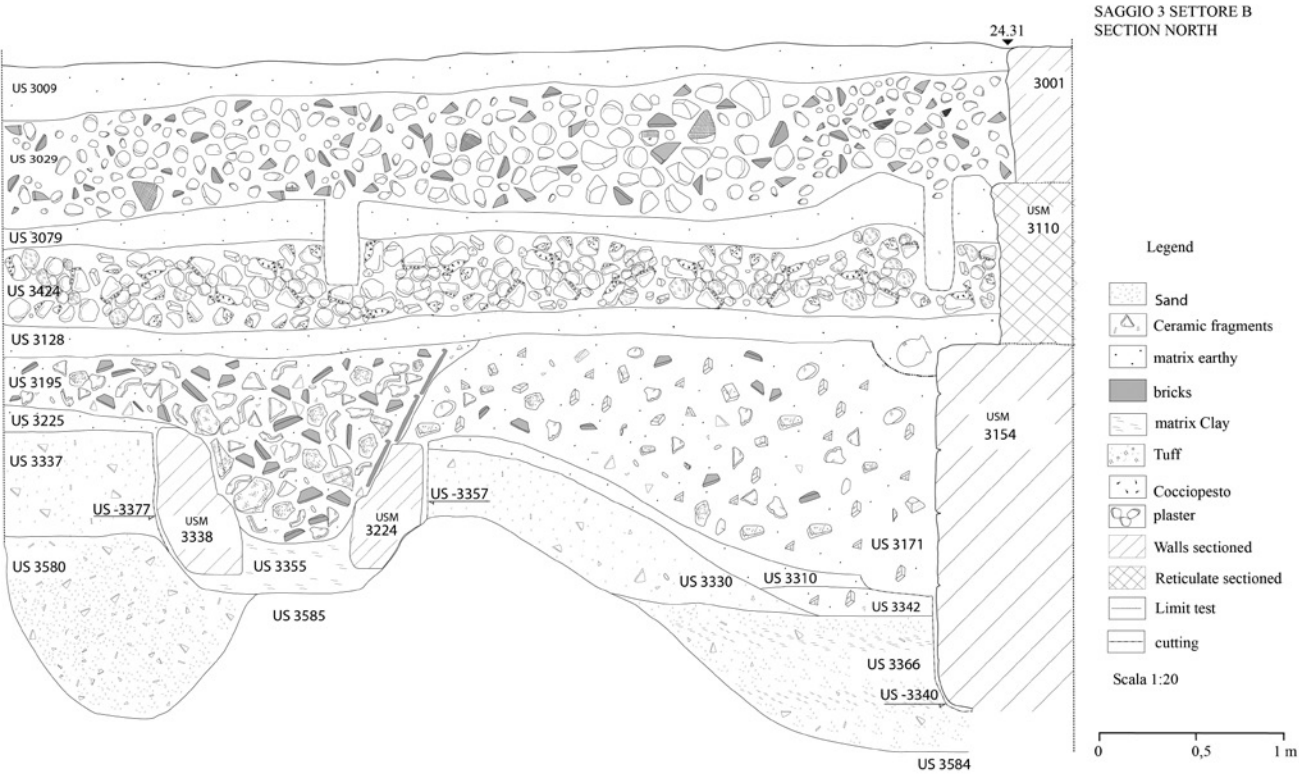


FIGURE 21.3 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: saggio 3, sector B, northern section

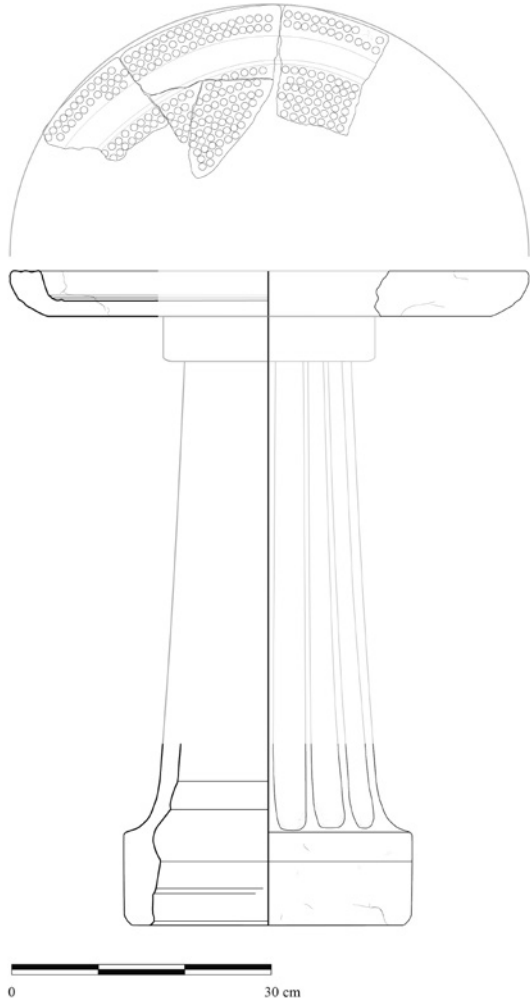


FIGURE 21.4 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: *louterion*, graphic reconstruction

TABLE 21.1 A catalogue of the terracotta figurines (see also Fig. 21.5)

Cat. No.	Terracotta Figurine Description	Context	Dimensions
1	small clay head with a 'melon' hairstyle	MFR o6 Saggio 3, sector B, US 3159, RP 145	4.7 cm high, 2 cm wide
2	small veiled clay head with the middle-parting hairstyle	MFR Saggio 3, sector L (Sector I), US 3079, RP 355	4 cm high, 3 cm wide
3	small veiled clay head with a pearl tiara,	MFR Saggio 3, sector B, US 3234	2.7 cm high, 1.8 cm wide
4	small veiled clay head with a pearl tiara	MFR Saggio 3, sector B, US 3330	2.7 cm high, 1.8 cm wide
5	small clay head with a high <i>polos</i>	MFR Saggio 3, sector I, US 3195, RP 377	4.3 cm high, 1.8 cm wide
6	small head with cylindrical knot	MFR Saggio 3, sector B, US 3214	4 cm high, 3 cm wide
7	small head of an Eros	MFR Saggio 3, sector E, US 3323, RP 337	4.5 cm high, 3.5 cm wide
8	draped clay figurine	MFR Saggio 3, sector B, US 3231, RP 195	19 cm high
9	small draped clay head	MFR Saggio 3, sector I, US 3195, RP 345	4 cm high, 3 cm wide
10	part of a draped half-length female clay figurine	MFR Saggio 4, US 2013	6 cm high, 4 cm wide
11	right part of a clay draped female half-length fictile figurine with arm flexed at waist	MFR Saggio 3, sector F, US 3332	3.5 cm high, 6 cm wide
12	fragment of a headless draped female clay figurine	MFR Saggio 3, sector I, US 3195	9.5 cm high, 5 cm wide
13 a and b	two fragments of a draped female figurine, part of the left bust holding an infant on her lap, the lower part of the draped figurine, with the left foot extended forward the external side of the enveloping drapery	MFR Saggio 3, sector D, US 3303	7 cm high, 4.5 cm wide, lower part 5.5 cm high, 5 cm wide
14	pedestal fragment of a draped female figurine with a foot barely visible	MFR Saggio 3, sector B, US 3291	4.5 cm high, 3 cm wide
15	fragment of a knee-length plated drapery	MFR Saggio 3, sector B, US 3578	6 cm high, 4 cm wide
16	fragment of an appliqué with headless nude male torso	MFR Saggio 3, sector F, US 3559	4.6 cm high, 3.5 cm wide
17	fragment of a small female head with the middle-parting hairstyle	MFR 2004, Saggio 2, US 1008, RP 29	3 cm high, 1.5 cm wide
18	fragment of left side of a <i>pinax</i> depicting a nereid riding a hippocampus	MFR Saggio 3, sector B, US 3180, RP 168	7.3 cm high, 5.4 cm wide
19	eight-petal clay flower having a hole in the back to insert the stem	MFR Saggio 3, sector B, US 3271, RP 184	5 cm diameter
20	a clay flower	MFR Saggio 3, sector B, US 3215 RP 165	6 cm diameter
21	a pomegranate	MFR Saggio 4, US 2002	4.5 cm diameter
22	a wing	MFR Saggio 3, sector E, US 3481	8 cm high, 7.5 cm long, 1.2 cm maximum thickness
23	stylised infant's hand	MFR Saggio, 3 sector E, US 3195	5.3 cm high, 5.5 cm long, 1.54 cm maximum thickness
24	fragment of a clay nose	MFR Saggio 3, sector E, US 3483	5.5 cm high, 4 cm wide
25	fragment of a clay nose	MFR Saggio 3, sector E, US 3175	5 cm high, 4.5 cm wide
26	Patera with Plastic Decoration. fragments of a cup with plastic decoration in its bottom	MFR o6, Saggio 3, sector B, US 3173	11 cm diameter

Coroplastics

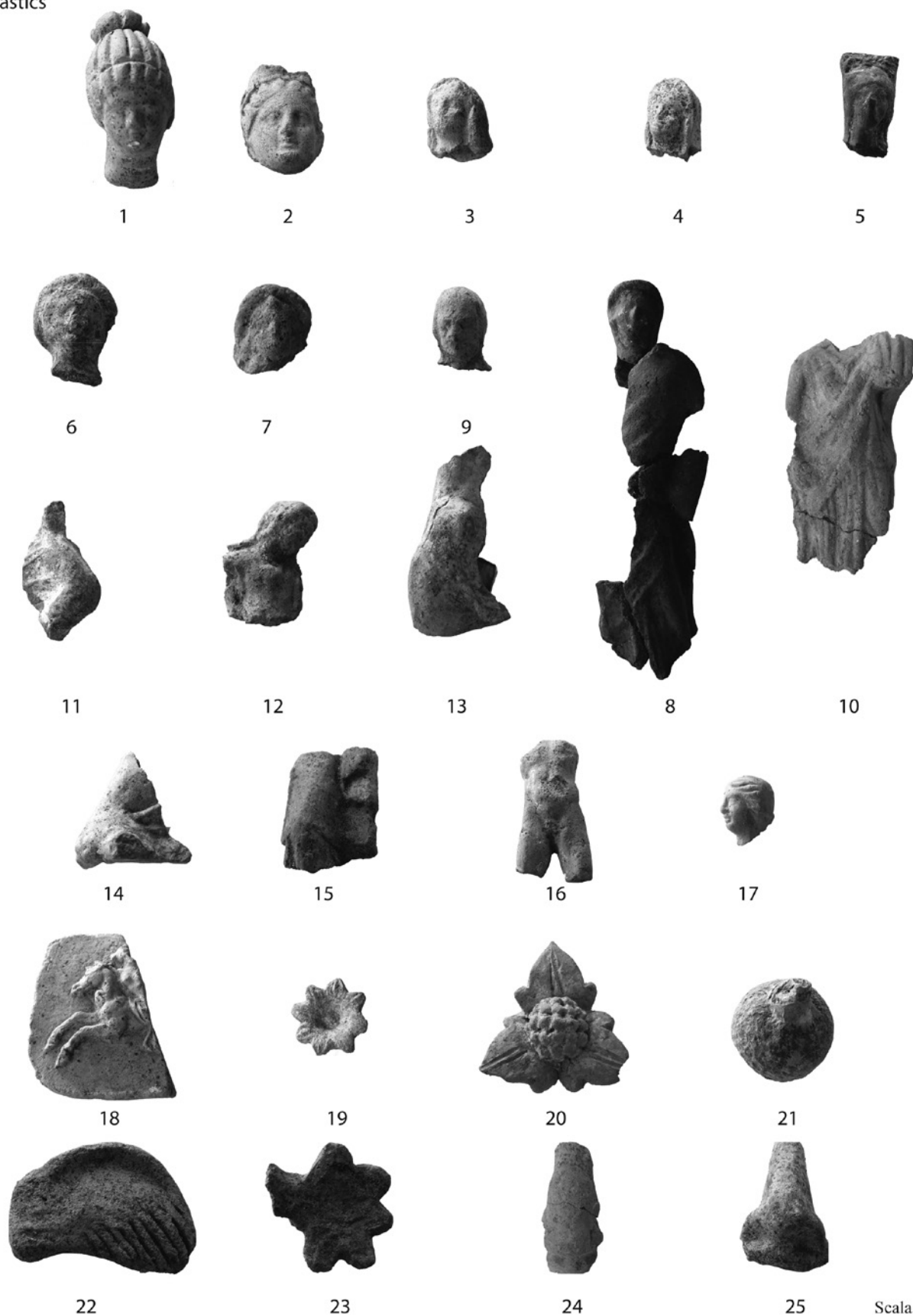


FIGURE 21.5 Fragments of terracotta figurines from the house of Marcus Fabius Rufus in Pompeii (see also Table 21.1)

2 Coroplastics

This artefact category, together with the black gloss ware, was one of the most typical and remarkable regional productions between the fifth and the second centuries BCE (Grimaldi, 2015: 179–185). Widely distributed and associated with religious beliefs, it consisted of ex-votos to the gods, reliefs, appliqués and clay models of the vegetable and edible offerings. This class of materials is already well attested in Pompeii, with similar terracotta offerings recovered in the votive deposit located in the locality of Bottaro (d'Ambrosio, 1984), some fine specimens in the Doric Temple (D'Alessio, 2009), and other examples found during excavations carried out below the Roman insula. The above-mentioned coroplastic production is comparable to the material illustrated in this paper. The study of this material and the represented iconographic schemes, along with the study of the brown-coloured and partially purified clay, allow us to postulate that they were produced locally. Only in some cases were the items imported from other workshops (d'Ambrosio & Borriello, 1990: pl. 40; Gallo, 2008: 49–68).

Among the nine small clay heads, originally belonging to as many statuettes, the highest quality piece is a small head with a 'melon' hairstyle (Table 21.1, Fig. 21.5 see pp. 308–309). It dates to the fourth century BCE and appears to be characteristic of the Paestan coroplastic workshops, though already well attested in Pompeii (Greco & Theodorescu, 1987: 155; d'Ambrosio & Borriello, 1990: 69–70; Miniero, 2001: 103) (Fig. 21.6).

Another fine piece is a veiled female figure with a middle-parting hairstyle and large lateral locks. Her well-defined facial features were produced from a freshly made mould and it may be argued that it also dates back to the fourth century BCE (Fig. 21.7). This piece is similar to a larger one from Pompeii (d'Ambrosio & Borriello, 1990: pl. 30, 194). The original figurine was probably the depiction of a goddess wearing a *polos*. The other two small veiled heads look very similar to the ones from the Bottaro deposit (d'Ambrosio, 1984: pl. LII, 453). They are adorned with a pearl tiara, which is just visible, and were produced by using the same mould. The hypothesis that they were locally produced has been strengthened by comparisons with the established serial production.

However, the distribution was not limited within the *ager Pompeianus*, as evidenced by another piece of the same type recovered near Castiglion Fiorentino (Zamarchi-Grassi, 1995: 63). Another small head, produced using a mould of inferior quality, differs from the previous ones because it has a high *polos*, a cylindrical hat, a typical feature of the statues of deities. It is made

of brown clay and seems to be locally made. This piece cannot be studied any further because of its bad state of preservation and small size. The other two small heads are in a very bad condition with almost imperceptible facial features. The first one appears to be a female face with hair combed in a cylindrical knot (d'Ambrosio & Borriello, 1990: pl. 28), while the second one depicts an *Eros* (d'Ambrosio & Borriello, 1990: pl. 11). Both have similarities with those of Pompeii, dating back to the third and second centuries BCE.

Another four pieces include one almost intact small head, a figurine with head tilted, complete down to the waist, and part of a half-length figure with the right arm flexed at the waist (Fig. 21.8). These clay figurine fragments belong to the Tanagra type that depicts a girl clothed in chiton and himation, wearing a veil. It was widely used in Pompeii from the fourth century BCE to the beginning of the first century BCE. These iconographic examples have Greek origins and reached Campania via the cities of Cumae, Neapolis and Capua, three cities that operated as driving forces for this type of art.

Two other fragments of draped figurines show significant variations (Bonghi-Jovino, 1992). The most intact piece is headless and depicts a draped female half-length figurine; a piece of worn cloth draped over her right shoulder must belong to a child figure. The second piece represents another draped female figure holding an infant on her lap. This fragment has many similarities with the coeval coroplastic production from Capua (Della Torre & Ciaghi, 1980: 23; d'Ambrosio, 1984: 179; Miniero, 2001: 23). This iconographic theme was related to the cult of the *kourotrophos*, a goddess associated with growth and social change.

The three remaining pieces consist of a pedestal fragment with the left foot extended forward, a fragment of drapery, and a naked arm. The only fragment belonging to a male figure depicts a naked man (the head is missing). It has a small hole at the back, for hanging. The last specimen of the catalogue of the figurative coroplastic is a small female head of a distinctive clay and type. Her well-preserved facial features and purified nut-brown clay suggest that it was not produced locally (Bell, 1981: 191).

2.1 Reliefs, Appliqués and Fruit

In addition to the figurative terracottas a fragment of a *pinax* depicting a nereid riding a hippocampus was found. It is similar to the material found in Pompeii (Faber & Hoffmann, 2009: pl. 45) (Fig. 21.9). The scene harks back to an iconographic theme representing a marine thiasos with nereids riding a hippocampus and carrying the arms of Achilles (Barringer, 1995: 17–48). This subject was



FIGURE 21.6 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: small clay head with a 'melon' hairstyle (Table 21.1, no. 1)



FIGURE 21.7 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: small veiled clay head with the middle-parting hairstyle



FIGURE 21.8 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: draped clay figurine



FIGURE 21.9 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: fragment of left side of a *pinax* depicting a Nereid riding a hippocampus

already known during the Archaic period. There are also two floral appliqués (Greco & Theodorescu, 1983: 123; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 95) with a hole at the back, probably belonging to some clay crowns as those from tombs at Taranto (De Julis, 1984: 71–108; de’ Spagnolis, 2004: 19–23, pl. XIX–XX), and a pomegranate (d’Ambrosio & Borriello, 1990: pl. 40) (Fig. 21.10).

2.2 Pieces Formed by a Freehand Modelling Process

Some of the finds were shaped by hand and for this reason do not fall into any mentioned chronological and typological classification. They include a wing, two noses belonging to two full-size clay heads and a highly stylised infant’s hand. The affirmation of the autonomy of the coroplastic production thanks to the originality of the style is well attested in Campania. This artistic phenomenon testifies to the general will of that time to differentiate figurative representations and offerings to the deities, with a local style. It was related to the traditional cults of this region and practised in the most important Italic sanctuaries, as

for example in the votive deposits dedicated to the goddess Popluna at Teano, to the goddess Mefite at the valley of Ansanto and to the goddess Marica at the mouth of the Garigliano River. The event took place in the fourth century BCE, after which, even for the sanctuaries dedicated to the above mentioned female deities, the ex-votos were standardised (Rainini, 1976; D’Urso, 1985; Sirano, 2008).

2.3 A Patera with Plastic Decoration

In sector B of “Saggio 3” fragments of a cup with plastic decoration in its bottom, probably imported from Sicily, were also recovered. It is made of purified clay of a light colour with traces of red paint on its surface. This *patera* can be compared with the 1313 series of the classification of the black glaze pottery by Morel (1981), although it has a hanging everted rim and a differently shaped ring foot. The plastic decoration depicts a reclining figure and shows traces of another half-length standing figure, unfortunately broken at the waist. It seems to represent an erotic scene. The few comparisons with colourless cups



FIGURE 21.10 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: floral appliqués and a pomegranate

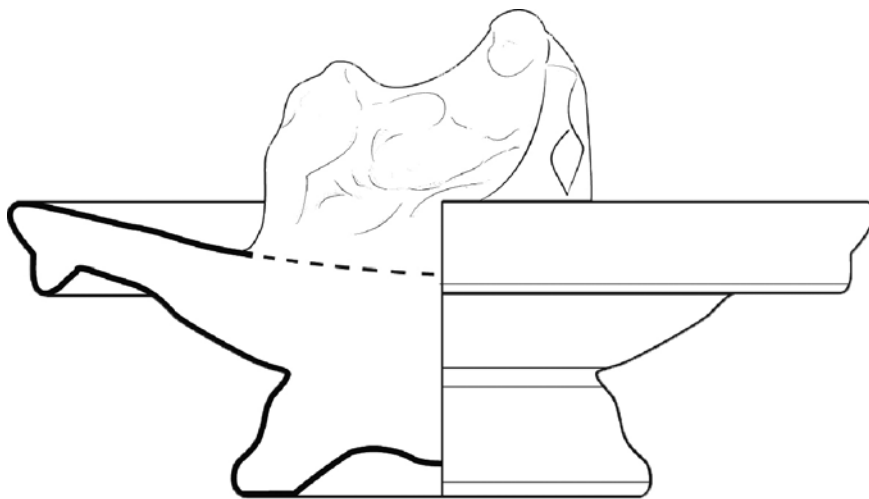


FIGURE 21.11 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus: patera with plastic application

are limited to some specimens found in Sicily and dated to the third century BCE (Gentili, 1951: 283; Bell, 1981: 234). This piece is known in the Campania region on the basis of a comparison with a black cup from the territory of Pozzuoli showing a reclining figure applied to its base (Zevi, 1993: 152) (Fig. 21.11).

The collection of the materials discussed and recovered in secondary deposition and scattered in layers of discarded materials dating back to the second and first centuries BCE, together with some artefacts related mainly to a religious context, suggest the presence of residual objects and architectural elements that once belonged to a sacred building that once must have stood in the

immediate surroundings of the site (De Caro, 1983: 315–321). Specifically, the archaeological findings are spread out over a wide area, but not far from the House of Marcus Fabius Rufus and the House of the Golden Bracelet, from where the most significant group of architectural terracotta items comes (Menotti De Lucia, 1990: 179–246).

The several traces recovered attest to the fact that the most ancient frequentation of the site dates to the late Archaic period. The votive deposits became prominent in the fourth century BCE, when during the Samnite period Pompeii underwent a vast process of infrastructure and urban development. The tradition of making votive deposits in this area remained constant until the early first century BCE, when votive offerings were no longer deposited. The urban reconstruction of the *Insula Occidentalis* took place after Pompeii was turned into a colony by the Roman general Sulla. It seems that these depositional events were related to the destruction and abandonment of some extra-urban sacred places of Pompeii, and the broader territory, as a consequence of the Social War (Miniero, 2001).

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Clay *Togati* (Men Wearing a Tunic and Holding a Scroll) from Harbour and River Towns: Some Hypotheses Regarding Their Occurrence and Meaning

Elena Martelli

Abstract

The paper focuses on a group of clay figurines representing young/mature men wearing a calf-length tunic and holding a scroll (*togati*). Contextual analyses have revealed that the clay *togati* come from diversified contexts such as the domestic sphere, commercial areas and burials. Their occurrence is connected with harbour/river towns such as Ostia and Pompeii and they appear to be both a chronologically (end of the first-second centuries CE) and geographically (Italian peninsula) contained phenomenon. The places of recovery of the clay *togati*, their small number, the short production period and their peculiar iconography, characterised by very detailed facial and body features, would suggest that these artistic representations portrayed specific individuals or specific groups of workers who held certain social roles. In this work a new interpretation of these statuettes as the representation of the protective spirit (*genius*) of a group of harbour workers, possibly functionaries, is put forward.¹

1 Iconographic and Stylistic Analyses of the Clay *togati*

This paper has its origins in the examination of a series of clay figurines recovered in Ostia representing young/mature men wearing a calf-length tunic (*toga*) and holding a scroll in their left hand (*togati*; Figs. 22.1a–b), during the author's doctoral research (Martelli, 2013a). The search for comparisons produced a contained number of clay *togati* with interesting implications regarding the consumption

of these statuettes in accordance with their recovery context. In this work, after a brief introduction regarding the distribution of clay *togati*, iconographic and stylistic analyses of these figurines and a detailed contextual analysis will follow. In the final part of the paper the change of function of the clay *togati* according to circumstances is highlighted and a new interpretation of their meaning is put forward.

These clay figurines are made from two moulds (Fig. 22.2). Some still preserve vivid colours: white is used for the *toga*, pink or brown for the men's faces, hands and feet. Sometimes red bands are added to the tunic (see also Fig. 22.9a) and the base of the statuette is painted yellow. Moreover, the minute scale of the clay *togati* (from 12 to 20 cm high) points to their being displayed in a small setting as their detail could not have been seen from a distance.

Contextual analysis has revealed that the clay *togati* in Ostia come from diversified contexts (Fig. 22.3): three (possibly four) from funerary enclosures, one from a building believed to be a guild-seat (*Caseggiato dei Triclini* I,XII,1), one from a temple (*Santuario della Bona Dea* IV,VIII,3) and one from baths (*Terme del Nuotatore* V,X,3). Considering the variety of structures in which the clay *togati* were retrieved in Ostia, a more in-depth analysis of the occurrence of this type of statuette in the Roman world was therefore carried out in an attempt to understand their various functions.

Representations on reliefs and paintings of standing male characters holding scrolls are common all over the Empire and are generally considered to be worshippers sealing a pact – witnessed by the parchment – with a deity (Van Boekel, 1987: 238). Across the Roman area, many representations portray men involved in trade holding a scroll in funerary and domestic contexts: for instance *Lucius Annius Octavius Valerianus*, involved in bread production, is depicted in the middle of commercial activities demonstrating his achievements with pride (Wilson & Schörle, 2009: 118, fig. 21). In Ostia, a relief on a sarcophagus (Fig. 22.4) reveals a *togatus* with a *modius* (grain measurer), symbol of commerce and prosperity, at his feet (Calza, 1940: 197, fig. 100).

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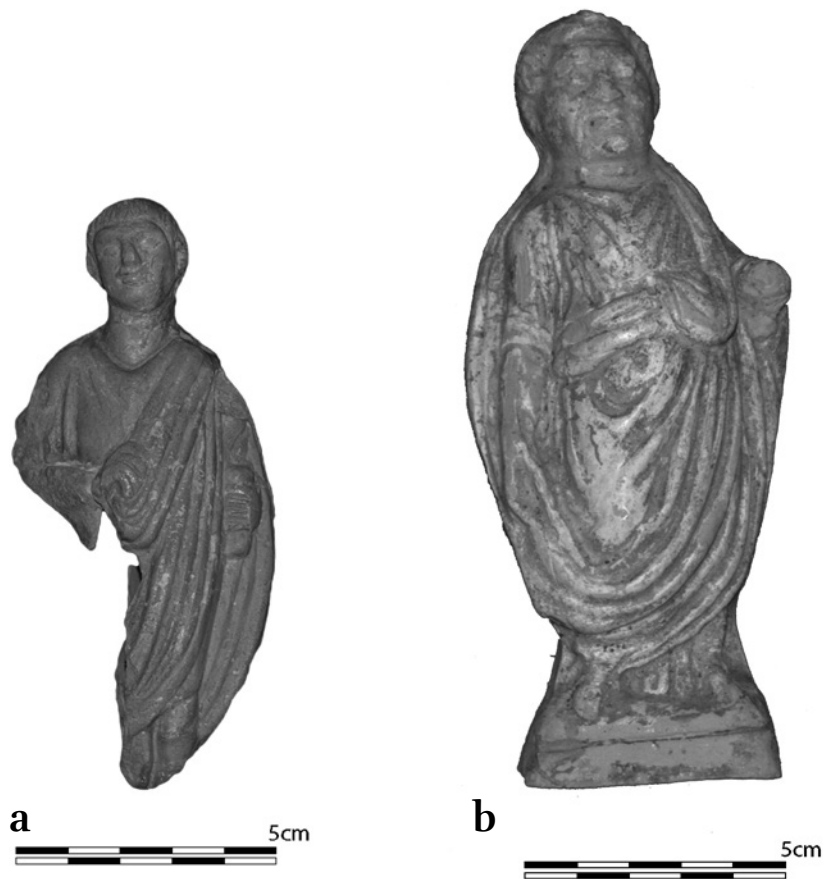


FIGURE 22.1 a.–b. Ostia, clay *togati* a. inv. no. 5888 and b. inv. no. 3507

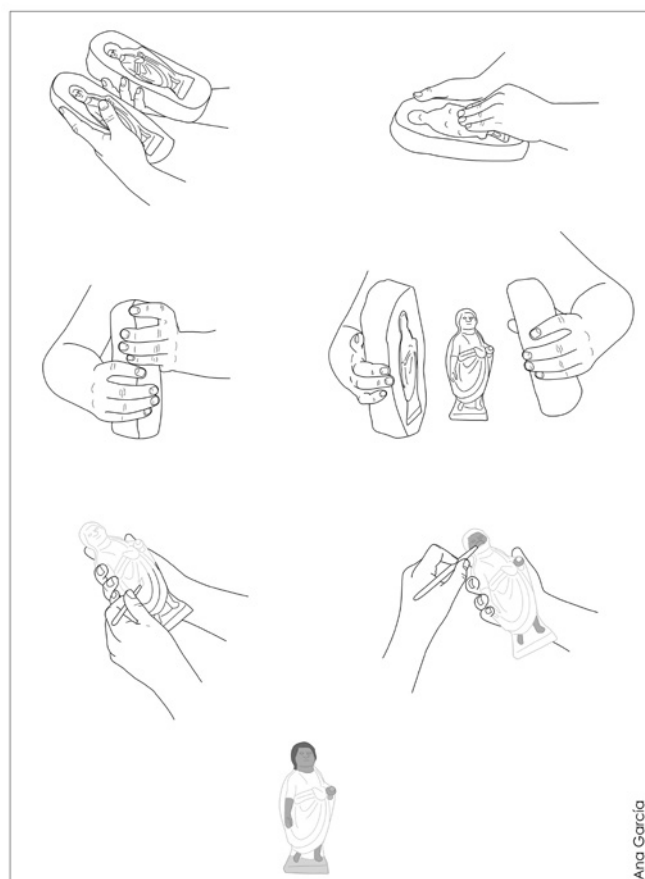
PHOTOS: AUTHOR WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE MINISTERO PER I BENI E LE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI – PARCO ARCHEOLOGICO OSTIA ANTICA

Although there are many representations of individuals holding a scroll (Fig. 22.4) on reliefs and statues, a literature search has shown that clay statuettes depicting *togati* appear to be both a chronologically (see below) and a geographically (Italian peninsula) contained phenomenon (Fig. 22.5). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that these statuettes have all been found in places linked to commerce (Ostia, Pompeii, Puteoli) or close to a lake (Muralto), a river (Rome, Moregine), the sea (Taranto, Cumae) or both (Ostia). This suggests some form of relationship between the occurrence of these figurines and the commercial activities in the area.

Iconographic analysis has highlighted that clay *togati* represent men of different ages and body shapes: the young *togatus* and the middle-aged “overweight” *togatus*. Eight out of twenty-five figurines depict “overweight” middle-aged men, with a more or less evident receding hairline and thick eyebrows. The right arm rests on the protruding abdomen. The mature *togatus* wears a calf-length, V-shaped tunic that, with these characteristics, can probably be dated to the second century CE (Croom,

2000: 48). It is not clear whether the belt is made out of cloth or if what is seen is the tunic pouched up over an invisible leather belt. The young *togatus* represents a young man clutching his cloak with his right hand. The head is usually slightly inclined to the right and the oval face is characterised by a long nose with a small mouth and wide eyes. The long-sleeved tunic is calf-length, the cloak rests on the left shoulder and the straps of the sandals reach his calves.

The duality of young/mature men in portraiture could be a youthful idea of the lively entrepreneur versus the elderly, comic individual. Aware that the perception of being fat is dictated by a cultural and temporal framework, the author has put the term overweight in quotation marks in this paper, as it is judged by modern aesthetics. The perception of being fat/overweight in the Roman period was complex, the representations of obesity are usually caricatures depicting parasites derived from the Greek New Comedy (Besques, 1986: pl. 68). In the Imperial period, it is generally difficult to discern whether they represent obese individuals or

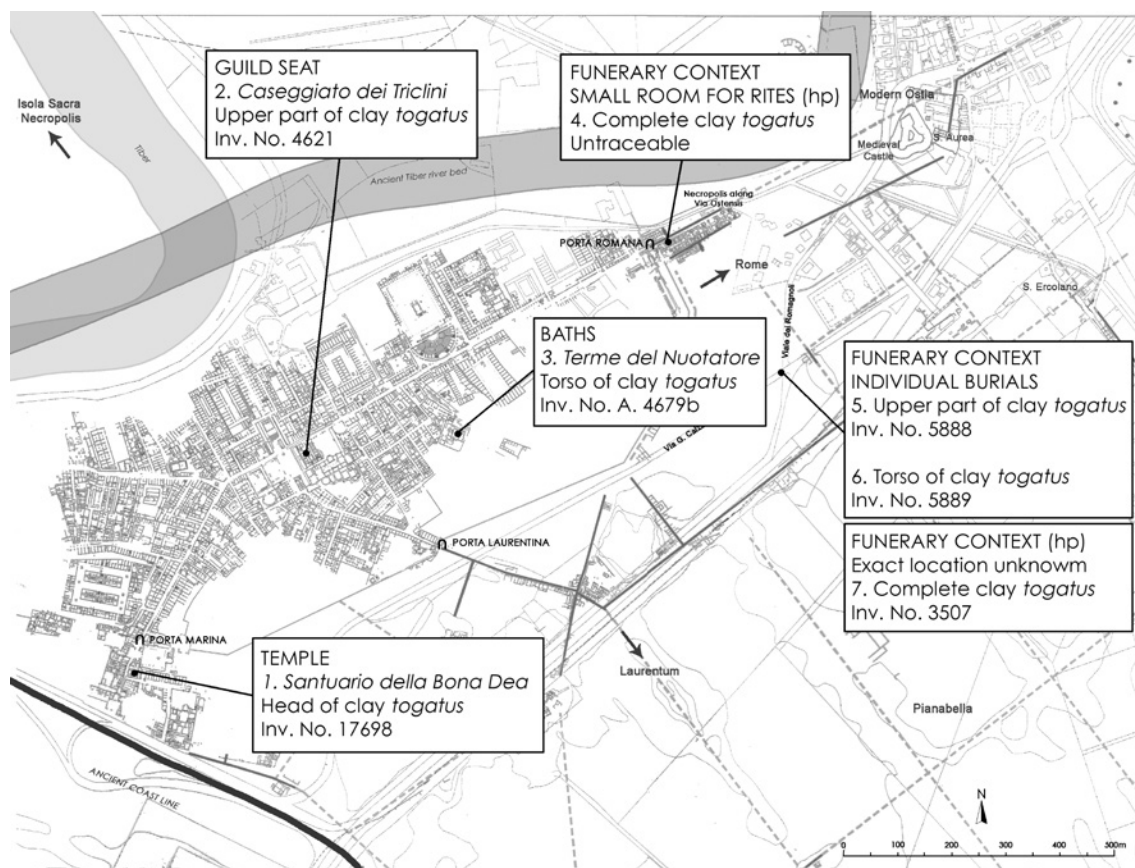


Ana García

FIGURE 22.2 The making of a *togatus*

PROJECT: E. MARTELLI; GRAPHIC

REALISATION: A. GARCÍA

FIGURE 22.3 Ostia, distribution of clay *togati* in the funerary and domestic spheresMAP: ADAPTED FROM HEINZELMANN 2000 AND PANNUZI 2007; PROJECT E. MARTELLI; GRAPHIC
REALISATION: A. GARCÍA

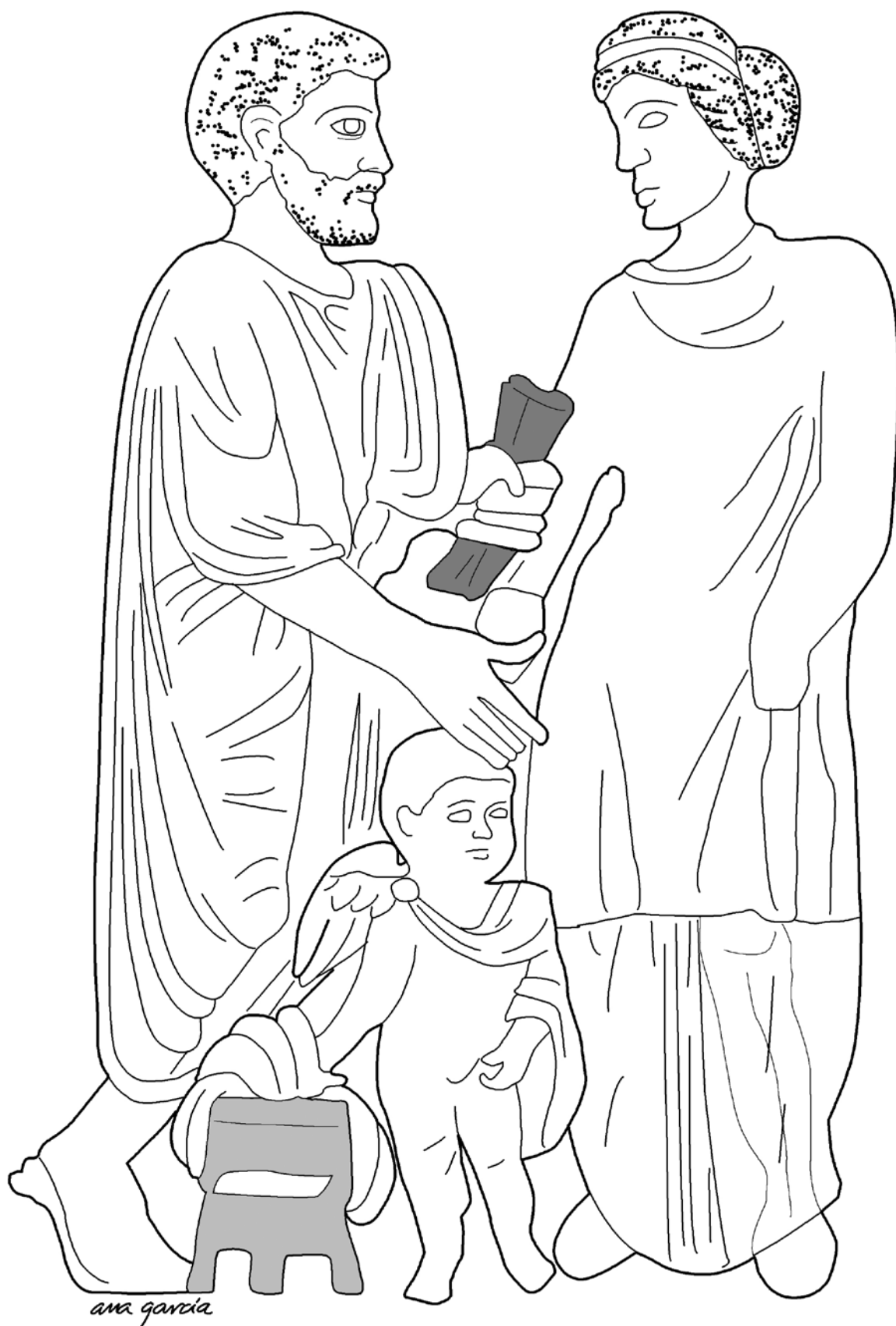
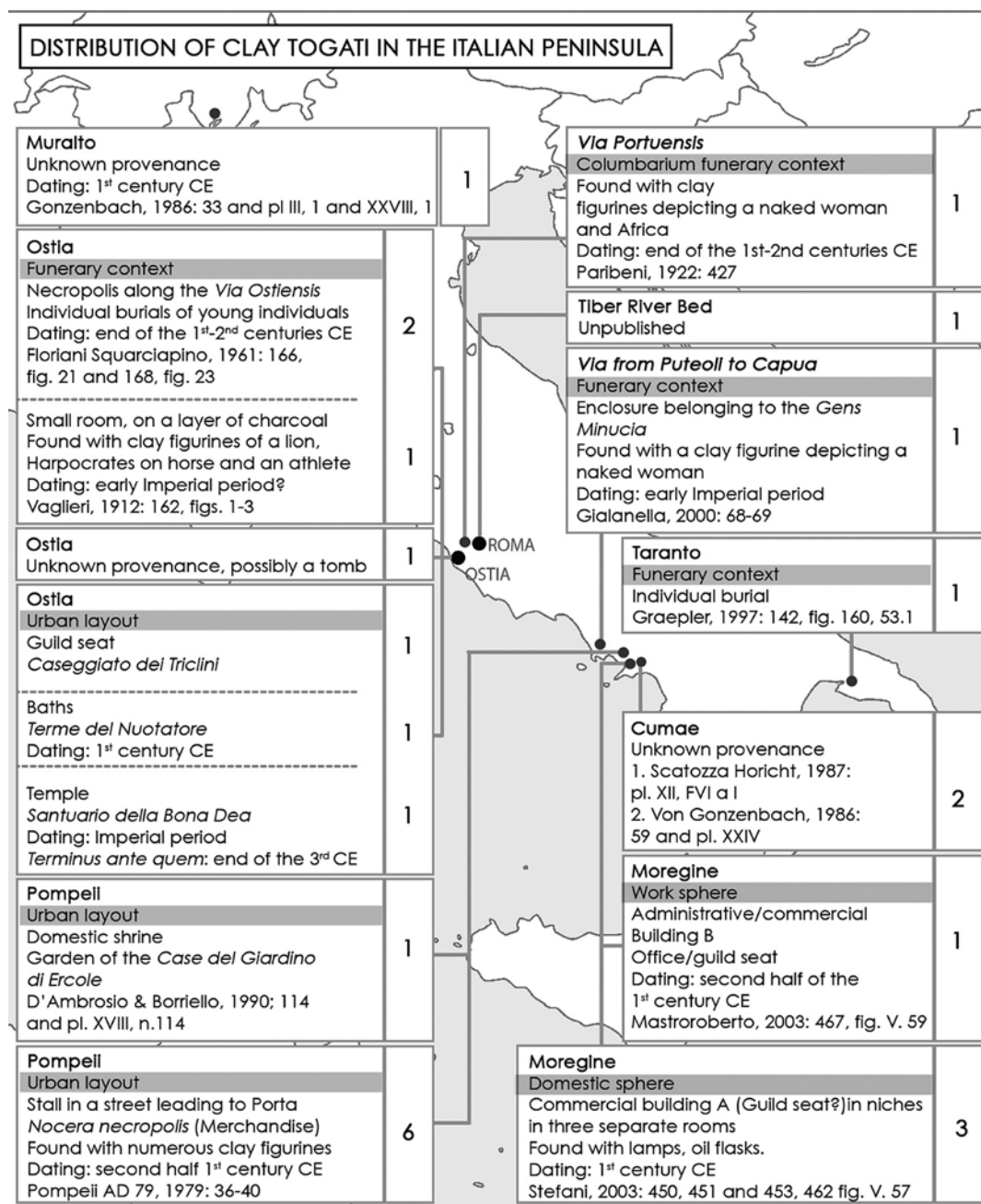


FIGURE 22.4 Ostia, relief on a sarcophagus from the Isola Sacra necropolis

PROJECT: E. MARTELLI; GRAPHIC REALISATION: A. GARCÍA; AFTER CALZA, 1940: 197, FIG. 100

FIGURE 22.5 Distribution of the clay *togati* along the Italian Peninsula

PROJECT: E. MARTELLI; GRAPHIC REALISATION: A. GARCÍA

people affected by illnesses (Grmek & Gourevitch, 1998: 170–173). However, being fat was also a symbol of wealth and success. A prominent belly and a plump face were considered signs of nobility and fortitude (Anonymous, *Treatise of Physiognomy*, in André, 1981: 64). It is therefore suggested that the representation of the middle-aged *togatus* signifies the successful man, whose fatness was a symbol of prosperity.

Although clay *togati* are generally dated between the end of the first century BCE and the first century CE by

the hairstyle and type of *toga* (e.g. Floriani Squarciapino, 1961: 166), it seems more likely that at least some of these figurines were produced at the beginning of the second century CE, given that their haircut and clothing fit better into the styles of the Trajanic period (Figs. 22.6a–b) (Croom, 2000: 46–47, fig. 10.3). Furthermore, the dating of the *togati* to the end of the first–beginning of the second century CE is confirmed by the data summarised in Fig. 22.5.

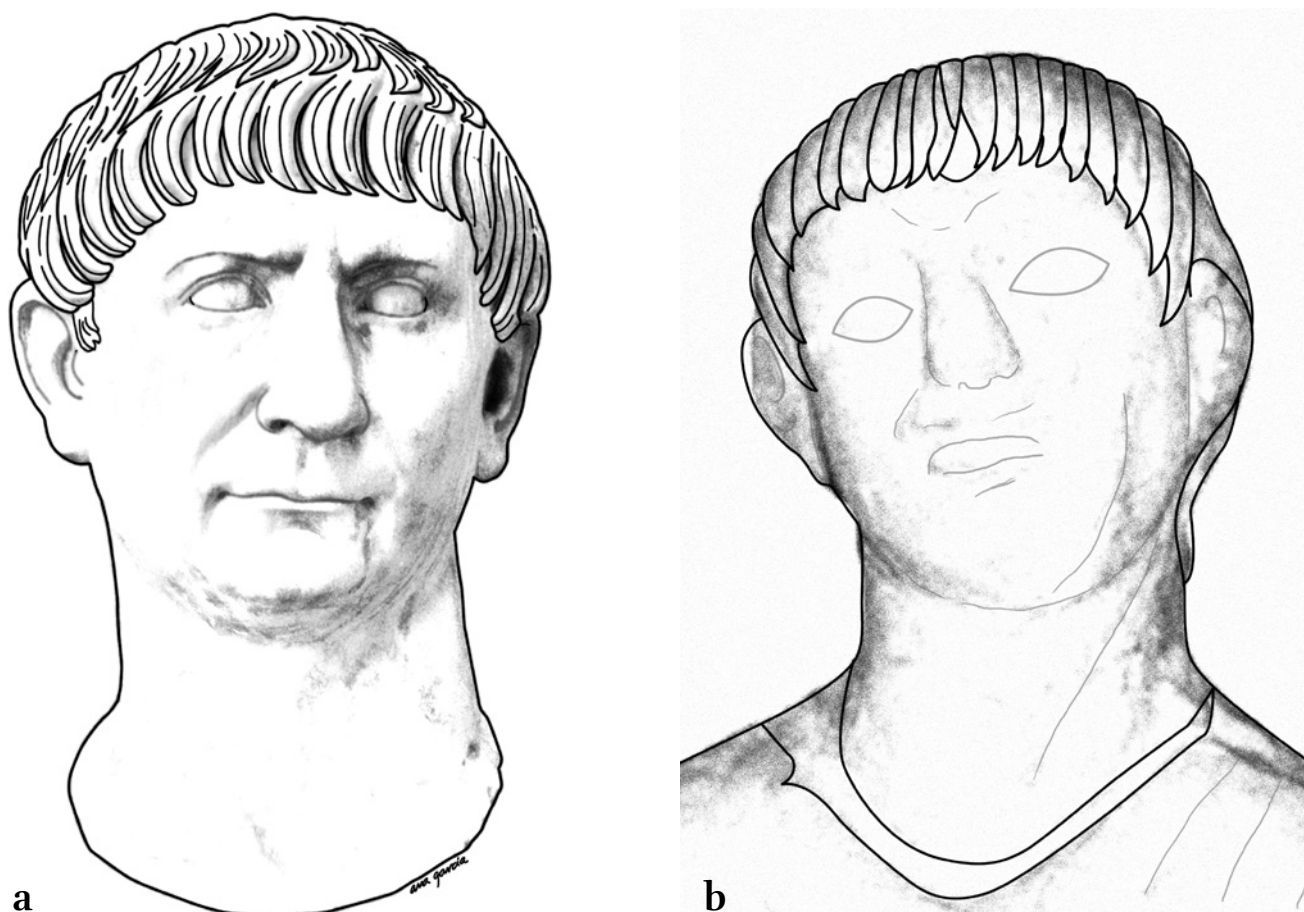


FIGURE 22.6 a.–b. Comparison between a marble bust of Trajan in Munich, Glyptothek and the similar hairstyle on clay *togatus* inv. no. 5888 (Fig. 22.1a) from Ostia

DRAWINGS: A. GARCÍA AFTER WÜNSCHE 2007: 136 AND 137

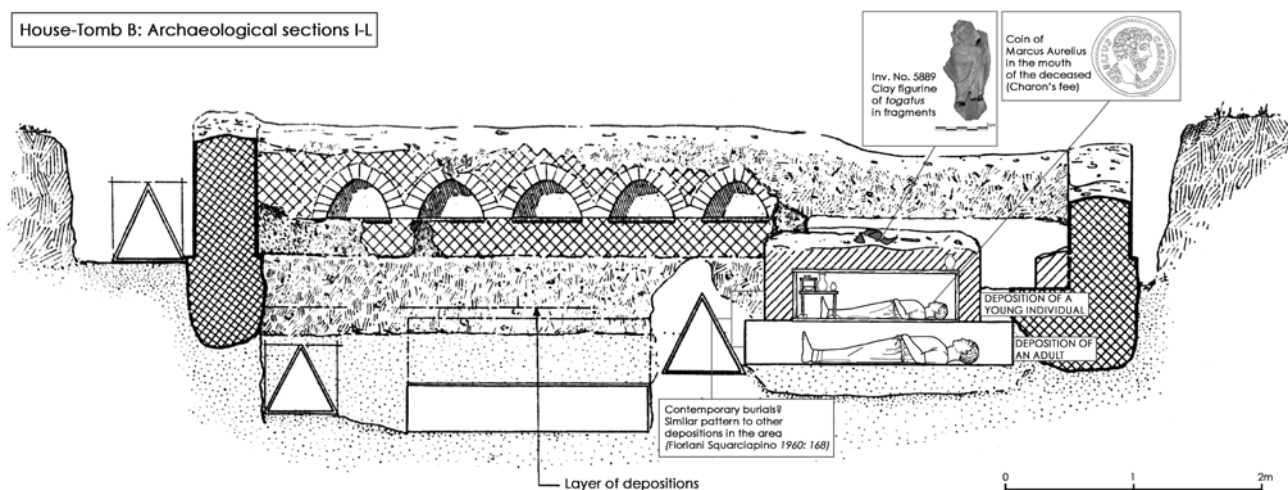


FIGURE 22.7 a. Ostia, funerary contexts. Necropolis along the via Calza – via dei Romagnoli, so-called “Tomba B”. Clay *togatus* inv. no. 5889 was placed in fragments on top of the tomb

MODIFIED FROM FLORIANI SQUARCIAPINO, 1961: 168, FIG. 23; PROJECT: E. MARTELLI; DRAWING: A. GARCÍA

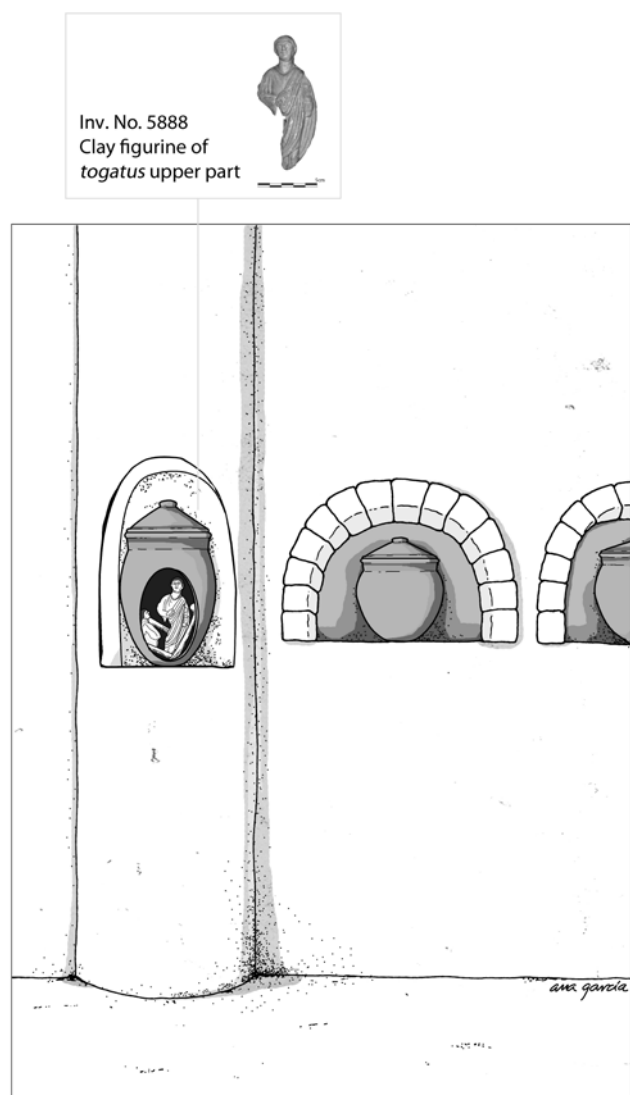


FIGURE 22.7 b. Ostia, funerary contexts. Necropolis along the via Calza – via dei Romagnoli, so-called “Tomba B”. Reconstruction of the niche containing a cinerary vessel with *togatus* inv. no. 5888 as a grave offering
PROJECT: E. MARTELLI; GRAPHIC REALISATION: A. GARCÍA

2 Contextual Analysis and Hypotheses regarding the Functions of the Clay *togati*

Examinations of the recovery contexts have revealed that seven clay *togati* were found in funerary contexts. Two of these that were recovered in Ostia in the necropolis along via Calza – via dei Romagnoli, belonged to individual tombs (Inv. Nos. 5888 and 5889) and were grave goods for young male individuals. Statuette Inv. No. 5889 was recovered fragmented on top of an inhumation burial of an adolescent (Fig. 22.7a). A coin depicting Marcus Aurelius (second half of the second century CE) was placed inside this young boy’s mouth as Charon’s fee (Floriani

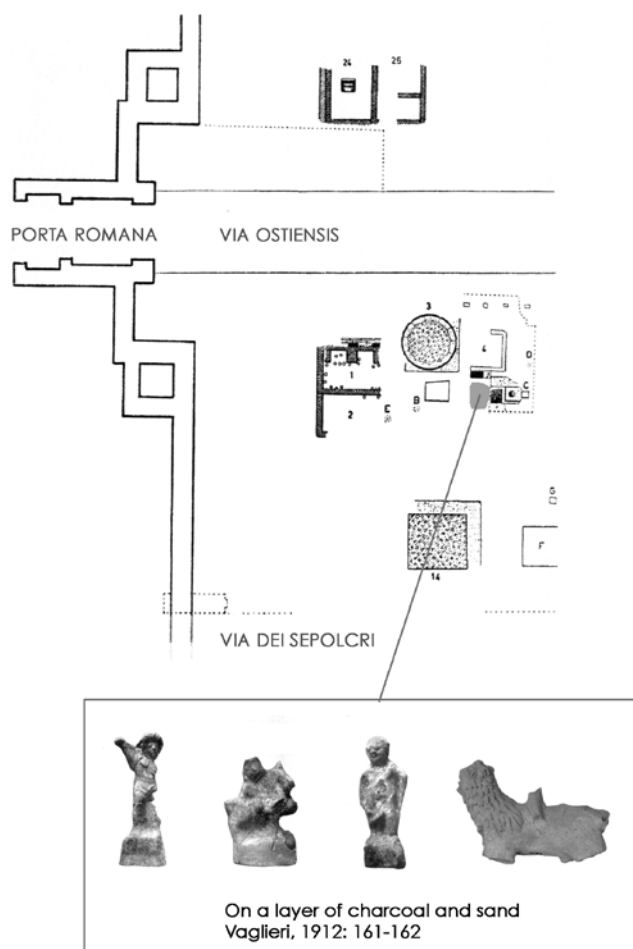


FIGURE 22.7 c. Ostia, funerary contexts. Necropolis along the *via ostiensis*. Clay figurines recovered in a small enclosure
MAP ADAPTED FROM FLORIANI SQUARCIAPINO, 1954; PROJECT: E. MARTELLI; GRAPHIC REALISATION: A. GARCÍA

Squarciapino, 1961: 168 and fig. 23). Statuette Inv. No. 5888 (Figs. 22.1a and 22.7b) represents a young man: it was found inside a cinerary vessel positioned alone in a niche which had been painted white (Floriani Squarciapino, 1961: 166, fig. 21; Pellegrino et al. 1999: 99, n. 113, fig. 32). Another *togatus* (Vaglieri, 1912: 161–162, fig. 1, untraceable) was found on a layer of sand and charcoal in a small enclosure in the necropolis along the *via ostiensis* together with a group of clay figurines (Fig. 22.7c). The provenance of statuette Inv. No. 3507 (Fig. 22.1b) is unknown but its exceptional preservation would suggest that it also came from a grave.

In the Roman area, in a *columbarium* along the *via portuensis*, a clay *togatus* was recovered together with two figurines depicting respectively a naked woman, possibly an underworld deity, and a character wearing an elephant hide, probably the representation of Africa (Paribeni, 1922: 425–427). In the surroundings of Puteoli, another

clay *togatus*, that is very similar to the one illustrated in Fig. 22.1b, was found inside an inhumation tomb within a funerary enclosure belonging to the freedmen of the *gens Minucia* (Gialanella, 2000: 68–69). In Taranto, a bald *togatus* with a prominent belly, a large smiling mouth with well-defined lips and almond-shaped eyes was found in a tomb (Graepler, 1997: 142, fig. 160, 53.1). A *togatus* recovered in the river Tiber (Inv. No. 14885) might also have had a ritual meaning.

Pompeii and its surroundings offer an invaluable insight into the use of these statuettes and their multifunctionality in relation to their recovery context in the urban layout. Six young and mature clay *togati* were found in the town at the intersection between two roads (via dell'Abbondanza and via della Sonatrice) in 1853 (Fiorelli, 1860: 574–575) and were part of a group of forty-three statuettes and small busts (Figs. 22.8a–b). Two of the clay *togati* are portrayed (Inv. Nos. 20766 – illustrated in Fig. 22.8c – and 20767), with their hands stretched out holding an open scroll in the act of declaiming. The scroll made of different material has not survived. On top of the six *togati*, the other statuettes depicted Minerva, Venus, Priapus, a man and a woman in the act of hugging and kissing each other and “grotesque figurines” (Fiorelli, 1860: 575). The fact that these clay figurines were positioned 2.10 m above ground level would suggest that they were displayed for sale by a street seller on a table or shelves made of a perishable material (i.e. wood) which left no traces (Claridge, 1976: 36–40). The position of the hypothetical stand at the intersection was strategic and close to the *Porta di Nocera* necropolis.

A group of figurines appear to have been connected to shrines in commercial/administrative buildings. A clay *togatus* (Inv. No. 11011) was recovered in an open space within a wealthy *domus*, the garden of the *Casa del Giardino di Ercole* (II, 8, 6) in Pompeii and was probably part of the shrine located in the central area of this garden (Von Rohden, 1880: 54, pl. 44, 1; D'Ambrosio & Borriello, 1990: 55, 114 and pl. XVIII, no. 114). Palaeobotanic analyses have revealed that this garden was cultivated with plants from which essences were extracted and it is believed that the *domus* belonged to a man in the perfume trade (D'Ambrosio & Borriello, 1990: 55).

The recent excavations at Moregine (Mastroroberto, 2003; Stefani, 2003) offer the opportunity to place the clay *togati* in context within a domestic space that included areas used as storage/commercial rooms or offices of individuals involved in commercial and administrative activities. The fact that these figurines were found in niches or near shrines in two buildings (A and B) together with an

assemblage of sacred objects containing lamps, oil flasks, altars, bronze candelabra, coins and glass cups with organic residues suggests that these statuettes had some sort of religious meaning and were not only mere representations of real-life characters (as also argued by Stefani, 2003: 451 and n. 20). These niches can be interpreted as *sacraria*, places dedicated to domestic/private cults (Bassani, 2008) and the lamps and candelabra placed near the figurines, for instance, would have had a dual function of illuminating the area and creating a religious atmosphere.

It is argued here that the clay *togati* from Moregine might be connected to a guild-seat more than to a generic commercial space, in particular the ones found in the large vaulted room in Building A which reminds one of archaeological patterns recovered elsewhere (Goggräfe, 2002; Ebnöther, 2007).

Moreover, a clay figurine (Inv. No. 85201; Fig. 22.9a) of a rounded and bald *togatus* wearing a *toga* with a large red band, recovered in a room on the upper floor of Building B, might lead to the identification of that particular room as the administrative office of a *vicomagister* and the statuette itself as the portrayal of the officer. This hypothesis is corroborated by the additional recovery of a marble statue with identical iconography from the same area (Inv. No. 85202) (Mastroroberto, 2003: 467) as well as a painting illustrating a sacrificial march formed by *vicomagistri* dressed in an identical manner to the clay figurine found in the building (Inv. No. 85293) (Mastroroberto, 2003: 468).

This connection with commerce or, more specifically, with workers and professional associations might be further identified in Ostia where clay *togatus* Inv. No. 4621 (Fig. 22.9b) was found in the *Caseggiato dei Triclini* (I,XII,1), a probable guild-seat. The places of recovery of the clay *togati*, their small number, the short production period and their peculiar iconography, characterised by very detailed facial and body features, would suggest that these artistic representations portrayed specific individuals or specific groups of workers who held certain social roles (Waltzing, 1895–1900; Pavis-D'Escurac, 1976).

This argument could be completed and developed further: elaborating the author's interpretation of clay *saccarii* (porters) as the humble representation of the *genius* of the porters' guild (Martelli, 2013b), it could be hypothesised that these clay *togati* might represent the *genius* of a group of people involved in commerce or in the administration of harbour/river towns (possibly functionaries). The position of these individuals must have been quite high-ranking, given the fact that they wore togas and representations on reliefs and paintings show that the variety of workers in harbour towns wore more functional outfits



FIGURE 22.8 a.–c. Pompeii. Clay *togati* inv. nos. 20741, 20744 and 20766 recovered at the intersection between via dell'Abbondanza and via della Sonatrice

COURTESY OF THE MINISTERO PER I BENI E LE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI – SOPRINTENDENZA ARCHEOLOGIA, BELLE ARTI E PAESAGGIO PER IL COMUNE DI NAPOLI

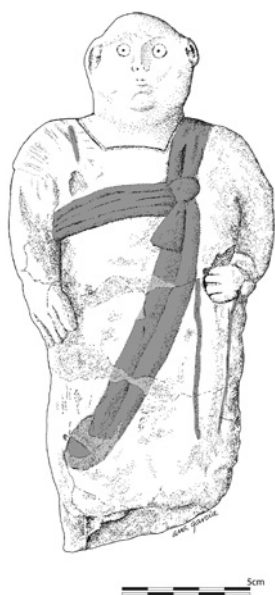


FIGURE 22.9
a. Moregine (Campania),
Building B. Clay figurine
of a *vicomagister* inv. no.
85201

DRAWING: A. GARCÍA
AFTER MASTROBERTO,
2003: FIG. V.59



FIGURE 22.9
b. Ostia, *Caseggiato dei
Triclini* (I,XII,1). Clay *togatus*
inv. no. 4621

PHOTO: THE AUTHOR, WITH
THE PERMISSION OF THE
MINISTERO PER I BENI E LE
ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI –
PARCO ARCHEOLOGICO
OSTIA ANTICA

(Zimmer, 1982: 111–158; Martelli, 2013b: 15–21). The *genius* should be interpreted as a protective spirit and the embodiment of a vital force that characterises every creature (Scheid, 2003: 165). This force in the Imperial period was represented with very distinctive facial and physical features together with the tools or uniform suitable for the job, indicating a specific person or social group (Béal, 2008). For instance, eminent officials linked to commerce

and politicians were perceived as *genii*, protectors of the community (Romeo, 1997: 607).

The clay *togati*, depicting the *genius* of the individual or the professional association, symbol and protector of wealth and success, were placed in the tomb upon the death of the person, showing that “the *genius* does not seem to have died with him but accompanied him beyond the grave” (Alcock, 1986: 113). Because the *genius* was the

representation of the spiritual component of the individual or group, some of the features that distinguished these workers such as age, body structure and clothes were retained when depicted. It is intriguing to think that the clay *togatus* from Building B at Moregine (Fig. 22.9a), with its well defined features, portrayed the *genius* of a specific well-known character, the *vicomagister* whose office was on the second floor of that building.

Sometimes these clay *togati* were therefore exact portraits of the owner of the house (e.g. Mastroroberto, 2003: 467) or of the buried person, made on commission. However, clay *togati* could also be bought from retailers, as is demonstrated by the recovery of many statuettes in Pompeii at the intersection of two streets (Claridge, 1979: 36–40). In this case, the choice of the statuette could bear just general similarities, such as the age and approximate features of an individual. This hypothesis could be further corroborated by the recovery of the two clay figurines of young *togati* in relation to burials of young individuals in Ostia (Figs. 22.7a–b). These representations might be interpreted as projections of what they would have become professionally and the statuettes' presence in tombs and their fragmentation, as part of funerary rituals, might suggest the end of those expectations due to the individuals' premature deaths.

The clay *togati* are consequently “material points of reference in the negotiation and reproduction of social, religious and commercial relations” (Triadan, 2007: 269) for the study of the Roman Imperial period. Moreover, the variety of recovery contexts illustrates the diversified consumption of these statuettes in *sacraria* and commercial settings (Pompeii) as well as in funerary contexts (Ostia, Puteoli and Taranto).

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PART 4

North Africa

∴

Sacred and Funeral Terracotta Figurines in Africa Proconsularis, Numidia and Mauretania Caesariensis between the First and Third Centuries CE

Solenn de Larminat

Abstract

About 850 terracotta figurines have been found in Roman Africa since the late 19th century, in various contexts. Based on this large quantitative database, similarities and differences between figurines found in sacred and funeral contexts will be analysed. Likewise, we will see how the figurines' spatial analysis at different sites (provinces, necropoleis, graves), the anthropological studies, the meticulous observations of the ritual treatment of the objects (breakage and reversal) and the study of associations figurines in tombs contribute to the definition of their function and allow us to move past the initial impressions conveyed by these figurative materials.

1 Introduction

As part of a doctoral research concerning gestures and funerary practices of Roman children in three provinces of Africa (Mauritania Caesariensis, Numidia and Africa Proconsularis) in the first three centuries CE, the terracotta figurines placed in children's graves were listed (de Larminat, 2011). In order to detect the differences between figurines deposited in these graves and figurines deposited in adults' graves or sanctuaries, an inventory was made of all published figurines, whatever their context of discovery. Following this research, some sixty new objects have been identified. From the set of 854 total terracotta figurines that were collected, 477 come from cemeteries, 112 from sanctuaries, 32 from various areas (potters' workshops, homes and rubbish tips) and 233 from unknown contexts. The reason why this last number is so high is due to the many excavations that took place between the late 19th and the mid-20th century, during a period in which the material was often separated from its archaeological context. However, as we shall see, it is probable that most of them came from necropoleis.

As a first step, we will compare the figures placed in two distinct contexts – sanctuaries and cemeteries – to ascertain similarities and/or differences. Then, from the corpus of funerary figurines, we will try to see if the discipline of anthropology helps to better understand the function of

Roman terracotta figurines, and if the context of discovery (position in the grave) and ritual gestures can influence the identification and function of the object.

2 Similarities and/or Differences between Votive and Funerary Figurines

The first point to underline is the large number of figurines (477) discovered in necropoleis, in contrast to those found in sanctuaries (112). However, these figures do not accurately reflect the reality as many fragments were not inventoried by the excavators and sometimes several fragments of the same type are listed under a single number (a situation described as “and +” in **Tables 23.1** and **23.2**). This gap could be reduced if the 233 figurines from unknown contexts came from sanctuaries. However, with what we know of excavations, it is more likely that the majority of the figurines are funerary since they were discovered while the cemeteries were excavated and they came from the same geographic areas. This assumption seems to be true when comparing the representation of figurines found in both types of settings, sacred and burial.

The 112 votive figurines identified come from six sanctuaries of Africa Proconsularis and Numidia in occupation between the first and the third centuries CE (**Fig. 23.1**): these include four late-Punic Tanit and Baal-Hamon sanctuaries that became Saturn sanctuaries during the Roman period: *Thinissut* (Merlin, 1910; Dridi & Sebaï, 2008), *El Kenissia* (Carton, 1903; 1906; D'Andrea, 2012), *Thysdrus* (Merlin, 1909; Renault, 1911: 145–147; Merlin & Lantier, 1922: 181–183) and *Pupput* (Merlin, 1912); a temple probably dedicated to the Cereres cults at *Soliman* (Picard, 1957); and an important shrine to the *Dea Africa*, *Asclepius* and *Serapis* at *Thamugadi* (Leglay, 1991). In addition to these deities, who appear in the form of figurines (**Tables 23.1–23.2**, **Fig. 23.2**), we can see *Apollo* in *Soliman*, *Pupput* (**Fig. 23.3**) and *Thysdrus* (**Fig. 23.2**) while *Bes*, *Men*, *Tyche*, *Neptune* (or *Pluto*) are present in only one sanctuary (*Bes* at *Thysdrus*, *Men* at *El Kenissia*, and *Soliman* for the two others). The human figures (man, woman or child) usually carry offerings: perfumes, liquids in *oenochoi*, bread,

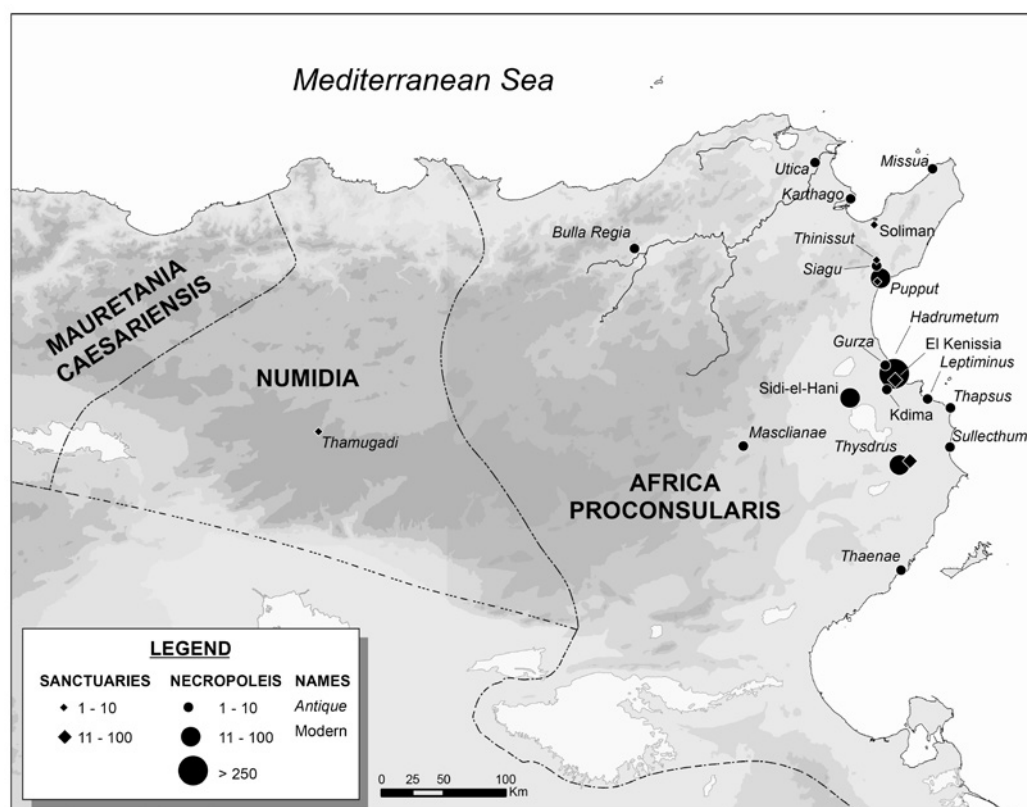


FIGURE 23.1 Distribution map of cemeteries and sanctuaries where figurines have been found and number of figurines by site

MAP: S. DE LARMINAT & S. HAROUTUNIAN

TABLE 23.1 Table of figurines present in each sanctuary

		El Kenissia	Thysdrus	Thinissut	Pupput	Soliman	Thamugadi	Total
Mythological Subjects	Tanit	1	20		1			22
	Men	7						7
	Apollo		2 and +		1	2		5 and +
	Africa						1 and +	1 and +
	Bes (with Attis)	1						1
	Neptune or Pluto					1		1
	Saturn /		1					1
	Baal-Hamon							
Human Representations	Tyche					1		1
	Human with offering	31	1		1	2		35
	Human with inscription		7					7
	Woman				1			1
Animals	Child (only head)	12		1				13
	Dove		5 and +		2			7 and +
Architectural Elements	Small column			8 and +				8 and +
Indeterminate	Anthropomorphic fragment		2 and +					2 and +
Total		53	38 and +	9 and +	6	6	1 and +	112

TABLE: S. DE LARMINAT

TABLE 23.2 Table of the different categories and types of figurines discovered in necropoleis and sanctuaries

		Contexts		Contexts	
		Sanctuaries	Necropoleis	Unknown contexts	Resulting hypothesis
Mythological Subjects	Men	7		2	Sanctuary
	Africa	1 and +			
	Tyche	1			
	Neptune or Pluto	1			
	Tanit	22	1	1	Unknown
	Apollo	5 and +	3	1	Unknown
	Saturn/Baal-Hamon	1	2	3	Unknown
	Bes (with Attis)	1	16	6	Unknown
	Venus		180 and +	79	Necropolis
	Amores		26	9	Necropolis
	Mercury		10	1	Necropolis
	Orpheus		6		
	Nutrix		6		
	Seated goddess		5	1	Necropolis
	Amphion and Zéthus		3		
	Europa		3		
	Bacchus		2	2	Necropolis
	Silenus / Faun / Satyr		2	1	Necropolis
	Leda		2		
	Victory		2		
	Ceres		1		
	Cybele		1	1	Necropolis
	Diana		1		
	Juno		1		
	Marsyas		1		
	Romulus and Remus		1		
	Vulcan		1		
Human Representations	Human with offering	35		3	Sanctuary
	Human with inscription	7			
	Child	13	13	8	Unknown
	Woman	1	35	24	Unknown
	Man		18 and +	9	Necropolis
	Scene of daily life		38	18	Necropolis
	Scene of horse-racing/ combat		25	15	Necropolis
	Actor / grotesque		18	10	Necropolis
	Hunting scene		3	1	Necropolis
	Erotic scene		1	2	Necropolis
	Bust of an emperor		1		

TABLE 23.2 Table of the different categories and types of figurines discovered in necropoleis and sanctuaries (*cont.*)

		Contexts		Contexts	
		Sanctuaries	Necropoleis	Unknown contexts	Resulting hypothesis
Animals	Dove	7 et +		1	Sanctuary
	Bull/calf		6	1	Necropolis
	Fawn		6	2	Necropolis
	Rooster		3	3	Necropolis
	Horse		2	3	Necropolis
	Dog		2	1	Necropolis
	Frog		1		
	Goose		1		
	Pig		1		
Architectural Elements	Small column	8 et +			
Indefinite Fragments	Anthropomorphic fragment	2 and +	17 and +	11 and +	Unknown
	Animal fragment		2	1	Unknown
	Indefinite fragments		8		
Total		112 and +	477 and +		

TABLE: S. DE LARMINAT

cakes or animals like rams or lambs (Figs. 23.2 and 23.3). Birds, generally interpreted as doves, are the only animal identified in the sanctuaries (Tables 23.1–23.2 and Figs. 23.2–23.3). Lastly, small columns presumably from small temples or altars have been found in several copies at *Thinissut* (Merlin, 1910: 10–11).

All the necropoleis where figurines were deposited were located in Africa Proconsularis (Fig. 23.1), mainly near the coast. A clear numerical concentration is noted in the Sahel region, between *Hadrumetum* (Sousse) – where 285 funerary figurines were identified – *Thysdrus* and *Thaenae*. At *Hadrumetum*, the high density of these objects may be due to the number of burials excavated. Indeed, between the late 19th and the mid-20th century, the ancient necropoleis of this city were explored much more frequently than the others because soldiers whose job sometimes involved digging were based in this city and the necropolis was in their training area. As far as is known, no figurine has been collected in the Numidian and Mauretania Caesariensis necropoleis. Yet many cemeteries were extensively and meticulously excavated in the 1960s, using new methods developed in Europe, and the graves and materials were published in catalogues, such as at *Sitifis* (Guéry, 1985). The types of figurines found in cemeteries are much more numerous

than those identified in the sanctuaries (Table 23.2): there are mainly mythological subjects, and Venus is the principal deity placed in a funerary context (Fig. 23.4). She has never been discovered in a sacred context. Only Tanit, Apollo, Saturn/Baal-Hamon and Bes are present in both of these types of spaces. Men and women are also deposited in burials but they never carry offerings and no inscription is traced on their backs. In contrast, children, actors, grotesques, an emperor, and scenes of everyday life – erotic, horse-racing, fighting and hunting images – have been identified in necropoleis. Similarly, the types of animals are much more varied including horses, cats and dogs in fragments probably belonging to racing or fighting scenes, but also bulls, calves, roosters, a frog, a pig and a fawn.

Thus, with few exceptions, Roman Africans do not deposit the same types of figurines in sanctuaries and in cemeteries. The figurines deposited in the necropoleis of Africa Proconsularis are much more varied. Considering these differences, it is possible to assume that of the 233 figurines from unknown contexts, 159 were discovered in cemeteries and six in sacred spaces (Table 23.2). So, in this database, the number of funerary figurines remains larger than those of the sanctuaries.



FIGURE 23.2 Figurines found in the sanctuary of *Thysdrus*. From left to right: woman with a mirror and a small box, empty-handed woman with the inscription *P. Felix Octavius* on her back, Tanit, Apollo, dove
FROM MERLIN, 1912: PL. LXXVII



FIGURE 23.3 Figurines found in the sanctuary of *Papput*. From left to right: dove, woman, woman with a cake and an *oenochoe*, Tanit, Apollo, dove
FROM MERLIN, 1912: PL. LXXVI

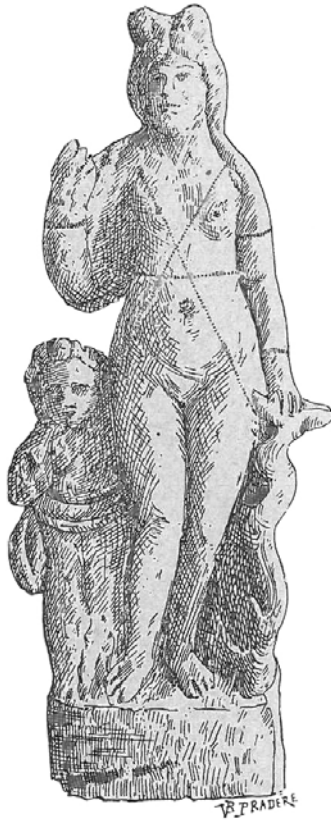


FIGURE 23.4 Drawing of a Venus with an Amor and a dolphin found in the necropolis of *Hadrumentum*
FROM DE LA BLANCHÈRE & GAUCKLER, 1897:
PL. XXX.27

3 Figurines in Funerary Contexts

The deposition of 477 figurines in funerary contexts has been established. However, information about their location within the space has not always been published as 85% of figurines come from old excavations. In only a few cases, material placed in graves is described, which allows for an understanding of the association between figurines in the same burial. For specific information about their location in the tomb, their relationship with the deceased and their ritual gestures, we had to wait until the 1990s and the stratigraphic excavations of the *Leptiminus* (Ben Lazreg *et al.*, 2006: 353) and *Pupput* (Ben Abed & Griesheimer, 2008: 85, 89) necropoleis. The number of funerary figurines identified was considerable, but information about their deposition remains unequal. In the end, only 100 of them came from closed and contextualised sets that constitute the material in a grave. The study of figurines from these sets allows for a better understanding of religious concepts related to their deposition and

enables us to move past the first impressions conveyed by these figurines.

3.1 *Figurine Location in the Necropolis and Age of the Deceased*

Among the 477 identified figurines in African necropoleis, 20 were found outside the pits. They cannot be attached to a deceased individual. Seven other small fragments with worn surfaces and blunt edges were brought to the grave unintentionally when filling it. In contrast, 236 figurines were intentionally deposited with the deceased or grouped in the filling of the pit (Fig. 23.5). The location of the 214 remaining figurines has not been noted. However, their good state of preservation suggests that they had been intentionally deposited in the pit.

The 236 figurines placed in tombs are associated with only one deceased and 90% of the time the deceased did not reach adulthood (Fig. 23.5). One figurine is associated with an adolescent and two were deposited in adult tombs. Given these proportions, the 14 figurines found in the graves of the deceased whose age was not stated were probably deposited in children's graves.

The necropolis of *Hadrumentum* delivered a significant number of terracotta figurines. Due to the old methods of excavations, skeletons have not been subjected to an anthropological examination. However, Lieutenant Hannezo and Commandant Lacomble reported in 1889 that figurines, whole or in fragments, discovered in the tombs of a cemetery located near the road to Kairouan were found mostly in the tombs of children or young persons (de Lacomble & Hannezo, 1889: 111). Between January and May 1902, General Goetschy excavated more than 1,200 tombs in an area known as "Camp Sabatier", located a short distance to the South. He noted that he had never found a figurine or a fragment of a figurine in adult graves but only in the graves of children who do not exceed the age of two or three years old (Goetschy, 1903: 168). Lieutenant Taillade, who worked in collaboration with the General, confirmed this in an article dedicated to the funerary figurines and even said that they were placed with children of both sexes (Taillade, 1904: 368). These figurines were also deposited near foetuses or new-borns because they were found near bathtubs in clay which could accommodate only very small children (Goetschy, 1903: 166; de Larminat, 2012a: 515).

Based on these indications, at *Hadrumentum*, the terracotta figurines were placed only with children from new-born to three years of age. However, this statement must be considered with caution, because the burned bones were never studied and other archaeologists have

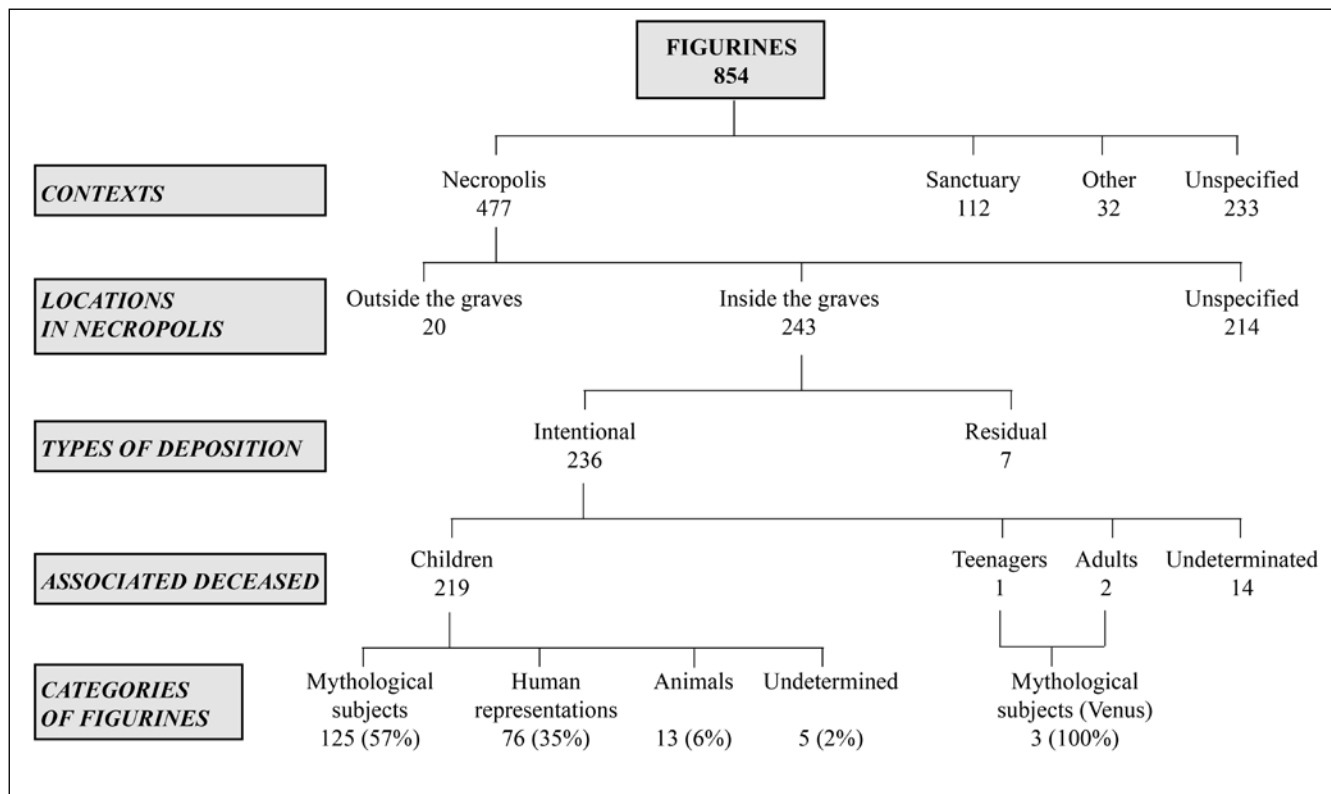


FIGURE 23.5 Composition of the inventory of figurines discovered in Roman Africa

IMAGE: S. DE LARMINAT

found figurines outside graves (Ordioni & Maillet, 1904: 448). At *Leptiminus* (Ben Lazreg *et al.*, 2006: 353) and *Thaenae* (Jeddi, 1995: 149), the children's ages were not specified by the researchers. However, the deceased were all buried in amphorae. While in Roman Africa, such containers seem to have received only children under four years of age (de Larminat, 2012a: 515–518). At *Pupput*, anthropological studies show that terracotta figurines were mostly deposited with deceased children between six months and three years of age, but these are also found in graves of children up to age seven to eight. Unlike at *Hadrumentum*, these have never been associated with foetuses or new-born babies (de Larminat, 2011).

So, in Africa Proconsularis, terracotta figurines were mainly deposited with children from birth to three years of age, although they have been found at *Pupput* with deceased, who were not older than seven/eight years. Despite this predominant association of terracotta figurines with the burials of small children, we should ignore that terracotta figurines were found in the three graves of adolescents and adults at *Pupput*. In one of these three burials, a secondary cremation of an adolescent around 16 years old, according to the anthropological study (Bailet, 2004), showed that a Venus figurine had been placed on

the fire. It erupted due to the heat and several fragments were collected and placed in the urn together with the burnt bones of the deceased. In the other two cases, primary cremations took place of a young woman 25–30 years old and what we presume to be another woman respectively, also determined by anthropological study. After cremation, a terracotta of Venus, with her upper limbs broken, was placed, in both cases, on the remains of the funeral pyre.

In these three graves, only representations of Venus have been deposited. In each case, they have been intentionally broken and appear to be related to individual females. The presence of fragments of a Venus figurine in the first urn should be underlined since at *Pupput* it was very rare that the material deposited on the fire was collected: this figurine is therefore an exception. The systematic breakage of these three terracottas of Venus shows different ritual practices which contrast with those related to the figurines placed in the graves of children because these were almost always left intact. Currently, the deposition of figurines with adolescents and adults has only been observed at *Pupput*. A systematic anthropological study of burnt bones in African burials would clarify whether this practice was carried out in other cemeteries.

3.2 *Analysis of the Discovery Context (Association, Location, Ritual Gesture)*

Mythological figurines are the most frequent in the necropoleis (Table 23.2) and those deposited in the graves of individuals over 15 years old belong to this category only, because they always represent Venus. In the children's graves, more than half of the figures belong to this group as well (57%). It is especially rare that mythological subjects are absent from closed and contextualised sets that constitute material in a grave (Fig. 23.6). Indeed, they appear in 33 of the 42 sets identified.

Besides the fact that Venus is the most common deity found in the graves of 0–8 year olds, Venus is the main deity present in 85% of closed sets where mythological subjects have been identified (28 of 33; Fig. 23.6). We can observe two situations. In the first one, a single mythological subject is present. These are essentially representations of Venus with between one and eight copies deposited per tomb (Fig. 23.6) (Ben Lazreg *et al.*, 2006: 353; fig. 1, 360; Taillade, 1904: 364; Leynaud, 1910: 328–329). In only five burials, this deity is replaced by the Dea Nutrix, Bes and Mercury, which appear singly or in pairs (de Lacomble & Hannezo, 1889: 124; Carton, 1909: 39–40). In the second case, several mythological subjects are associated in the grave: there are always at least one or more representations of Venus with one or two other mythological subjects (Fig. 23.6). For example, the Dea Nutrix appears with Venus in a burial at *Siagu* (Cassaigne, 1914: 46–47, figs. 65–66). Seated-goddesses, Orpheus, Apollo, Amor, Silenus, Leda and Europa also accompany Venus (de Lacomble & Hannezo, 1889: 124; Gauckler, 1902: cciv–ccvii; Carton, 1900: 231–236).

By her near ubiquity, Venus holds a special place. Her replacement by the Dea Nutrix, Bes and Mercury can be explained by the role of each one of these deities: Mercury as the conductor of souls, the Dea Nutrix as a feeder, and Bes as protector of birth and childhood. Contrary to the images they convey, the Dea Nutrix figurines are not exclusively associated with children still breastfed, because they were found with two deceased children of four to five years old. Unfortunately, we do not know the exact age of the children that were associated with the Bes figurines.

The role of Venus is more difficult to determine. She had a funerary role in Rome during the time of Nero (Plutarch, *Numa*: XII.9; Suetonius, *Nero*: 39) but she had no special association with children. Her presence was mainly due to the large number of her worshipers in Africa (Leglay, 1984: 49–50). Saint Augustine noted that in small pagan shrines, Venus always presided (Augustine, *De civitate Dei*: IV.10). She was a nourishing goddess and goddess of fertility in Africa. She is qualified as *Genetrix* at the city of Sufetula

(Duval, 1989: 410, no. 5). In his *Metamorphoses*, the African Apuleius presented her as “the ancient mother of the universe, the founding creator of the elements, the Venus that tends the entire world” (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*: IV.30.1).

The four main deities deposited with children are not infernal deities but have nourishing (Venus, the Dea Nutrix), protective for children (Bes), or soul conducting functions (Mercury). The seated goddesses and Amores also belong to the maternal or childhood spheres. The two mythological scenes with Leda and Europa are quite far removed from the world of childhood and death, but the carrying away of Europa is reminiscent of the disappearance of a loved one; and it is out of the embrace of Leda and Zeus that Castor and Pollux were born. The presence of Orpheus and Apollo is difficult to relate to its child burials. However we can observe that these two deities are always represented playing the lyre. Moreover, in two of three graves, they are accompanied by lyre players in up to three copies (de Lacomble & Hannezo, 1889: 124; Ordioni & Maillet, 1904). So, music seems to be an important element.

Two deities associated with children's graves have not yet been mentioned because they did not appear inside a grave. The first one is the huntress Diana on a galloping horse. She was discovered with a seated mother goddess in the third level of occupation of the children's necropolis of *Thysdrus* (Slim, 1984: 175, pl. VIII). From the Augustan period until the first decades of the third century CE, this enclosure of more than 1,000 m² hosted exclusively children up to 15 years old. Some inscriptions mention the enclosure as a sacred space (*sacrum*: Ben Abdallah, 1986: nos. 85, 91–92, 491–492; *templum*: Saumagne, 1936–1937: 296–297), under the protection of a female deity (*dea*: Ben Abdallah, 1986: no. 85), and as the place where a girl, dead at eight years of age, was initiated (Saumagne, 1936–1937: 296–297). In the Greek world, Artemis presides over the birth and development of the child until his/her teens. For Slim who excavated this enclosure, these two deities (Diana and the seated goddess) represent substitutes for the great goddess Tanit during Roman times because there are many parallels between the Punic tophets dedicated to Tanit and this enclosure: superimposed strata, exclusive presence of children and the great goddess. The non-designation of this deity, as if one was afraid to name her in a Roman colonisation context, is another reason that led Slim to put forth this hypothesis (Slim, 1982–1983: 81). In this enclosure, children, whether initiated or not, have been placed under her protection. If the seated mother goddess at *Thysdrus* is a representation of Tanit, can we assume that the other seated mother goddesses

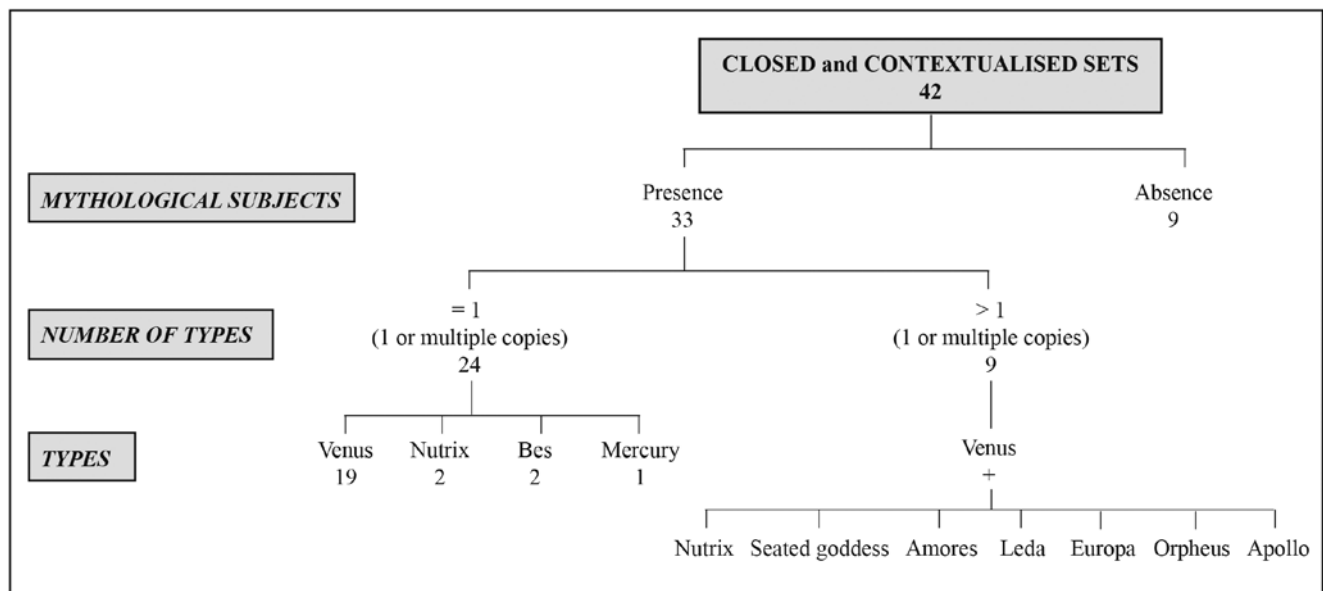


FIGURE 23.6 Composition of the 42 closed and contextualised sets with figurines identified in Africa Proconsularis

IMAGE: S. DE LARMINAT

discovered in cemeteries are also Tanit, assimilated to Juno *Caelestis* in Roman times?

The first three copies of seated goddesses deposited in children burials were found in the *Pupput* necropolis (Bonifay, 2004: 433–434). However, the sanctuary dedicated to Tanit and Baal-Hamon at *Thinissut* (Dridi & Sebaï, 2008), where the statue of a seated Tanit was found, was a few kilometres from this city. The link seems tenuous, but it is reinforced by two other associations between figurines placed in this necropolis and deities present in the sanctuary. Indeed, at *Thinissut*, a life-size terracotta statue of the Dea Nutrix, indicates that this deity was venerated there (Poinssot *et al.*, 1909: pl. LXXXI-1). Yet, Dea Nutrix terracotta figurines were only discovered at *Pupput* (Bonifay, 2004: figs. 243 and 434) and in a neighbouring city, *Siagu* (Cassaigne, 1914: figs. 65 and 46). Similarly, figurines of Mercury in their Egyptian form, with the traits of the dog Anubis, were also found only at *Pupput*. However, a link could be established among these figurines and the five statues (three whole and two fragmentary) of goddesses with traits of a lioness found at *Thinissut* (Poinssot *et al.*, 1909: 159, no. 238–242, pl. LXXXI-2), generally assimilated to the *Genius Terrae Africae*. A seated goddess figurine was discovered in the necropolis of the Public Square at *Thysdrus* (unpublished; Archaeological Museum of El Jem) but we do not know its precise location. Yet, at *Thysdrus*, a funeral enclosure was under the protection of a female deity, probably Tanit; and a sanctuary dedicated to Tanit has also delivered many figurines of Tanit represented in the form of a seated woman on a throne (Poinssot *et al.*, 1909: 167–168, pl. XCIII-1/2; Renault, 1911:

146; Merlin & Lantier, 1922: 181–182, nos. 407–414). So, sanctuaries influenced the populations of neighbouring cities, and it is not inconceivable that the seated goddess figurines of *Pupput* and *Thysdrus* are also representations of Tanit also assimilated at that time to Juno *Caelestis*. The discovery of a fragment of a figurine of a seated goddess in a tomb of *Leptiminus* dating to the first century CE, with a “sign of Tanit” on the back (Foucher, 1964: pl. VIIa–b; 1967–1968: no. 2, 217) shows that such figurines could be deposited in cemeteries.

Therefore, figurines were deposited only in the cemeteries of Africa Proconsularis, but in certain necropoleis, there are specific divinities that are invoked in the nearby sanctuaries. The same situation was observed with figurines of Bes. These appear only in the necropolis of *Hadrumetum* (de Lacombe & Hannezo, 1889: 124; Goetschy, 1903: 170–174; Besques, 1992: pl. 94-b, e) and in the neighbouring city of Gurza (Carton, 1909: 40). In addition to the nine figurines of this type placed in children's tombs, 14 have been identified in unknown contexts: the first 13 also came from *Hadrumetum* and the last from a neighbouring city, Sidi el Hani. Bes is associated four times with Attis, consort of Cybele (Fig. 23.7), and a figurine of this goddess was found in a child's burial (Goetschy, 1903: nos. 16 and 171; Besques, 1992: 154, 95-a). No sanctuary dedicated to one of these three deities has been found in the city, although a statue of Cybele has been discovered (Foucher, 1964: 295). Sanctuary or not, *Hadrumetum* was an important and ancient Phoenician port city where people attached to oriental religions lived.



FIGURE 23.7 Figurine of Bes and Attis discovered in a necropolis of *Hadrumetum*
FROM CHOPARD & HANNEZO, 1893:
PL. XVII.2

The observation of the location of the figurines in the graves and associated gestures can allow us to overcome the initial impressions which this material evokes. For example, Amor is regularly associated with Venus in one and the same figurine (Fig. 23.4) but sometimes the following subjects are more prominent: Amor picking grapes (Goetschy, 1903: no. 29, 173; Poinssot *et al.*, 1909: fig. 1, 90) or being frightened by a rat (Goetschy, 1903: no. 25, 172 and pl. 10). This figurine reminds us of the world of childhood, but could it represent the deceased? In the necropolis of *Pupput*, in the only grave where an Amor figurine was deposited (Fig. 23.8), two special features have been noted. First, this figurine was deposited in the fill of the pit and not near the child like two other figurines of Venus found in the same tomb and as in the other tombs of the necropolis. Secondly, the Amor was intentionally deposited in a corner of the pit and was intentionally placed up-side down. The localisation and the position of this figurine are very different from others, meaning its function was probably quite different. It could represent the deceased child, like child terracotta masks found in other tombs in the necropolis (de Larminat, 2011: 624–635). If these masks were



FIGURE 23.8 Figurine of an Amor leaning on a column discovered up-side down in the fill of a child's grave at *Pupput*
PHOTO:
M. GRIESHEIMER

systematically and intentionally broken, the figurine was intentionally placed up-side down (de Larminat, 2012b: 308). If these representations of children in terracotta were broken or intentionally placed up-side down, Venus figurines present in the three burials of adolescents and adults at *Pupput* (systematically fragmented before their deposition and deposited in a single copy) should also be symbolic images of the deceased. The name of young girls and married women are sometimes associated with that of Venus after their death on non-African epitaphs (Picard, 1939: 122–123; *CIL* VI, 1424, 12281, 20167; *CIL* VII, 4415; *CIL* XIV 610). If in these four graves of *Pupput*, careful observations of the gestures allow for the interpretation of the Amor and the three Venuses as symbolic representations of the deceased, we cannot extend this identification to the same type of figurines found elsewhere, particularly because of their presence in duplicate, in several graves (de Lacomble & Hannezo, 1889: 118).

In graves, other figurines represent children at different stages of life: a newborn lying in a sort of bathtub (Goetschy, 1902: no. 5, 413; Besques, 1992: pl. 99e, pl. 101b),

busts of young chubby and laughing children (Besques, 1992: 166, pl. 104d–f), beardless young men (Icard, 1904: 167) or a seated young girl holding a mirror and a bird (unpublished). Discovered in children's graves, can these figurines also be symbolic representations of the deceased? Besques has established a parallel between two busts of children and the *Risus Gallic* type, a cheap equivalent of marble busts of the deceased (Besques, 1992: 166). Unlike depictions of older people (Ordioni & Maillet, 1904: nos. 1–2, 438), these childish figurines always appear in a single copy in the closed sets (de Lacomble & Hannezo, 1889: 124; Icard, 1904: 166–167). Most of these objects come from the necropolis of *Hadrumentum*. Their exact location in the grave has not been clarified. In contrast, at *Pupput*, it has been observed that the figurine of a girl holding a mirror and a bird was intentionally broken before being placed in the tomb, unlike the eight Venus figurines which accompanied her. All these factors seem to indicate that these child figurines could in some cases be representations of the deceased. The excavation of new burials would validate this hypothesis by checking the correspondence between the age of the deceased and that of the child represented by the figure.

Other human figures found in children's graves are mostly representations of women. Of the 17 listed, 12 are busts inspired by contemporary portraits of empresses (de Lacomble & Hannezo, 1889: 125; Goetschy, 1903: nos. 48–49, 54–57, 174–175; Ordioni & Maillet, 1904: nos. 1–2, 438; Carton, 1909: 40; Besques, 1992: 164–165, pl. 103b–d, f). They are not young girls and they regularly appear in duplicate, in closed sets. If previous busts could represent the deceased, it may not be the case for these representations of older women, sometimes found in multiple copies in the children's graves. Should we interpret these images as members of the family? A head of a veiled woman expressing pain suggests just this (Besques, 1992: 164, pl. 102g). Men were represented half as often as women (Table 23.2). In the necropolis of Gurza, a helmeted man appeared in bust form (Carton, 1909: 40). He was accompanied by a female bust and a statue of Bes. This man/woman combination might evoke a representation of parents in which the father was a soldier.

4 Conclusions

The corpus of terracotta figurines discovered in the necropoleis of Roman Africa (Africa Proconsularis, Numidia and Mauretania Caesariensis) and the study of funerary figurines in closed and contextualised sets help

to answer some of the questions posed at the beginning of this essay. First, we saw that there is a difference between the figurines placed in sanctuaries and those placed in cemeteries. In sacred spaces, the most numerous are those of children, women and men who are carrying offerings. On the back of some human figures with empty hands, a name, probably that of the dedicant, was traced in the still fresh paste. These two types have not been found so far in funerary contexts. However, in necropoleis, there are more human figures and they are more varied. The variety of mythological subjects is also higher in the necropolis. Venus is the main deity identified. She never appears in the sanctuaries where Tanit has a special place with Men and Apollo. Finally, only four deities are common to both areas: Tanit, Apollo, Saturn and Bes.

Analytical work on the skeletal remains has not always been conducted in the necropoleis, especially during early excavations. However, according to the excavators of the *Hadrumentum* necropolis during the early 20th century, terracotta figurines have been found in the graves of children less than four years of age and they were sometimes deposited with foetuses or new-borns. The study of skeletal remains in the necropolis of *Pupput* has partly confirmed this assertion. Indeed, in this cemetery, figurines were predominantly placed with children under four years of age (but never with foetuses or new-borns), but also with older children up to seven to eight years old, i.e. only with *infantes*, children who died during the early childhood (*infantia*) according to the stages of infancy defined in Justinian's Code. Currently, no burials of *pueri* (children between 7 and 12/14 years old belonging to the stage of childhood "*pueritia*") has delivered any figurines. It is interesting to note that if figurines are mostly found in children's graves, none has yet to be found in Saturn sanctuaries where children were cremated, such as Henchir el-Hami (Ferjaoui, 2007). In the necropolis of *Pupput*, anthropological analysis of burned bones also showed that figurines could be deposited in the cremations of older individuals. These are only representations of Venus. A systematic analysis of the inhumed and cremated skeletal remains is absolutely necessary in order to check this data.

Spatial analysis of figurines at different levels also contributes to the identification of their distribution and function. At the level of the three provinces of North Africa, we see that if the figurines were placed in sanctuaries of Africa Proconsularis and Numidia, these appear only in cemeteries of the first province, especially in coastal cities. The same analysis, taking into account, however, the type of figurine, shows that Venus appears

in all cemeteries of Africa Proconsularis but is also ubiquitous in the graves where the figurines were deposited. The Dea Nutrix, Bes and Mercury could replace her or be associated with other mythological subjects. Analysis of the spatial distribution of these deities shows that there is a significant relationship with gods in sanctuaries located in nearby cities: the Dea Nutrix, Tanit and perhaps the *Genius Terrae Africa* with *Pupput* and *Siagu*; Bes, Attis and Cybele with *Hadrumetum* and its neighbouring cities; Tanit with *Thysdrus*. At the level of the necropoleis, this material was not always deposited inside the grave since it is found in the levels outside. Furthermore, not all burials have supplied such material. For example, in the exhaustively excavated necropolis of *Pupput*, only 6% of children aged 0–8 had received one or more figurines (27 of 430). The deposition of figurines in the tombs was therefore limited to a small number of family practices and this material does not appear in all the graves of children located in the same family enclosure.

At the scale of burial in the cemetery of *Pupput*, a careful analysis of the context of discovery of the figurines, of the ritual treatment of the objects that were associated with their deposition, and of the associations of figurines in the same graves allowed for speculation on the function of these objects. As has already been mentioned, Venus is almost ubiquitous. In Africa, her symbol remains as Mother Nature and Mother of the Universe, the goddess to whom the families entrusted their children most frequently. Venus, Bes, Mercury and other mythological subjects, are not infernal deities but still feminine, nourishing or protective of children. Only Mercury has a funerary role. This is partly due to its presence as the function of figurines in the tombs of *infantes* can be presumed. If families believed that Mercury accompanied souls, they could also hope that the other gods would protect their children beyond the grave. As the parents could not continue to protect or feed their children, that were still *infantes*, they entrusted them to the gods invoked during their lifetime. These deities varied depending on the nearby sanctuaries. Through the deposition of human representations of adults, young children could be symbolically accompanied by members of their entourage. With their unique presence in the grave and associated ritual treatment (breakage or reversal), Amores and child figures could be interpreted as a symbolic representation of the deceased in certain graves. In the case of adolescent or adult burials, Venus figurines deposited in a single copy and systematically broken probably have the same role.

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Female Figurines in Roman Karanis: An Agentive Approach

Lara Weiss

Abstract

Ancient Egyptian religious texts describe the carrier medium as a vital part of religious imagery, and precious materials like gold and lapis lazuli are often highlighted in this context. In everyday life, however, images were usually made of non-precious materials and the technology used was less refined. A few images were carved in limestone, others were made of painted pebbles, or textile and papyrus; the majority being terracotta figurines. The value of these images was apparently ascribed, rather than based on the market value of the material used. Instead of stating the perhaps obvious significance of any religious image, the pragmatism detected in the former practice is relevant indeed. It relates to the question of whether the same pragmatism applies to the method of production of these divine images: Stone and terracotta figurines were most probably manufactured by specialised craftsmen (perhaps in temple workshops); other terracotta figurines were hand-moulded. Magical texts represent handmade figurines, also made by professionals, as mere tools, and tailored for a specific ritual use only, but this rather restricted use seems not to be the case in the domestic context.

In fact, little evidence is available on the production of divine imagery in general. The identification of both producers and consumers of divine and/or ritual images is therefore vital for the understanding of a possible conceptual difference in use. Whereas complex rituals were probably not performed by just anybody, the creation of smaller images was generally not limited to religious specialists. Consequently, the question is: who made his/her own images, for what purpose, and who did not. The appearance of hand-moulded imagery could indicate a greater personal contribution represented in the agent's effort in creating the divine; or, it could simply be an inexpensive alternative. Likewise, if displayed, purchased and perhaps more expensive figurines could enhance the owner's status, or betray a lower personal involvement. The texts remain silent on such issues. It is, therefore, particularly challenging to analyse, by drawing on the archaeological record, the question of whether hand-moulded and professionally manufactured images were conceptualised differently. In the present article, the figurines of Roman Karanis will be used as a case study.¹

1 Introduction

Frankfurter (1998: 143) has suggested that religion in Roman Egypt was extremely decentralised and that analysis should include the everyday contexts of houses, granaries and rubbish-dumps. My ongoing work on the material evidence for lived religion at Roman Karanis, an agricultural town in the Egyptian Fayum that was abandoned in the sixth century CE and excavated by teams from the University of Michigan between 1924 and 1935, aims to provide detailed corroboration of Frankfurter's claim (on the site, see e.g. Husselman, 1979; Wilfong, 2012). In this article, I focus on a small but interesting group of terracotta figurines published nearly thirty years ago by Allen (1985 & see Table 24.1), which have been variously identified as play-things or as religious figurines. The issues that I want to raise here are whether the archaeological evidence is capable of supplying a definitive answer to this question; and, if not, whether there are further considerations that might lead us to re-frame the alternatives, such that these objects might fulfil different roles depending on the immediate interpretative interests of those who used them.

The nine figurines are quite similar in general design; instead of being made in a mould, all were hand-modelled in clay (Allen, 1985: 137 & 240). All are in "gingerbread-man"

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TABLE 24.1 Group of terracotta figurines from Roman Karanis

Object	Accession no. / Kelsey Museum inv. no.	Excavation field no.	Height in cm	Width in cm	Length in cm	Reference(s)	Remarks
Figurine	0000.00.3309	24-136G-A	13.5	7.3	2.1	Allen, 1985: 439–440	-
Figurine	0000.00.3432	25-308B-F	14.6	6.8	2.1	Allen, 1985: 448–449	-
Figurine	0000.00.3760	25-215B-I	5.61	6.5	2.6	Allen, 1985: 450	-
Figurine	0000.00.3761	28-262-L	5.7	6.0	2.5	Allen, 1985: 451	-
Figurine	0000.00.3762	25-278A-I	5.8	5.2	2.2	Allen, 1985: 452	-
Figurine	0000.00.3766	25-232A-G	5.2	4.2	1.6	Allen, 1985: 455–456	-
Figurine	0000.00.6448	24-127A-N	13.1	7.8	1.6	Allen, 1985: 443–444	-
Figurine	0000.00.3768	25-228A-K	13.4	8.0	2.25	Allen, 1985: 441–442	-
Figurine	0000.00.6470	26-BAI-Q	18.6	9.9	2.7	Allen, 1985: 445	-

format, with arms outstretched; legs, however, are not indicated (Fig. 24.1). The head is almost pumpkin-shaped and pierced on each side for earrings. The feminine facial features consist of a pinched nose, prominent eyes, lashes and lips, all indicated in black paint. The hair, necklace and garment are likewise rendered schematically in paint.² The stratigraphy, such as it is, suggests they are to be dated to the fourth and fifth centuries CE.

The usual interpretations of such female figurines found in domestic contexts is that they were intended either as children's play-things or as religious images for adult use (compare also Allen, 1985: 289), this term including all kinds of practices in the broad field of human/plant reproduction and health. The one is usually understood to exclude the other – the potential users must have been either children or adults, even if we often cannot quite decide which. My initial question here is thus whether the archaeological record at Karanis, given that the domestic buildings of the town were very thoroughly excavated, permits an unequivocal either/or decision about the intended use of these particular objects found at late-antique Karanis. To that end, I have selected three representative contexts in which such figurines were found. Since the focus is deliberately on the actual messiness of archaeological exploration, and the indeterminacy of raw finds, I have tried to be as neutral as possible in my account of each context. Such neutrality is essential if we are to understand what the objects found together with the figurines might tell us about their potential use.

² Description based on the record of 0000.00.3432 in the Kelsey Museum database (<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/k/kelsey/>, last accessed on 14 November 2013).



FIGURE 24.1 Gingerbread-man type terracotta figurine from Karanis

2 Case Study 1: Area A262

My first context is an open space designated as Area A262, with no traces of walls, in the quadrant E8 of the excavation area, probably extending into Eg (Table 24.2; cf. Wilburn, 2012: pl. 15; for the excavation grid, cf. Husselman, 1979: map 1). A fragmentary figurine was found in 25-262-L. In his notebook, the excavator Peterson wonders whether “[o]riginally there may have been more extensive construction [and whether such buildings might] have been cleared away already in ancient times” (*Peterson’s notes*: 518), but provides no clear description of the find situation. This is unfortunate, because other finds in the same area suggest that there might have been some sort of religious deposit here: the *Record of Objects* lists a terracotta head of Serapis and a libation-altar made of local limestone, which might indicate religious activity, such as libation offerings to the god Serapis. If so, our broken figurine might have been connected with this activity. The fact that both the Serapis and the female figurine were broken might imply that they were discarded together and hence might have arrived in A262 from the same context of use. That is, the fact that they were found among rubbish reduces the likelihood that they were part of an intentional deposit, but not their potential significance as religious objects (cf. Wilburn, 2012: 154). We cannot, however, tell whether the figurines were discarded because they were broken, or broken deliberately in order to be discarded, thus “definitely break[ing] a potential link” between the religious and the non-religious (cf. Luijendijk, 2010: 249 on similar practices relating to papyri), or even to break potential negative forces unleashed through ritual (Waraksa, 2009: 19).

Another most interesting find in A262 suggestive of religious activity is a number of ochre-painted animal bones (published by Wilburn, 2012: 140–160). These bones were decorated with dots and scribbles, perhaps imitating script, and derive from different species. Finds of pigment (ochre and a peach ochre) with the bones may suggest that they were painted on the spot, and deliberately deposited there after use (Wilburn, 2012: 154). Wilburn (2012: 140–160), who has recently studied these bones, convincingly suggests that they might have been used in religious ritual. On the other hand, other finds, such as the remains of wall plaster, a piece of furniture inlay, a door bolt, two undecorated pieces of limestone, as well as seeds, a shell, pottery and glass objects/sherds, baskets and several pieces of textile, suggest domestic rubbish.

The crucial point is whether these objects are to be understood as an assemblage or whether they are purely

casual. As I have already pointed out, the excavation records are not very clear here. If the objects in A262 all came originally from the same context of use, the evidence points both to religious activity and to children’s play (on the conception of childhood at Karanis, cf. Johnson, 2007). The latter idea is supported by the discovery of several potential toys, namely two woollen rag-dolls and a third made of papyrus, a glass marble, two miniature pots, a gaming piece and two bone dice. A small papyrus booklet has also been interpreted as a children’s book, but since it is sealed and its contents remain unknown, this is mere speculation. A Bes amulet and several beads were also found nearby (A262-H), perhaps suggesting that the amulet was hung on a necklace. Since Bes was the protector of women and childhood, such an item might point to religious activities relating to children or matters of family protection and health in a wider sense. In addition, the *Record of Objects* lists the head of another terracotta figurine, and two more heads of terracotta “dolls” of unspecified figurine type.

It is quite unclear who might have been responsible for depositing or discarding these objects in area A262. The only text found in the area contains two names, Heras, who is the son of Atisis, and Paesis [...], who may have been liturgical workers, but we cannot say whether they had anything to do with the assemblage.

In sum, the fact that area A262 was most probably a domestic rubbish-dump severely limits any inference. To go further, we would have to know who discarded the objects, as well as when and why. Only if the dump was the result of clearing out a single domestic space could we establish a relationship between the objects. Nevertheless it is not without interest that several figurines of our type were found among both religious materials and toys. All the same, we can only affirm that the finds in the A262 assemblage do not provide clear evidence for the use and function of our type of figurine.

3 Case Study 2: Building A228

If the archaeological context where the figurine was found in Area A262 is indeterminate, my second case-study might give support to the preferential identification of our figurines as play-things. Building A228 is L-shaped and situated in quadrant F10 of the excavated area (Husselman, 1979: map 22. For detailed information on the finds from this house, see Table 24.3). The building’s irregular shape is due to the fact that its foundations are taken over from earlier buildings, marked as C57 and C59 (cf. Allen, 1985: 441

TABLE 24.2 Finds recovered in Area A262, Karanis

Object	Accession no. / Kelsey Museum inv. no.	Excavation field no.	Height in cm	Width in cm	Length in cm	Reference(s)	Remarks
Textile	0000.01.0301	25-262-A	—	25.5	29	Unpublished / Database	-
Textile	0000.01.0302	25-262-A	—	8	16	Wilson, 1933: no. 106	-
Textile	0000.01.0303	25-262-A	—	20.5	7	Unpublished / Database	-
Papyrus doll	0000.00.3856	25-262-B	—	3.0	6.0	Johnson, 2003/4: 51 Johnson, 2007: 143	-
Animal bone	0000.00.3504	25-262-C	—	—	—	Wilburn, 2013: 141–142, pl. 3 & pl. 17	Miscellaneous animal bones; ochre-painted
Jar fragment	0000.02.5750	25-262-C	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	Undecorated
Limestone fragment	0000.09.3496	25-262-C				Unpublished / Database	Undecorated
Limestone fragment	0000.09.3497	25-262-C				Unpublished / Database	Undecorated
Wall plaster	0000.00.3623	25-262-C	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	-
Ostrakon	O.Mich.inv. 4471	25-262-C I	3.6	1.6	—	OMich 1, 578 = Amundsen, 1935: 578	-
Children's book	0000.00.3815	25-262-D	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	-
Marble	0000.00.3433	25-262-DI	3.1			Unpublished / Database	Glass
Basket	0000.00.3879	25-262-E	15.0	18.8	—	Unpublished / Database	-
Shell	0000.00.3717	25-262-EI	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	Unspecified
Figurine	-	25-262-FI	—	—	—	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Head of a terracotta figurine; iconography unspecified; holding institution unknown
Amulet	0000.08.9660	25-262-H	1.5	0.5	—	Unpublished / Database	Bes
Beads	0000.07.6122; 0000.07.6257; 0000.07.6437; 0000.07.6658; 0000.07.6893; 0000.07.7068; 0000.07.7197; 0000.07.7269; 0000.07.7279–82; 0000.07.7312; 0000.07.7366; 0000.07.7527; 0000.07.7554; 0000.07.7644; 0000.07.7652; 0000.07.7684; 0000.07.7723 (faience); 0000.07.7854 (faience); 0000.07.8235 (clay); 0000.07.8271 (carne- lian); 0000.07.8590 (bone); 0000.07.8960 (faience); and 0000.08.8989 (bronze pendant	25-262-H	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	All made of glass unless otherwise specified
Door bolt	0000.02.6426	25-262-I	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	Wood
Jar sherd	0000.00.4931	25-262-J	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	Undecorated
Figurine	—	25-262-KI	—	—	—	Record of Objects; Johnson 2007: 1944	Iconography unspeci- fied; holding institution unknown

TABLE 24.2 Finds recovered in Area A262, Karanis (*cont.*)

Object	Accession no. / Kelsey Museum inv. no.	Excavation field no.	Height in cm	Width in cm	Length in cm	Reference(s)	Remarks
Figurine	0000.00.3761	25-262-L	5.7	6.0	2.5	Allen, 1985: 451	Categorised as “Female Orant Head” in KM database
Jar sherd	0000.00.4932	25-262-LI	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	Undecorated
Jar sherd	0000.00.4929	25-262-MI	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	Undecorated
Miniature Pot	0000.00.3752	25-262-N	3.0	3.9	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Miniature Pot	0000.02.6349	25-262-N	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Rag doll	0000.00.3543	25-262-NI	6.5	6.0	1.8	Johnson, 2003/4: 51 Johnson, 2007: 143 Fluck, 2004: 389	–
Rag doll	0000.01.0113	25-262-NI	–	3.5	7.0	Johnson, 2003/4: 51 Johnson, 2007: 143	–
Libation altar	–	25-262-O	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Holding institution unknown
Jar sherd	0000.00.7958	25-262-OI	–	–	–	Johnson, 1981: 32, no. 100	Coptic Painted Ware
Ochre pigments	0000.00.3881	25-262-OI	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Peach ochre pigments	0000.02.4001	25-262-OI	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Figurine	–	25-262-PI	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Terracotta head of Serapis; holding institu- tion unknown
Flask sherd	0000.00.6044	25-262-Q	–	–	–	Harden, 1936: 219, no. 676	Dark blue
Furniture inlay	0000.00.6012	25-262-Q	–	2.4	1.1	Harden, 1936: 302, no. 975	Glass fragment
Die	0000.00.3847	25-262-V	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	Bone
Die	0000.02.2742	25-262-V	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Seeds	0000.00.3703	25-262-W	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	Unspecified
Glass set	0000.01.0857	25-262-X	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Gaming piece	0000.00.4737	25-262-X	0.6	1.5	–	Harden, 1936: 293, nos. 911 & 915	Glass

and see *Peterson's notes*: 177 & 446). The building consisted of three rooms with no special features such as niches, all three of which were connected by doors (Allen, 1985: 441). Oddly enough, no entrance to the streets is visible on the plan. Building 228 connects to buildings 229, 230, and 239, which do have exits, but their compartmentalisation into separate “houses” remains unclear. Peterson remarks that changes were made in the course of occupation, which is no great problem with mud-brick architecture (*Peterson's notes*: 446). The house designations may just refer to what the excavators thought used to be separate buildings that were later joined into a single unit (Fig. 24.2). 228A was

a spacious room, which reused the former C-level courtyards K and L and was probably plastered in white.

In this room, a figurine of our type was discovered relatively close to a wooden pull-toy. This is an inference from the numbering (228A–K and 228A–L), which seems to indicate a shared provenance. In this respect a love spell discussed by Wilburn (2012: 129–139) is interesting. Wilburn (2012: 139) shows how needles could potentially be used to pierce a figurine and burn it in order to cause the victim pain until it falls in love with the commissioner of the spell. However, a bone needle found in 228A–M is probably not part of a similar setting here, since the figurine

TABLE 24.3 Finds recovered in Building A228, Karanis

Object	Accession no. / Kelsey Museum inv. no.	Excavation field no.	Height in cm	Width in cm	Length in cm	Reference(s)	Remarks
Weaver's comb	–	25-228A-A	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Holding institution unknown
Kohl stick	–	25-228A-B	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Holding institution unknown
Rope sandal	–	25-228A-C	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Holding institution unknown
Wooden lamp stand	–	25-228A-D	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Holding institution unknown
Wooden door socket	not taken home (henceforth 'N.T.H.')	25-228A-E	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Holding institution unknown
Wooden needle	0000.02.3908	25-228A-F	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
White plaster	N.T.H.	25-228A-g	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	–
Bundle of garlic	0000.00.3471	25-228A-G	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Spacer/toggle	0000.00.8305	25-228A-H.	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Sack of woven goat hair	0000.02.3721	25-228A-I	–	65.5	127	Unpublished / Database	–
Cooking pot	0000.02.0133	25-228A-J	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Stone pounder	N.T.H.	25-228A-J	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Holding institution unknown
Figurine	0000.00.3768	25-228A-K	13.4	8.0	2.25	Allen, 1985: 441–442	Female orant
Horse	0000.00.3744	25-228A-L	6.5	1.8	15.8	Unpublished / Database	Pull toy, wood
Hair pin	0000.00.3488	25-228A-M	0.45	1.0	12.55	Unpublished / Database	Bone, rooster
Basket	N.T.H.	25-228A-N	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Holding institution unknown

is neither burnt nor does it show traces of deliberate incisions except for the ear holes. Apart from these, the room contained a variety of other objects, including a weaver's comb, a kohl stick, a rope sandal, a wooden lamp stand, a wooden door socket, a wooden needle, rope of garlic, a small wooden spacer (toggle), a sack of woven goat hair for carrying dung, a cooking pot, a small stone pounder, and a small leaf basket.

These are domestic materials which seem to justify the conclusion that the building was a private house, where activities such as cooking and food production may have been accompanied by religious action. This would tally with the impression that religious practice at Karanis, as in much of Egypt, revolved around reproduction in a broad sense, i.e. including not only human and animal fertility but also a good harvest/food production etc. (cf.

Dunand, 1979). However, it seems there is not much evidence for religious activities in the building, unless we prejudge the figurine as a religious object. The discovery of toilet equipment (the kohl stick) and a pull-toy in close proximity may suggest the presence of women with children, which in turn implies activities such as play.

To sum up, the context of the figurine found in building A228 seems to offer an example of its probable use as a play-thing for children. On the other hand, since the domestic situation may also have included religious practices, we cannot quite exclude the possibility that it was a religious image.

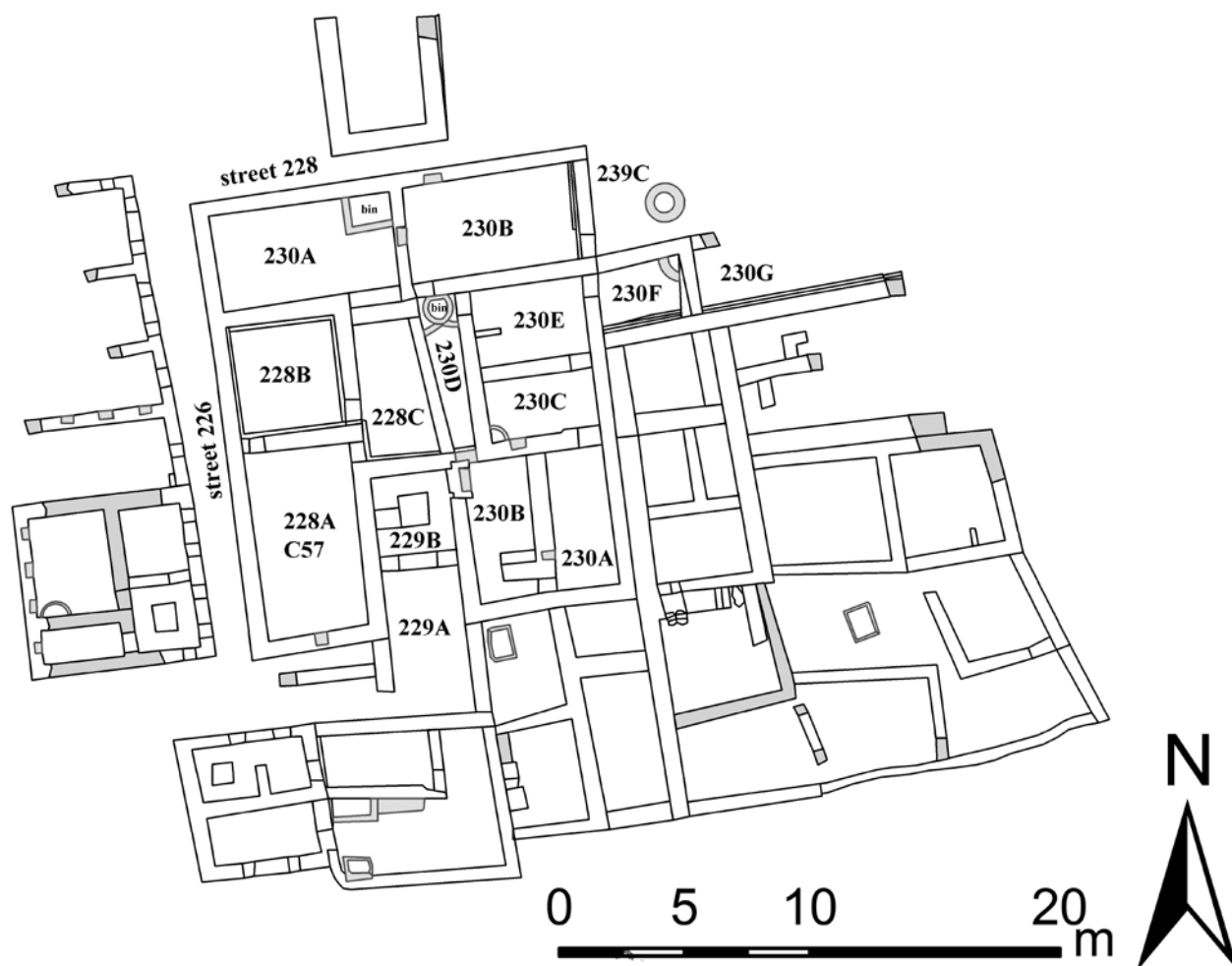


FIGURE 24.2 Plan of excavated units at Karanis. ArcGis map compiled by Drew Wilburn and Ryan Reynolds after original plans of the Michigan University Excavation at Karanis
KELSEY MUSEUM, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

4 Case Study 3: Building A136

My final example of a female figurine of our type was found in room G of building A136, situated in square H10 (Fig. 24.3 & Husselman, 1979: map 20; for the finds from Building A136, see Table 24.4). Once again, the interpretation of the figurine is unclear, this time because of the sheer variety of material remains in the house. Room G was a narrow room or corridor between two walls that was only partly excavated. The building reveals walls dating from three different occupational layers, nor is it certain that the rooms were indeed part of a single building (Allen, 1985: 439). However, both the overall shape and the find-assemblage suggest a variety of domestic activities, so the building was probably a house (or parts of several houses). It is, therefore, relevant to discuss not only the room where our figurine was found but also some of the other finds.

Among possible toys or possibly votive objects in the house are two miniature bowls, one of which was found together with the female figurine, but if and how the latter two were related remains unclear. The *Record of Objects* lists the fragment of a male statuette, another female terracotta statuette as well as three fragments (the body and two heads of other “terracotta dolls”) found in different rooms of the alleged house. The shape and iconography of these figurines is unknown. Likewise of interest is a plate decorated with a cross, but given the lack of other evidence for Christianity in the house one should not put too much emphasis on this symbol, which may be purely decorative (compare also Vokes, 1992: 22). Similarly, the find of lotus seeds might suggest flower offerings, though the only other possible hint of religious activities is a glass eye amulet. Other finds were: a glass unguentarium, a glass lamp, a fragment of a glass lamp, several fragments of conical lamps, and a wooden lamp bracket, but also a

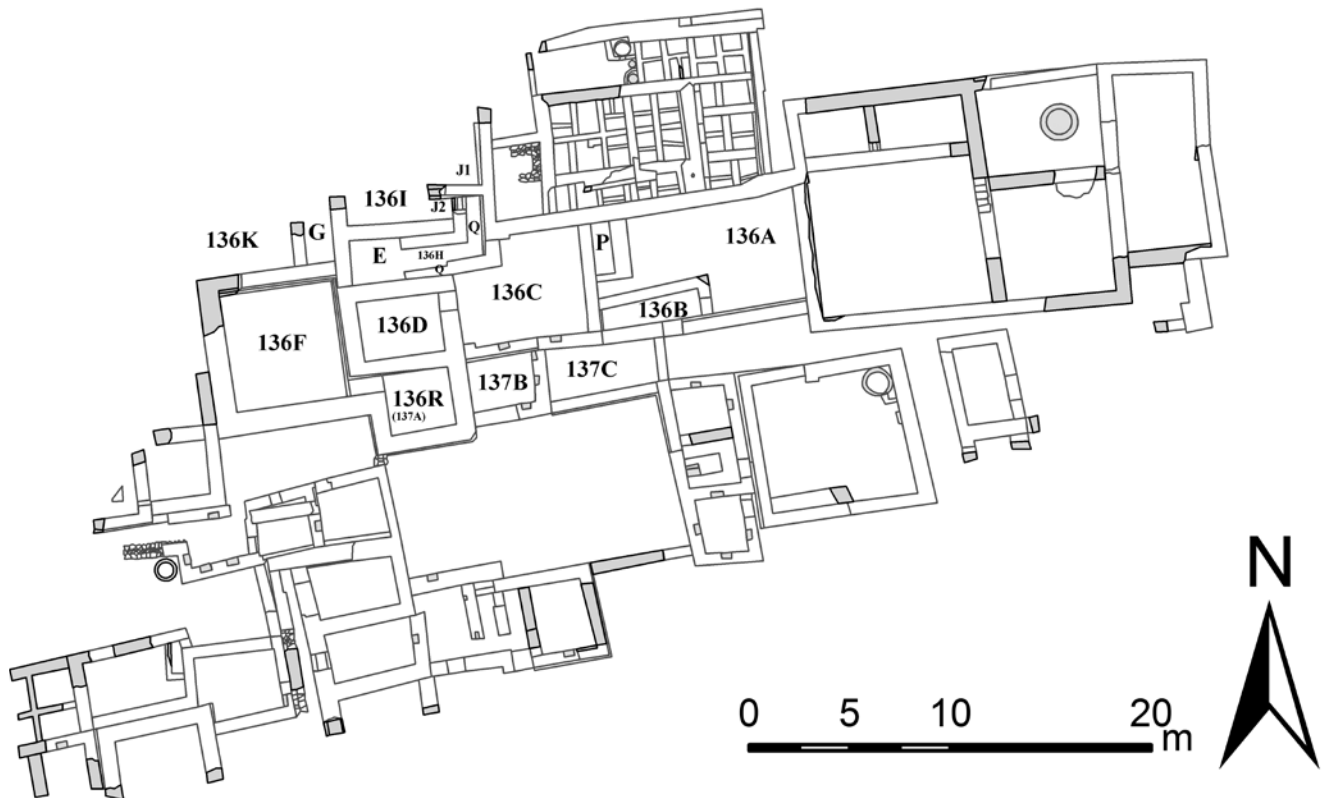


FIGURE 24.3 Plan of excavated units at Karanis. ArcGis map compiled by Drew Wilburn and Ryan Reynolds after original plans of the Michigan University Excavation at Karanis
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musical instrument, namely the remains of castanet clappers, an iron key, a (door?) hinge made of bone, and possibly a door socket. A pair of iron shears as well as the find of a weaver's comb suggest textile working, and pieces of textile (and textile fragments) were also found in the building. Of particular interest may be the only decorated piece of textile, which shows a few rather stylised human figures, as well as medallions and diamonds. Unfortunately, no image is yet available to me. Other decorative elements found were a bronze bracelet, a ring as well as ring fragments and several beads.

Finally, a trowel suggests building and/or agricultural activities, the latter being further supported by the find of a two-pronged drag-hoe. Another unspecified iron implement may also be relevant in this context. Wooden bread stamps suggest baking – there is a concentration of such objects in room 136M. Food preparation and consumption is also suggested by the finds of garlic seeds, a palm nut, peas and a peach pit. The same applies to the finds of several pots and pottery fragments. One of the pottery vessels apparently had a bronze handle. In addition we find several glass receptacles as well as sherds. Cosmetic implements such as a bronze ear spoon further support a

domestic setting. Other finds are a wooden toggle, a palm strap, a basket and a stylus. A coin dating from the reign of Nero was found in the building, as well as ostraca of much later date, which illustrates the problems of dating the building based on the finds. As for the ostraca, we find several unclear texts such as a list of numbers, possibly an account, and what may have been a writing exercise. As for names, a poorly preserved text attests a certain Petas. Other isolated characters, namely Thoteus, son of Alem [...] and Kopres, son of Priscus, who appears with the donkey-driver Sotas, can be identified, but as yet no link can be established between these two men.

The evidence of house 136 provides a typical example of the materials known from Karanis. Not only is it difficult to interpret the figurine, but there is also little clear evidence for religious activity in the house, though some objects such as the unguentarium, the lamps and the musical instruments may have played a role in religious activities (on lighting lamps in ritual, cf. Frankfurter, 1998: 138). It is of course true that much religious activity, such as lighting lamps or, still more, prayer, may leave little or no trace in the archaeological record, the archaeologist is nevertheless primarily dependent on material evidence

TABLE 24.4 Finds recovered in Building A136, Karanis

Object	Accession no. / Kelsey Museum inv. no.	Excavation field no.	Height in cm	Width in cm	Length in cm	Reference(s)	Remarks
Amulet	—	24-136A-C	—	—	—	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Holding institution unknown
Toggle	0000.00.8274	24-136A-E	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	Wood
Ostrakon	O.Mich.inv. 4297	24-136A-G	3.8	2.7	—	OMich I, 164 = Amundsen, 1935: 164	3rd century; Receipt for the de- livery of tax grain
Miniature bowl	0000.00.3326	24-136A-H	1.3	3.0	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Lamp	0000.00.5544	24-136B-A	13.1	7.8	—	Harden, 1936: 160, no. 439	Glass
Conical lamps	1987.07.0209–10	24-136B-E				Higashi, 1990: page?	
Various glass sherds	0000.00.5613–6; 0000.00.5617–20; 0000.00.5622–4; 0000.00.5882	24-136B-E; 24-136C-Q; 24-136D-X; 24-136F-F; 24-136E-F; 24-136G-C; 24-136H-F; 24-136I-H; 24-136N-B; 24-136O-M; 24-136L-B; 24-136F-F	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Pot	0000.00.7137	24-136C-a				Johnson, 1981: 23, no. 32	
Weaver's comb	0000.02.4007	24-136C-C	—	—	—	Thomas, 2001: 17, fig. 23	—
Textile	0000.01.1747	24-136C-D	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Textile	0000.01.1733–4	24-136C-Fx2	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Textile	0000.01.1735	24-136C-G	—	—	—	Thomas, 2001: 16, fig. 18	—
Bronze handle	0000.01.0860	24-136C-I	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Peach pit	0000.00.3947	24-136C-M				Unpublished / Database	—
Textile	0000.01.1736–46	24-136C-O	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Textile	0000.01.1748–52	24-136C-O	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Conical lamps	1987.07.0211–12	24-136C-Q				Higashi, 1990: page?	
Basket	0000.01.0078	24-136D-	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Jar sherd	0000.00.4939	24-136D-AB	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Beads	0000.07.6547; 0000.07.7492; 0000.07.6648; 0000.07.7729 (fa- ience); 0000.07.7498; 0000.07.6167; 0000.07.7852 (faience); 0000.07.8241 (carne- lian); 0000.07.6801; 0000.07.6222.	24-136D-N; 29-136F*-B; 24-136M-C; 28-136*-D; 28-136*-F	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	All made of glass unless otherwise specified
Miniature bowl	0000.01.0029	24-136D-P	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Garlic seeds	0000.00.3922	24-136D-S	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Lotus seeds	0000.02.3150	24-136D-T	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Textile	0000.01.1753–59	24-136D-W	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Conical lamp fragments (bases and rims)	1987.07.0213–19	24-136D-X				Higashi, 1990: 189–192	

TABLE 24.4 Finds recovered in Building A136, Karanis (*cont.*)

Object	Accession no. / Kelsey Museum inv. no.	Excavation field no.	Height in cm	Width in cm	Length in cm	Reference(s)	Remarks
Flask	0000.02.5690	24-136D-X	–	–	–	Harden, 1936: 207, no. 589	Glass
Figurine		24-136E-C	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Head; holding institution unknown
Textile	0000.01.1760–7	24-136E-D	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Figurine		24-136F-C	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Head; holding institution unknown
Conical lamp fragment (rim)	1987.07.0241	24-136F-F				Higashi, 1990: 191	
Figurine	0000.00.3309	24-136G-A	13.5	7.3	2.1	Allen, 1985: 439–440	Female orant
Miniature bowl	0000.01.0022	24-136G-B	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Conical lamp fragment (rim)	1987.07.0242	24-136G-C				Higashi, 1990: 191	
Figurine	–	24-136H-C	–	–	–	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Body of a female figurine; holding institution unknown
Figurine	–	24-136H-D	–	–		Unpublished / Record of Objects	A leg of a terracotta male statuette; holding institution unknown
Textile	0000.01.1768–72	24-136H-H	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Ear spoon	0000.02.1391	24-136I-C	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	Bronze
Textile	0000.01.1773	24-136I-G	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Coin	0000.04.0543	24-136J-A	–	–	–	Unpublished/Database	64/65 CE; cf. Dattari, 1901: 270
Plate	0000.00.3431	24-136K-C	–	33.5	–	Johnson, 1981: 49, no. 246	African Red Slip Ware
Serving bowl	0000.00.7168	24-136K-d	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Serving bowl	0000.02.0036	24-136K-e				Johnson, 1981: 48, no. 231	
Mixing bowl	0000.00.7164	24-136K-f				Johnson, 1981: 47, no. 226	
Mixing bowl	0000.00.7156	24-136K-g;				Unpublished / Database	
Mixing bowl	0000.00.7146	24-136K-h				Johnson, 1981: 48, no. 233	
Conical lamp fragment (side)	1987.07.0229	24-136L-B				Higashi, 1990: 193	
Neck sherd	0000.00.5847	24-136L-B				Harden, 1936: 261, no. 782	–
Textile	0000.01.1774–80	24-136L-C	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Bracelet	0000.02.2998	24-136M-G	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	Bronze
Fragment of a lamp	0000.00.5621	24-136-MI	–	–	–	Harden, 1936: 447, no. 693	Glass
Conical lamp fragment (rims)	1987.07.0223–5; -0227 and -0243	24-136M-I				Higashi, 1990: 191–192	

TABLE 24.4 Finds recovered in Building A136, Karanis (*cont.*)

Object	Accession no. / Kelsey Museum inv. no.	Excavation field no.	Height in cm	Width in cm	Length in cm	Reference(s)	Remarks
Flask fragments	0000.02.3730a-c	24-136M-I	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	Glass
Drag-hoe	0000.00.3740	24-136M-L	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Iron key	0000.00.3732	24-136M-M	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	Bone
Iron shears	0000.00.3638	24-136M-N	—	—	—	Thomas, 2001: 15, fig. 14	—
Door socket	0000.00.3733	24-136M-O	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Bread stamp	0000.00.3694	24-136M-P	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Bread stamp	0000.00.3692	24-136M-Q	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Bottle	0000.00.5581	24-136M-T	—	—	—	Harden, 1936: 227, no. 692	Glass
Iron implement	0000.00.3739	24-136M-U	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	Unspecified
Ostrakon	O.Mich.inv. 4298	24-136N-A	6.8	5.2	—	OMich I, 667 = Amundsen, 1935: 667	3rd century; a series of numbers; account?
Ostrakon	O.Mich.inv. 4299	24-136N-Ax2	6.5	5.5	—	OMich I, 138 = Amundsen, 1935: 138	3rd century; receipt issued by a son in the name of his father
Conical lamp fragment (rim)	1987.07.0226	24-136N-B				Higashi, 1990: 192	
Ring fragments	0000.02.3065	24-136O-C	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Figurine	—	24-136O-D	—	—	—	Unpublished / Record of Objects	Female figurine
Palm nut	0000.02.3157	24-136O-K	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Door hinge	0000.02.1896	24-136O-L	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Conical lamp fragment (base)	1987.07.0228	24-136O-M				Higashi, 1990: 190	
Base sherd	0000.00.5872	24-136O-M				Harden, 1936: 200, no. 546	—
Trowel	0000.00.3737	25-136M-K	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Ungentarium	0000.00.5249	28-136*-A	7.0	4.0	—	Harden, 1936: 268	Glass
Textile	0000.02.9916a-b	28-136*-A	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Textile	0000.02.2500	28-136*-A	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	Decorated
Drinking cup	0000.02.0308	28-136*-a	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	—
Castanet clappers	0000.01.0767	28-136*-CI	—	—	—	Unpublished / Database	Wood
Ostrakon	O.Mich.inv. 9157	28-136*-D	8.7	6.3	—	OMich I, 641 = Amundsen, 1935: 641.	Early 4th century; three letters, perhaps beginning of the name "Valerius": name tag/writing exercise?
Flask sherd	0000.00.5960	28-136*-E				Harden, 1936: 196, no. 523	—
Ostrakon	O.Mich.inv. 9158	28-136*-E	4.9	6.3	—	OMich I, 528 = Amundsen, 1935: 528	March 12, 312 CE [?]; receipt for transport of grain

TABLE 24.4 Finds recovered in Building A136, Karanis (*cont.*)

Object	Accession no. / Kelsey Museum inv. no.	Excavation field no.	Height in cm	Width in cm	Length in cm	Reference(s)	Remarks
Ring	0000.02.3047	28-136*-G	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Palm strap	0000.00.8419	28-136*-L	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Wooden lamp bracket	0000.00.7612	28-136*-M	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Peas	0000.02.3200	28-136*-P	–	–	–	Unpublished / Database	–
Stylus	0000.02.1393	29-136F*-A				Unpublished / Database	Copper alloy

as a basis for conclusions. The point I want to emphasise here is that the variety of objects belonging to the assemblage in A136-G makes it impossible to assign the figurine found there more or less clearly either to the sphere “religion” or “play”. We thus have three representative cases in which indeterminacy rules.

5 Preliminary Summary

My initial question was whether the archaeological record provides clear evidence for the use and function of our figurines. The answer is no: the three case studies illustrate the point that, for different reasons in each case, no clear decision was possible. The traditional reaction would be either to regret the fact that abandoned sites provide only limited insights into daily life or to blame the excavation records for failing to establish connections between objects or distinguishing rubbish from deposits. Although these considerations must be borne in mind, I would like to make an alternative suggestion, which takes seriously the problematic find situation and offers a rather different way of looking at the problem of identifying both objects and agency in the archaeological record. To start with, however, we have to shed further light on the initial premises underlying previous identifications of the figurines.

Given that a practice consists of identifiable elements, which form an entity that can be recognised by the respective agents (Shove *et al.*, 2012: 7), how can we recognise such practices in the archaeological record? In the present case, this element was the figurine itself, recognisable by its iconography. In fact, the reason why our figurines were often considered as “religious” images in the first place was their iconography: their outstretched arms were considered to represent an orant (i.e. praying) attitude (e.g. Torjesen, 1998). The case studies as presented above have shown that in spite of the shared iconography, the figurines were found in very different assemblages none

of which clearly indicates a specific function. Although I would certainly not exclude iconography as a meaningful criterion for potential use and function, I agree with Johnson (2003–2004: especially 60–61) that conclusions drawn from such evidence must be treated with caution if they depend exclusively on such arguments, i.e. when there is no other corroborative evidence for a given use of an object. At any rate, in the case of our Karanis figurines purely iconographical arguments are inconclusive. In the following section, therefore, another perspective is discussed that may help to illuminate the problem.

6 Individual Agency and Pragmatics of the Use of Objects

The conclusion I draw from the three case studies is that it is difficult to maintain a strict distinction between the categories of toy and religious image. We may instead suggest a model of the amphibolous use of such figurines, based on the pragmatics of object-use, i.e. the dependence of object-use on agents’ interpretations of context and situation (compare Weiss, 2015; for the term “amphibolous”, cf. Spariosu, 1989: 2). A narrow definition of signifying implies the establishment of clear boundaries between what is part of the signified and what is not (Midgley, 1992: 6). An example of such a narrow definition is the belief that religion is something *sui generis*, such that what is religious cannot be play, what is religious cannot be rubbish and vice versa. This approach views religion as an entity organised by religious symbols, but quite what these symbols are and how they become symbols often remains unclear. Whereas Bourdieu’s set of dispositions (= *habitus*) may come into mind to explain the agent’s scope of action, recent sociological studies increasingly emphasise the “recursive character of practice” (e.g. Shove *et al.*, 2012: 7) in order to explain why and how different agents may respond differently to the same symbol. Put differently,

practices are situational (Shove *et al.*, 2012: 7; Reckwitz, 2002: 250; Shove *et al.*, 2007), so if we want to understand how symbols are created and employed in practice it seems most fruitful to view religion as a “category of discourse” (Bergunder, 2011: 17; Greil, 2009: 148). Discourse here is not a category of explicit debate, but denotes the constant re-enactment by the agents of the meaning and significance of a system (cf. McGuire, 2008 even though she does not use the term).

I, thus, define religion as a system of orientation mediated through practices and beliefs directed towards divine beings. These practices and beliefs may be systematised as a doctrine or world-view by certain individuals or groups, but at the same time this systematisation provides opportunities for individual and group appropriation. The respective appropriations are negotiated depending on context and situations. Therefore, the concept of intentionality is crucial to my definition of religion or (better) religious practices and beliefs (on religion generally as a “practice of core intention[s]”, see also Bailey, 1998: 17). An artefact such as the representation/image of a divine being is thus not a religious symbol as such (compare Gell’s [1998: 7] rejection of an “intrinsic nature” of objects). On the contrary, “the nature” of an object “is a function of the social-relational matrix in which it is embedded” (Gell, 1998: 7). Put differently, the meaning of an object has to be activated by the agency of a human being to become relevant as a religious item; at the same time, it may fulfil a whole range of other potential functions such as memorialisation of a deceased relative, prestige, decoration etc. (compare also Vermaas & Houkes, 2006: 29).

Vermaas and Houkes (2006: 46) have recently thematised deviant user-behaviour that differs from the use the designer intended for a given object. They distinguish between “perceiving the function of an object [as a fixed concept] and perceiving how an object can [and will] be used” depending on agent and situation. The question is whether such an open definition of use other than intended may also apply to the use of historical artefacts such as our figurines from Karanis. Put differently, could an object intended for religious practices also have been used for non-religious purposes and vice versa? In fact, no explicit ego-documents on the use of domestic objects exist from Roman Egypt which would support the idea of a restricted use for domestic artefacts having been designed for a specific – say “religious” – use only.

The absence of clear evidence against such a model may allow us to conceptualise the function of artefacts “in terms of plans, i.e. structured sequences of considered actions”, that is in terms of the various uses to which it may over time be put. In the words of Midgely (1992: 11)

“sacredness is [not just] the ‘other’ to profanity, and profanity is [not just] the ‘other’ to sacredness,” but these categories depend on agent and situation. Hence, some religious objects may serve non-religious purposes in situations and vice versa. One potential non-religious use of the female figurines from Karanis is play. Similarly to the definition of religion as suggested above, I define play as a system of orientation, which becomes observable in practices of learning and/or enjoyment (compare also the definition provided by the English and Welsh National Children’s Bureau http://www.ncb.org.uk/media/124824/no.3_what_is_play.pdf; with references). A problem when trying to categorically distinguish between religion and play is the potential overlap of learning religion in play. A nice modern Christian example for an object that covers both potential usages is the Christmas crib, which has a clear Christian religious significance symbolising the birth of Jesus and at the same time may be used in play situations. Hence the category of “play” opens up a broad range of potential uses by children such as play with objects to learn religion (e.g. Bachmann & Hansmann, 1991: 19). Yet another possibility is children that may occasionally play with objects adults had not intended for play (e.g. Bachmann & Hansmann, 1991: 16).

These observations are perhaps best filled out by comparing them to another approach, in which play is defined as a “primitive form of expression”. This definition emphasises its symbolic, “abbreviated”, form, which replicates life, but does not duplicate it (Sutton-Smith, 1986: 138): “Playing house is not meant to be real house-keeping. A toy signifies that it means a real car, but certainly not what a real car means” (Sutton-Smith, 1986: 139). However, instead of a “violation of everyday rules” (Sutton-Smith, 1986: 140), this so-called pretence play, after its stipulation as such, unfolds a “causal chain” (Harris, 2000: 10; Harris & Kavanaugh, 1993: 86) and the terms agreed on by the agents are *temporary* (Harris, 2000: 11). This provides an interesting perspective on the potential overlap between play and religion suggested earlier: if this temporariness of meaning applies not only to play but also to other contexts (or symbolic systems), it could suggest that a figurine can be a toy in one situation and a divine image in another. In fact, such observations have been made in various African contexts such as in Ghana, where categories of religion and play may overlap (cf. Kohler, 1974) depending on the terms the agents agree on. Against earlier arguments that both religion and play create extra-ordinary realities and follow their own rules (Van Baal [1972: 121] who claims that both religion and art, but not play, take the world seriously; Cameron, 1996: 26–27), my hypothesis is that the choice of one system or the other might

have been situation-specific in Roman Egypt just as it may be today.

7 Conclusion

Three case studies of assemblages at Karanis containing a specific type of female figurine illustrated the point that identifying practices in domestic situations is difficult, especially where, as in this case, the evidence is stratigraphically shaky and the exact provenance of the artefacts within houses or excavation areas is usually unknown. Such female figurines have generally been explained within the larger framework of family concerns such as children and play, but also as religious images used in practices of family protection, human/plant fertility and reproduction. This religious interpretation is, however, based entirely on iconographic arguments, which are weakened by the complicated nature of the domestic assemblages.

Given the difficulty of establishing a clear pattern of usage for such a group of figurines, it seems worth arguing that the answer is to be found in the very ambiguity of indications of intended use. On the assumption that the studies provide typical find situations, I propose a “kaleidoscope” model that helps us to understand that these objects are not *either* religious *or* play-things, but that it is the agent-interpretant who determines an object's meaning depending on intention and situation (cf. Peirce, 1903). For the multi-functionality of an object is not just arbitrary. On the contrary, whereas the scope of potential interpretations may have its constraints, it is the intentional use of objects by agents that defines their meaning. Put differently, objects gain their meaning through re-enactment and appropriation (Shove *et al.*, 2012: 11).

The result of my analysis can be summarised as follows: 1) the meaning of the flat terracotta figurines found at Karanis should not be considered a matter of mutually exclusive options; we also need to go beyond the idea of multi-functional use or overlapping categories in domestic settings; 2) this can be done by invoking the notion of intentional agency in situations, which in turn allows for “switching”, which we may call “amphibolous” use; 3) amphibolous use does not necessarily mean that the agents themselves did not distinguish between religious and non-religious use, but that in some cases different uses of the same object may have co-existed side-by-side. This conclusion would be a commonplace argument for all kinds of pottery such as receptacles and lamps, and I suggest we should dare to apply this insight to other artefact groups as well.

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PART 5

The Levant and Mesopotamia

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From Alexandria to Tyros: The Egyptian Character of the Hellenistic Figurines from Kharayeb

Marianna Castiglione

Abstract

The Egyptianising terracotta figurines from Kharayeb, a shrine that is dated between the seventh and first centuries BCE, and it is located in the hinterland of Tyros, is analysed in order to show that the Egyptian influence was probably limited to the adoption of some technical, artistic and iconographic elements, without more significant religious implications. The recent study and reassessment of this Hellenistic figurine assemblage offers the opportunity to explore the “Alexandrian phenomenon” in the local coroplastic production, while the comparison with other classes of artefacts gives insights into the society, economy and art of this part of the Mediterranean during the formation of the so-called “Hellenistic world”.¹

1 The Site and the Archaeological Finds from Kharayeb, between Past and Present

The rural shrine of Kharayeb, in the hinterland of Tyros, is located in the vicinity of the modern town of Kharayeb, 3 km North of the Nahr el-Qasimiye, near Juret al-Khawatim. It was probably founded in the Persian period (seventh century BCE) and later modified under the Lagids, and consists of a rectangular structure, which comprises a courtyard flanked by rectangular chambers, and a *favissa*. It was excavated between 1946 and 1970 by H. Chéhab (1951–1952; 1953–1954) and B. Kaoukabani (1973), who also published the excavation reports and archaeological finds, paying particular attention to the iconography of the figurines, especially those that were fully preserved. Different kinds of finds were discovered in the paved

external courtyard and in the *favissa*: pottery, coins, glass and figurines. The figurines, in particular, provide a chronological framework for the complex, from the seventh to the first century BCE.

In 2009, a new study was undertaken, as part of a larger project which focused on the Phoenician materials from the National Museum of Beirut, under the direction of Ida Oggiano (ISMA-CNR Rome). This recent investigation adopts a new methodological approach, in order to process both qualitative and quantitative data and to contextualise the terracottas in a broader artistic, cultural, ritual and social context. Between 2009 and 2012, all the figurines, including the fragmentary ones (c. 16,500 pieces), were examined. The fragments selected for the analytical study (c. 1500 fragments) have been stored in a database and will be analysed in terms of iconographic and stylistic features, as well as technical aspects: manufacturing techniques and fabric types, characterised by macro- and microscopic examination of pastes and petrographic analysis.

The figurine assemblage from the sanctuary's *favissa* can be chronologically divided into two main “layers”. The first, dated to the Persian period, comprises a few types of locally produced figurines, generally handmade or created from single moulds. They are mostly inspired by the regional iconographic repertoire (horsemen, horses and chariots, pregnant women, drum players, women holding their breasts, etc.), but also by Greek productions (e.g. cross-shaped *korai*) and Egyptian types (e.g. figurines of Bes, some Egyptianising heads and a bearded local god, seated and wearing an *atef* crown). The second “layer”, which has been dated to the Hellenistic period based on the technical and iconographic features of the figurines, presents a broad variety of iconographies. They display mainly Greek stylistic elements (deities but also common people featured in many ways, involved in different activities and holding many objects), derived both from Mainland Greece and from the Islands, but also some similarities with Egyptian types.

This varying complexity, which reflects Greek and Egyptian tastes, was certainly related to the new, easier and more frequent connections between many countries

¹ The study of all the coroplastic fragments from Kharayeb, which are currently housed in the storerooms of the Direction Générale des Antiquités du Liban, is still in progress (Oggiano, 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; 2014; 2015a; 2015b; forthcoming) and will be fully published in the Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaise (BAAL). The project is supported by the Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico (ISMA) of the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche in Rome (CNR) and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE). I am very grateful to I. Oggiano, who gave me the opportunity to collaborate in this study. I am also thankful to T. D'Angelo, who improved my English text.

and cities along the Mediterranean coasts. Although it was located in a rural context, Kharayeb had direct access to harbours and maintained good communications with the hinterland.

2 The Egyptianising Assemblage from Kharayeb

The relationships between Egypt and the shrine of Kharayeb during the Hellenistic period are archaeologically visible thanks to the Egyptianising figurines found in this area. The re-evaluation of this assemblage offers the opportunity to investigate the networks between Hellenistic Phoenicia and Egypt, and to examine thoroughly the “Alexandrian phenomenon” in local coroplastic production and its influence on the Mediterranean coastal cities, as well as its impact inland (Fig. 25.1). The influence of Ptolemaic Egypt, and Alexandria in particular, on coroplastic production is documented from various archaeological contexts (sanctuaries, burials, houses) along the Mediterranean coasts: Delos, Priene, Tarsos, Myrina, Cyprus and some centres of Palestine, to mention just some examples.

The issue of distinguishing between local and imported objects concerns all the archaeological sites, where Greek or Egyptianising terracotta figurines have been found. It is also hard to ascertain, especially without petrographic analysis and a database of fabrics, whether these centres were “producers” and/or “users”: this is the case of Alexandria vs Attica/Boeotia; Myrina vs Attica/Boeotia; Alexandria vs Tarsos/Myrina/Pantikapaion; Delos vs Alexandria, etc.

Egypt and Phoenicia had developed a close relationship already before the Hellenistic period, when Ptolemaic possessions along coastal Phoenicia and Palestine formed part of *Coele Syria*, under the jurisdiction of designated Ptolemaic officials (Bresciani, 1987; Grainger, 1991; Millar, 2006: 32–50). The arrival of Hellenistic Egyptian iconographies in Kharayeb, where it was already possible to find Egyptianising themes and symbols not only in terracottas, but also in sculpture and architectural decoration, like in Umm el-Amed, near Tyros, and in other centres of ancient Palestine, like Anafe, Ake, Mispe-Yamim and Maresha (Kaoukabani, 1973; Aliquot, 2004: 203–207; Erlich, 2009; Michelau, 2014), “should be seen as an echo of what was happening along the Phoenician coast, where the change in local production of workshops led to the acquisition of techniques from the West Mediterranean”, as Ida Oggiano has recently hypothesised (Oggiano, 2015: 516).

The absence of Egyptian moulds at the site makes it difficult to determine whether all the Egyptianising figurines

and/or the moulds were imported from Alexandria or from the Phoenician coastal centres (e.g. Sidon or Tyros), or, at least some of them, were produced locally using the *surmoulage* technique. It could also be possible that Egyptian workers moved to Phoenicia or that Phoenician craftsmen worked in Egyptian/Alexandrian workshops, where they learnt and improved this art. In fact, it is known that the Ptolemies provided the infrastructures for travel and migration to Egypt and to the new city of Alexandria from many areas of the Mediterranean world: Thrace, Macedonia, Mainland Greece, Aegean islands, western Asia Minor, Persia, Syria and Judea. Furthermore, Ptolemy I himself took Seleucid mercenaries from *Coele Syria* and Jews as captives to Egypt. A multicultural group of immigrants arrived there, and the ethnic designations of these settlers, who appear in great numbers on documentary papyri and inscriptions from Egypt, allow us to refine this picture (Mueller, 2000: 167–175. Cf. Kassab Tezgör, 2007: 272–273, 356–358); approximately 15 ethnic names mentioned from the third to the first centuries BCE are related, for example, to the Phoenician cities of Sidon and Tyros (La’da, 2002). Thus, it is not impossible that some of these people were involved in coroplastic production.

Another hypothesis suggests that Delos, where many Egyptianising figurines were found and the Egyptian community was large, was the melting pot where Phoenicians were exposed to these foreign iconographic types: there is evidence that in the second century BCE a community of warehouse-keepers and ship owners from Beirut and some people coming from Tyros lived on the island (Sartre, 1998: 162; Compatangelo-Soussignan, 2006: 176). It is also important to keep in mind that the connection between masters and craftsmen, as well as the networks of artistic and artisanal patterns moving from Alexandria to the East, is more impressive than we can imagine, if we heed, for example, that many different artefacts discovered in Begram, in Afghanistan, certainly derived from Alexandrian models, and that Alexandrian glass reached by sea not only Ethiopia, but also the delta of the Indus River (Hackin, 1954; Adriani, 1955; Cambon, 2006). The art of Alexandria circulated in the eastern and western Mediterranean, thanks to political, cultural, economic and trading impulses.

The case study of Kharayeb, therefore, gives the opportunity to gather some further data on the phenomenon of the Alexandrian filter and influence in Phoenicia and the eastern Mediterranean, mainly by examining fabrics, technique and manufacture. The visual macroscopic examination of the Hellenistic fabrics, compared with the samples of the Archaic period, as well the microscopic analysis done with a petrographic microscope, seems to



FIGURE 25.1 Distribution map with central and eastern Mediterranean sites

confirm that figurines from Kharayeb were generally produced locally, also during the Hellenistic period. In fact, all the pastes are characterised by the presence of many microfossils and numerous small rounded rock inclusions, which might suggest that the production was carried out in workshops near the coast (both Egyptian and Phoenician) or near a river. This would also imply the

existence of a local production in the hinterland of the shrine, considering that this was located 3 km North of the Nahr el-Qasimiye. The petrographic analysis, which is being carried out by Giovanni Boschian (University of Pisa), could confirm this hypothesis or not.

As for the manufacturing techniques, there are not many differences in craftsmanship: with the indigenous

production and the use of local clay, we note the overwhelming use of double moulds, widespread in Egypt (Barrett, 2011: 98–99), and the presence of polychrome decoration, in some cases very well preserved. Comparing all the data we have, the technology could be a good argument in favour of imported moulds or imported “know-how”. It is well known that the Alexandrian production of the so-called Tanagra type figurines, based on Greek models dated between the end of the fourth and the second centuries BCE, has typical and recurring features: the woman is standing without or on a low base; both the head and the body are obtained from one mould; the back of the figurine is flat as a result of the use of a single mould; and the vent hole in its back, made to prevent splitting during firing, is always small and circular. The fact that some of these features are found in many terracotta figurines from Kharayeb confirms the strong interaction between Alexandria and the Phoenician site, possibly mediated by the coastal centres.

On the one hand, the overall fine quality of some of the figurines’ details, especially regarding heads and garments, also leads us to consider the possibility of moulds imported from Greece and Egypt, and then locally imitated. On the other hand, many of them are of lesser quality, but it is not possible to establish whether they were affected by some later damage, or whether they were originally created in coarser fabric or made with the *surmoulage* technique.

More information could also be obtained by combining the technical data with a detailed iconographic analysis of the Egyptianising figurines from Kharayeb. They borrow typologies from Egypt, but they also display strong local features (Ballet, 2000: 109; Lancellotti, 2003; Aliquot, 2004), as was common in the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean, like Delos (Barrett, 2011), Cyprus (Ballet, 2000: 109; Papantoniou, 2009; 2012: 245–294) and Syria, as well as Tarsos and Myrina (Ballet, 2000: 109). Methodologically, it is fundamental to take into account that the category of Egyptian types, which could be defined macroscopically as a hybridisation of originally Greek terracottas, includes not only figurines with Egyptianising coiffures and garments, but also stylistically Greek types which were completely invented, reinvented, or largely attested in Alexandria. In the assemblage of the *favissa*, we can record different iconographies: mainly divinities that combine both Egyptian and Greek elements, like the group of Isis and Harpocrates, Apis, Bes, “Baubo”, *Ptah-Pataikos*, and the child Harpocrates, but also religious attendants and worshippers involved in many ritual activities.

First, we shall examine the deities, clearly recognisable by means of their characteristics and attributes, and

analyse their quantitative data and their iconographic variants within a single type. Isis *lactans* is associated with at least five rather similar figurines: this iconography could be considered relatively standard in the shrine, when compared with other less popular Greek deities, but not as common as Harpocrates. The goddess, enthroned with naked Harpocrates seated on her left thigh, has corkscrew curls and wears a long *chiton* and a fringed *himation* with the Isiac knot between her breasts. All the specimens of this group differ from the canonic Egyptian model (Breccia, 1934: 20; Dunand, 1990: 140–144): the goddess does not touch her left breast with her right hand, which is instead resting on the throne, and there seems to be a small animal, perhaps a dog, on her left side. Furthermore, she is not feeding Harpocrates, who is trying to stroke her face with his right hand (Fig. 25.2).

Tran Tam Tinh identified the distinctive features of the figurines from Kharayeb and, based on the Phoenician enthroned goddess, in 1973 he argued that these terracottas were produced in Syria from Egyptian archetypes (Tran Tam Tinh, 1973: 75–76; Aliquot, 2004: 209). We can reasonably argue that the Phoenician iconography was a local re-elaboration of an imported prototype, which originated in an Egyptian centre like Alexandria or Memphis, where various kinds of Hellenised Isis were created, and that all these types participated in the so called Isiac diaspora (Ballet, 2000; Malaise, 2000; Bricault, 2007). In addition, the small and round vent hole on the back of the object seems to indicate an Egyptian model (Barrett, 2011: 100).

As for the bull-deity Apis and the so-called “Baubo” (Isiac/Hathoric female in labour), we count only one or two examples, respectively. “Baubo”, a naked woman sitting on the ground, with her legs spread and the right hand over her crotch, is an Alexandrian production. A few examples of this type were found in Kharayeb, Delos, Klazomenai (Besques, 1971–1972: 123 D822), Tarsos and Smyrna (Breccia, 1934: 37–38; Besques, 1971–1972: 299 D2449–2450, 91 D354, 178 D1265–1266; Fischer, 1995) (Fig. 25.3).

The figurines of the naked standing Bes with two snakes, a popular terracotta type of the Hellenistic period (Wilson, 1975; Spanò Giammellaro, 1995: 46–47), differ from the previous ones mainly because they are hollow and double-moulded; at least seven examples have been found in the shrine of Kharayeb (Fig. 25.4). The Kharayeb corpus also includes at least two fragmentary representations of a specifically Memphite dwarf deity, common in the Greek world (Barrett, 2011: 279–284): *Ptah-Pataikos* or *Patake*. He is naked, with a fully human, bald head and a round, furrowed face.

The identification of two fragmentary figurines as the Sothic dog, a type of dog often recognised as the



FIGURE 25.2 Isis *lactans*, from Kharayeb
AFTER CHÉHAB, 1953–1954: PL. XXXII 3

furry, curly-tailed Maltese spitz, is uncertain. The greater quantity of such figurines in Egypt than in the rest of the Mediterranean, and their earlier attestation there, suggest that the type originated in Egypt, where it represented the dog-star Sothis. By the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Sothic dogs were relatively common subjects not only within Egypt, but also in Egyptianising terracottas from the Greek world. The dubious identification in the case of the Kharayeb's examples derives from the absence of the

collar and *bulla*, typical of this iconographic type (Barrett, 2011: 187–189).

The child-god Harpocrates is one of the most popular elements of Egyptianising iconography in Kharayeb and it is well known also from other Egyptian contexts (Ballet, 2000: 104–110). He is attested by at least 168 figurines and he is usually standing or reclining with a cornucopia in his left hand, alone or as part of a group. We know that the child-god produced in Alexandria has distinctive features:



FIGURE 25.3 "Baubo", from Kharayeb
AFTER CHÉHAB, 1953–1954: PL. XXX 4



FIGURE 25.4
Bes, from Kharayeb
AFTER CHÉHAB, 1953–1954:
PL. VI

the curly hair is often crowned with the *pschent* or with a thick wreath of flowers; he is standing and holding a cornucopia with his left hand; he is usually naked, sometimes wearing a *chlamys* on his shoulder or a tunic (Ballet, 1998: 222–223). This Alexandrian iconography finds numerous parallels at Kharayeb, and is also documented in Delos, Myrina, Tarsos and Pantikapaion (Laumonier, 1956: 138–143; Besques, 1971–1972: 281–282; Ballet, 2000; Barrett, 2011) (Fig. 25.5). In the *favissa*, other Alexandrian iconographies are also recorded: the child-god riding a goose (Breccia, 1934: 29; Dunand, 1990: 88–90; Boutantin, 2014: 446–449) (Fig. 25.6), and possibly some figurines where he is riding a horse (Breccia, 1934: 28–29; Dunand, 1990: 81–86; Boutantin, 2014: 168–172, 192–195), certainly attested elsewhere in Lebanon, in a local variant, as shown by a figurine housed in the Museum of the American University of Beirut (Sartre, 1998: 162–163; Ballet, 2000: 109) (Fig. 25.7).

We have also some cult attendants, the tambourine player and the ritual dancer, known in some Greek sites and widespread in Alexandria, where they were probably connected with the cult of Isis, since musicians and dancers played a significant role in her festivals. The girls with tambourine, represented by at least 13 examples, are standing, playing a large tambourine they hold in their left hand, or carrying the instrument without playing it (Fig. 25.8). They usually wear two long tunics, one over the other, have a wreath of flowers on their head, and their hair is usually parted in the middle and falls in corkscrew curls on their shoulders. Even though music played an important role in religious ritual, as an accompaniment to praise and as a powerful means of expression and propaganda, these kinds of musicians are widely recorded only in Alexandria, where they sometimes wear a mantle with the Isiac knot on the breast, Cyprus and Kharayeb (Dunand, 1990: 192–195; Ballet, 1995; Papantoniou, 2012: 255).

The "mantle dancer", so-called "titeux dancer", appeared first in the fifth century BCE in vase painting, and then in the early fourth century BCE was used for terracotta figurines. She is wrapped tightly in her mantle and the *himation* covers her head, and at times her mouth and nose, leaving only the eyes visible (Fig. 25.9). This is usually interpreted as a fashion and a woman's gesture linked to the complex system of social signs. In the case of the terracotta figurines, it can also indicate respect for the divinity and must be associated with the spinning movement: the veil, the almost completely covered face, but especially the twisting of the body, are elements that confirm that she is a ritual dancer. The "mantle dancer" figurines, at least 225 in Kharayeb, are very popular in Alexandria, and they have also been found in Athens (Besques, 1971–1972: 2), Corinth (Merker, 2000: 151–156),



FIGURE 25.5 Harpocrates with cornucopia, from Kharayeb
AFTER CHÉHAB, 1953–1954: PL. III 3



FIGURE 25.6 Harpocrates riding a goose, from Kharayeb
AFTER CHÉHAB, 1953–1954: PL. V 4



FIGURE 25.7 Harpocrates riding a horse, Museum of the American University of Beirut, inv. no. 623
AFTER SARTRE, 1998: 163

Macedonia, Halai (Locris), Eutresis, Eleusis, South Russia, Pergamon, Priene, Rhodes (Thompson, 1963: 104 notes 202–203), Cyprus (Papantoniou, 2012: 255–256), Troy (Thompson, 1963: 102–107), Cyrenaica, southern Italy and Sicily (Thompson, 1963: 104 note 203; Besques, 1994: 33–34; Bell III, 1981: 64–65; Sardella, 2003: 85–86;). The presence of a bronze “mantle dancer” figurine in Egypt could



FIGURE 25.8 Tambourine player, from Kharayeb
AFTER CHÉHAB, 1953–1954: PL. XLIV 2



FIGURE 25.9 "Mantle dancer", from Kharayeb
AFTER CHÉHAB, 1953–1954: PL. XCVIII 2

confirm the importance of this type in the country and its probable "irradiation" from there to other places (Fischer, 1995; Manino, 1995).

There are also two other figurines with an Isiac knot: one of them performs a sacrifice on an altar, while the other is an Isiac attendant who carries a plate probably with some offerings (Fig. 25.10). Furthermore, there are eight other Egyptianising heads and five figurines with Egyptian garments. In the assemblage, there is also an African head, moulded and solid, with short curly hair and slightly bald above the forehead. African physiognomic traits include thick eyebrows, flat nose, thick lips and large mouth. Many Africans (generally Nubians and Ethiopians) lived in Alexandria, and their representations became very popular in the Greek world and in the



FIGURE 25.10 Isiac attendant, from Kharayeb
AFTER CHÉHAB, 1953–1954: PL. LXVIII 2

eastern Mediterranean, especially during the Hellenistic period, when contacts between Greeks and Africans via Alexandria became more and more frequent as a result of the conquests of Alexander (Breccia, 1934: 51–52; Karageorghis, 2003: 101).

Finally, we must also consider the grotesque types, widely attested in Boeotia, Athens, Delos, Amisos, Tarsos and Smyrna (Besques, 1971–1972: 35–37, 79, 83, 169 D1172), but also in southern Italy (Besques, 1986: 74 D3710, 133–134 D4087–4088) (Fig. 25.11). The popularity of these types in Kharayeb, where at least 35 figurines are recorded, as well as in those other centres, could result from influence by the Alexandrian world, where spectacles, entertainment, theatrical and musical performances provided a language of visual images, evidence of the lively and expressive



FIGURE 25.11 Grotesque figurine, from Kharayeb
AFTER CHÉHAB, 1953–1954: PL. XI 4

imagination of the Ptolemaic city (Breccia, 1934: 54–57; Connelly, 1990; Besques, 1994: 23).

3 Concluding Remarks

The terracotta figurines from Kharayeb document archaeologically the historical relationship between Egypt and Phoenicia. The widespread diffusion of Egyptian figurines in the eastern Mediterranean, compared with their rather scanty presence in the western Mediterranean, and their similarity to the prototypes, in contrast to the western Egyptianising figurines, express a common Ptolemaic culture. Technical and iconographic data show a strong interaction between the two areas, but testify also to a massive local production.

At this point, it is necessary to raise some questions which can represent starting points for future discussion: how deep was the Egyptian influence in the rural society of Tyros? How well does it reflect the *Zeitgeist* of this area? Did it have here significant religious implications?

Were Egyptian gods actually worshipped in the shrine of Kharayeb?

The comparison with some different artefacts discovered in Cyprus and Palestine, and certainly related to Alexandrian art (architectural decoration, marble and stone statues, wall paintings, bronze and terracotta figurines), seems to suggest that the Egyptian influence affected many aspects of Hellenistic Eastern life (Jacobson, 2007; Held, 2008–2009; Erlich, 2009; Papantoniou, 2009; 2012; 2013). In Kharayeb, as well as in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, this phenomenon was probably limited to the adoption of some technical, artistic and iconographic features, without more important religious implications. “The use of Egyptian iconography is a medium and not an end in itself, and cannot necessarily serve as an indication of Egyptian cultic practice”, as Erlich argued for ancient Palestine (Erlich, 2009: 39).

The Egyptianising phenomenon was a process similar to Hellenisation, and both of them began long before Alexander’s conquest: when he invaded Phoenicia with his army, he discovered a world already deeply “Hellenised”, and from the Hellenistic period onwards this trend continued to increase. The majority of the urban elites of the coastal cities spoke Greek and had Greek names, and the cities of Tyros and Sidon were reorganised as Hellenic *poleis* in the latter part of the third century BCE – both had *stadia* and *gymnasia*, for instance – (Grainger, 1991; Sartre, 1998; Nitschke, 2007). It is also clear that almost all the cities along the coast, which Pseudo-Scylax listed in the mid-fourth century (*GGM* 1, 78–79), preserved their ancient non-Greek names and were not re-founded. This is the case for Arados, Botrys, Byblos, Beirut, Sidon, Tyros, Sarepta, Ake, Doros and Ioppe (Millar, 2006: 34). Furthermore, part of the population continued to speak Phoenician at a time when the Greek language was well known and employed in bureaucratic contexts. This argument seems to be confirmed also by the fact that some coins from Arados, Byblos, Beirut and Tyros continued to have legends in Phoenician (Briquel-Chatonnet, 1991; Millar, 2006: 34, 41). The Phoenician language was also used in inscriptions, for example in Umm el-‘Amed (Dunand & Duru, 1962; Millar, 2006: 42; Nitschke, 2011), as well as in Kharayeb, and some earlier deities continued to be worshipped, as attested at Umm el-‘Amed, where the temple was dedicated to the local god Milkashtart.

In assessing this data, we must acknowledge, as Corinne Bonnet rightly pointed out, that “the strong persistence of native languages in ritual contexts does not necessarily reveal a lack of ‘Hellenisation’ and consequently a ‘primitive’ or ‘conservative’ behaviour” (Bonnet, 2013: 43). In the process of Hellenisation of Phoenicia, conceived as a

“language” to which different people could contribute, the “creation of cross-cultural compromises” represented a crucial point (Bonnet, 2013: 41–42). The coexistence of various images made of Phoenician-Greek and Phoenician-Egyptian elements provided a new way of expressing indigenous traditions. Local customs and attitudes must have survived in Kharayeb and the use of Phoenician in the inscription found in the shrine (Chéhab, 1951–1952: 77 n. 1130; 1953–1954: pl. C1; 1955) or in the letters carved on the figurines before firing (Chéhab, 1951–1952: 78) seems to confirm this hypothesis.

Looking also at the more numerous Greek-style figurines, we detect the presence of Egyptian models applied to a local cult, rather than the existence of a purely Egyptian cult. That is to say, a form of syncretism, conceived both as a complex hybrid reality determined by connectivity and cross-cultural processes, and as a fluid adoption and use of religious names, practices, images, mental habits and beliefs. This is not only expressed in the more common form of “local elements merging with Greek ones”, but also in the more complex form of “local elements merging with Egyptian/Greek/Eastern ones”. It is not easy to establish with certainty whether the Egyptianising influence was the result of a conscious personal choice or a resolution of the Ptolemaic rulers. It is also still unclear whether, at least in the coastal centres, the adoption of symbols and images was accompanied by the assimilation of some Egyptian and Ptolemaic cults, as Barrett proposed for the Egyptianising figurines from Delos (Barrett, 2011).

We can hypothesise that Egyptianising models and symbols were used in material culture like Greek ones, both of them very successful in cultic life, but we must keep in mind that the coroplasts were probably more concerned with the artistic rather than the religious aspect of a theme: for example, they were interested in forms and movements more than in ritual performances.

Similarly, the worshippers of Kharayeb probably adopted these “new” features without changing their behaviour, remaining deeply involved in local religious traditions and rituality: Egyptian and Greek cults, through their association with local ones, became part of the indigenous mentality. Greek and Egyptian influences became more and more visible, due to their polysemic values which made them immediately accessible to different social or ethnic groups, but at the same time the Phoenician traditions maintained their strength.

To conclude, the Egyptianising figurines from Kharayeb are a good example to explore, with a socio-cultural approach, the processes of selection, assimilation, re-elaboration, transmission and also rejection of “foreign models”, often combined and blended with the local ones.

They also offer the opportunity to analyse artisanal dynamics that caused local manufacture. In trying to understand the cultural implications of this artistic production, we should bear in mind the words of Larissa Bonfante, who thus explained the adoption of the nude in artefacts produced outside of Greece: "From the seventh through the fourth centuries BCE nudity was represented in art in both Greece and Italy, but with different meanings. In Italy, Greek civilisation brought with it its 'modern' ways, without, however, changing customs and attitudes deeply rooted in the religion and traditions of the people living in Etruria and other regions of ancient Italy" (Bonfante, 1989: 569).

Egyptianising figurines do not necessarily imply the presence of Egyptian cults, but rather they express a syncretism of models and forms adapted to local religious needs (e.g. fertility, protection, healing, salvation, and regeneration) and a transformation of earlier traditional images into new ones that were able to introduce the "international" gods to urban and rural, elite and non-elite worshippers.

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Toward a Levantine *Koine*: Ties between Hellenistic Terracottas from *Coele Syria* and Cyprus

Adi Erlich

Abstract

Ties between Cyprus and *Coele Syria* are evident from the earliest periods of human history. During the Hellenistic period, the Levantine terracottas were for the most part *koine* types, with some local characteristics. Cyprus and *Coele Syria* share common features in their coroplastic production, such as re-occurring types, unique types and a Ptolemaic influence. The terracottas from the region convey transformations of general Hellenistic ideas to local values and beliefs. The terracottas that compose the Levantine *koine* are the result of a cultural choice rather than commerce or political borders. The terracotta figurines are not mere goods but are signs of culture and identity.

1 Introduction

Ties between Cyprus and the southern Levant are evident from the earliest periods of human history. The geographical proximity and similarities between the two areas served as a joint platform for mutual ties and relationships through the ages. With regard to coroplastic production, however, Cyprus had its own long tradition and local practices, often distinct from other areas of the eastern Mediterranean. From the sixth to the fourth century BCE, typological similarities between the terracottas of Cyprus, Phoenicia and Palestine were limited. The Phoenician terracottas had only little influence on the Cypro-Achaic production (Vandenabeele, 1989; Reyes, 1994: 130–131), and at the same time, Cypriot types are rare among the Phoenician and Palestinian terracottas (Stern, 1982: 165–176, 181–182). The coroplastic production in the various parts shows regionalism (Bisi, 1990; Connelly, 1991: 98–99; Erlich, 2006). Imports of sculptured material from Cyprus to the Palestinian and Phoenician coast were restricted mainly to stone statuettes (Stern, 2010: 19–21).

In the beginning of the Hellenistic period the political change in the area was followed by a cultural change. In Cyprus, which was dominated by the Ptolemies throughout the Hellenistic period, this change was recently described in terms of a move “from the Cypriot *Basileis* to the Hellenistic *Strategos*” by Papantoniou (2012), who

proves it to be a slow and complex process (Papantoniou, 2013). The southern Levant, named *Coele Syria*, was under the rule of the Ptolemaic kingdom in the third century, the main historical evidence for which is the Zenon Papyri, dated to 258–257 BCE (Tscherikower, 1937). After the battle of Paneion in 198 BCE, only Cyprus remained under Ptolemaic rule, while the Levantine coast was transferred to the Seleucids. Whatever kingdom ruled these areas, their history was often intertwined because of their extensive trading networks and relative proximity.

Various locales responded differently to the Hellenistic *koine*: the cities of Cyprus and the Phoenician coast, which have been exposed to Greek imports and influences since the Persian domination (Ambar-Armon & Kloner, 2007; Papantoniou, 2012: 41–46; 2013: 182–183), soon adopted the main *koine* traits. Other inland sites, non-urban sites and places settled by segregated groups (such as Jews and Samaritans), or with groups adhering to old traditions such as certain Phoenician shrines (Nitschke, 2011), were less keen to adopt new customs.

In Palestine and Phoenicia, changes related to private life, such as changes in pottery, language and burial customs, though not all-encompassing, occurred as early as the third century BCE (Erlich, 2009a: 117–119; for a different view emphasising continuity over change see Tal, 2006). In Cyprus, which was more oriented to the West and held more closely by the Ptolemies, the *koine* was introduced even earlier, and was also expressed in monumental public buildings, such as the Early Hellenistic theatre at Nea Paphos (Papantoniou, 2013: 173–174, fig. 3).

The Hellenistic *koine* or the cultural traits common in the Hellenistic world did not pass over coroplastic production. The change of types, style and sometimes even technology is evident from at least the beginning of the third century BCE. It is best manifested in *favissae* on the Levantine coast. A deposit pit in Area B at Tel Dor, dated from the fifth century BCE and up to c. 275 BCE, included both Persian-period types of the fifth and fourth centuries, such as bearded men in eastern style, and Early Hellenistic types, such as temple boys, Baubo, and women in the Tanagra style (Erlich, 2010: 124–125, 128, 142, 175; Stern, 2010: 5–6, 17, 19, figs. 2, 17, 24, pls. 2, 11, 14;). The *favissa* from

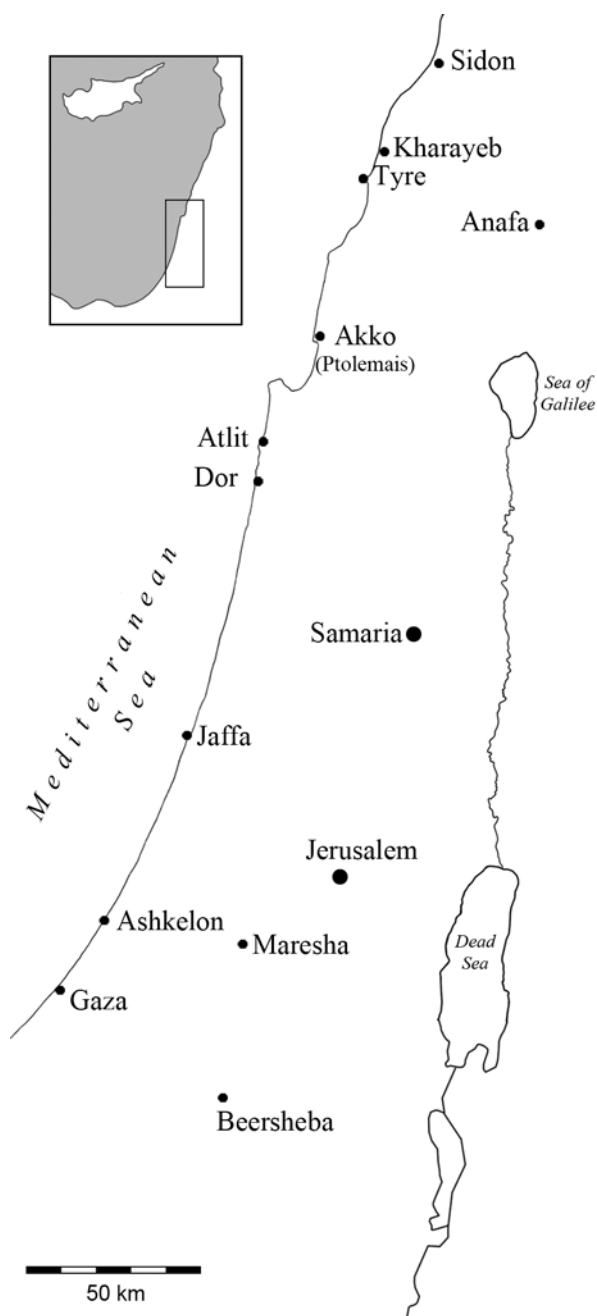


FIGURE 26.1 Map of the southern Levant with main sites cited

PREPARED BY A. REGEV-GISIS

the shrine at Kharayeb also demonstrates the change from Persian to Hellenistic types (Chéhab, 1951–1954: 155–160). In other places, coroplasts clung to traditional types, like the horse-and-rider types in Kourion (Connelly, 1990: 95; Winter, 1991) and the large-scale statuettes (Connelly, 1991: 97; Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004: nos. 332–342).

Various layers of influence were exerted on Hellenistic terracottas of the eastern Mediterranean (Erllich & Kloner, 2008: 129–130; Erllich, 2009a: 58–60). One is the general Hellenistic *koine*, which extended from South Italy in the

West to Central Asia in the East, and from the Black Sea in the North to Egypt in the South. Terracottas portraying Eros, for example, or standing draped women in the Tanagra style, are found all over the Hellenistic world. Another layer is that of the regional traditions, such as Ptolemaic Egypt with its mixed types of Greek and Egyptian origins, or the Mesopotamian cities with mixed Greek and Parthian types. The third and most particular factor is the local traditions, such as Hellenistic *rhyta* (Erllich, 2009b) and pillar figurines (Erllich, 2014a) from the Idumaeen town of Maresha, or the long-lived traditional horse riders from Kourion (Connelly, 1990: 95). In this paper, I will focus on the second layer mentioned here, the Levantine or eastern Mediterranean *koine* (Fig. 26.1). I will aim to characterise it and decipher its reasons and meaning for local societies.

The main drawback in trying to sketch the character of the Hellenistic terracottas from the eastern Mediterranean is the scarcity of evidence. In relation to previous periods, Hellenistic terracottas are few both in number and in number of sites, and their quality is often inferior to that of terracottas from other Hellenistic centres. In Cyprus, many of the Hellenistic terracottas were retrieved during the 19th century and are now in museums (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 256–287; Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004). The only site that was properly excavated and yielded a large assemblage of Hellenistic terracottas is Amathous, although most are relatively late in date (Queyrel, 1988). The situation on the Levantine coast is not much better, with Kharayeb (Chéhab, 1951–1954; Oggiano 2015) and Tel Dor (Erllich, 2010) on the coast and Maresha inland (Erllich & Kloner, 2008) being exceptions. Indeed, it seems that the coroplastic traditions in the Hellenistic Levant decreased and became more universal and featureless. However, certain common features emerge from the limited evidence that we possess.

We have scant evidence for imports from Cyprus to Palestine and Phoenicia during the Hellenistic period, such as a battering ram found near Atlit on the Israeli coast, which arrived from one of the Cypriot ports (Erllich, 2009a: 38). As for terracottas, there is one exception for an Early Hellenistic import from Cyprus – a terracotta depicting two seated women from a *favissa* pit from the shrine at Beersheba in the Negev Desert in southern Israel, which was most probably made in Kition (Derfler, 1981; Erllich, 2009a: 58). The figurine, dated to the fourth and third centuries BCE, belongs to the assemblage of terracottas found in the salt lake near Larnaca, and was probably produced there (Yon, 1992). A close parallel for the Beersheba terracotta is included in the Cesnola Collection (Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1893: pl. CCV no. 1). The finding of a

Cypriot terracotta in a remote shrine of lesser importance is enigmatic. However, other figurines from the *favissa* pits of that shrine attest to its eclectic character – Egyptian bronzes, Hellenistic-style terracottas and an ivory figurine in a local style (Giveon, 1973: pls. 22–23; Derfler, 1993: pls. 13–15, 23, 25, 43; Erlich, 2009a: 32–33, 58, 100), suggests that the shrine served travellers and traders, who came from distant places and passed through it, dedicating diverse objects. Therefore, presence of the Kition terracotta at Beersheba seems to reflect a casual object rather than systematic importation. Sporadic imports from Phoenicia and Palestine to Cyprus may have also occurred, though there is no suggestive evidence in the archaeological record, and only systematic analysis of clay may prove cross-relations between the two regions.

Since Hellenistic terracottas involve serial production and numerous types, resulting in the easy spread of moulds and figurines all over the Mediterranean, the regional *koiné* in terracottas is elusive and hard to pinpoint. It is expressed in three main characteristics, which involve the selection of types out of the huge pan-Hellenistic corpus: Ptolemaic influence and to a lesser extent influence from Asia Minor; reoccurring types that suited the local tastes; and types unparalleled or rare outside the region. I will demonstrate these common features as they appear at the main sites, in different parts of the region, where Hellenistic terracottas have been found. Maresha was an Idumaeon town in the Judean foothills in southern Israel, with a mixed population, which flourished between the third and second centuries BCE (Kloner, 2003; Kloner *et al.*, 2010). Tel Dor is situated further to the North, on the coast, and was a town in southern Phoenicia (Stern, 2000). Akko was also a Phoenician town, re-founded as Ptolemais by Ptolemy II (Beeri, 2008). Kharayeb was a small shrine between Tyre and Sidon (Chéhab, 1951–1954). Amathous was a city on the southern coast of Cyprus (Papantoniou, 2012: 221–257). References will also be made to other, smaller sites and terracottas from museum collections.

2 The Terracottas

One main feature, common to Cyprus and *Coele Syria*, is the Ptolemaic influence. Terracottas of Egyptianising types have been found at Amathous, Maresha, Akko and Kharayeb. Interestingly, Tel Dor shows no Egyptianising influence, but seems to be inclined to the North, in Asia Minor (Erlich, 2010: 160–161). Ptolemaic deities are popular in the local coroplastic repertoires. The images of Isis and related figures (Ptolemaic queens, Isis priestesses, women dressed in Isis garb, and the so-called “Isis Aphrodite” or

naked woman with elaborate headdress and Hathoric symbols), Serapis, and the infant Harpocrates, originated in Ptolemaic Egypt (for a summary of the Graeco-Roman Egyptian deities, see Bailey, 2008: 7–21). Isis appears in the terracottas of Amathous, where her image is second only to Aphrodite (Queyrel, 1988: 59–73, pls. 14–22; Papantoniou, 2012: 248–250). At Kharayeb, images of Isis *lactans*, the Apis Bull and Harpocrates were recovered (Chéhab, 1951–1954: 125–130, pls. III–IV, X no. 4, XXXII no. 3). Terracottas portraying Harpocrates and the Apis bull were retrieved at Tel Anafa in Upper Galilee (Erlich, 2018: 243) (Fig. 26.2). Akko yielded terracottas depicting Isis, “Isis Aphrodite” and Harpocrates (Messika, 1997: 122, fig. 1; Erlich, 2009a: 46–47). A Serapis head was found at Samaria, where a dedication to Serapis and Isis was also discovered (Crowfoot, Crowfoot & Kenyon, 1957: 37, pls. v.1, XII no. 4). Maresha yielded terracottas of Isis, “Isis Aphrodite” and Harpocrates (Erlich & Kloner, 2008: 10–11, 15–18, pls. 4 no. 15, 6 no. 25, 7 nos. 26–29) (Fig. 26.3), as well as an inscription on a small *arula* mentioning Isis (Kloner *et al.*, 2010: 148).

In addition to Ptolemaic deities such as Isis and her cycle, Harpocrates and Serapis are also present in the Levantine and Cypriot assemblages. Ptolemaic Egypt also spread terracotta types of the unnatural and grotesque. The so-called Baubo terracottas, representing nude, obese women, squatting, sitting or riding, the figure often pointing to her pubic area, were common in Graeco-Roman Egypt (Török, 1995: 132–133; Bailey, 2008: 46–47). This figure has little to do with the Greek Baubo, and she seems to be an Egyptian creation. Baubo figurines were found in Cyprus (Michaelides, 2004), Kharayeb (Chéhab, 1951–1954: pl. xxx no. 4), Tel Dor (Stern, 2010: 19) and Maresha (riding a boar; unpublished) (Fig. 26.4). The Egyptian demon Bes who was favoured by the Phoenicians is portrayed in figurines from Kharayeb (Chéhab, 1951–1954: pl. vi), Akko (Messika, 1997: 124, fig. 2a) and Tel Dor (Stern, 2010: pl. 22 no. 8). However, it seems that vulgar and provocative figures such as the grotesques and ithyphallic figures, so common in Egyptian terracottas, were not favoured by the inhabitants of Cyprus and *Coele Syria*. In the same way that they chose certain types from the Greek repertory, they also picked those that suited their needs best from the Egyptian one.

Terracottas of Egyptianising types are not common outside the Ptolemaic kingdom during Hellenistic times. Exceptional in this regard is Delos, where the presence of Egyptianising terracottas, though limited in number, may be explained by the close relations the Ptolemaic rulers had with the island, and the rather late Hellenistic date of the figurines, when Ptolemaic imagery had spread in the



FIGURE 26.2 Apis Bull from Tel Anafa in northern Israel, late second century BCE
COURTESY OF SHARON HERBERT AND THE TEL ANAFA EXCAVATIONS. PHOTO: Y. YULOVITZ



FIGURE 26.3 Isiac figure, probably of the type called "Isis Aphrodite", from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE
COURTESY OF A. KLONER AND THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: P. JACOBS



FIGURE 26.4 Nude old woman ("Baubo") riding on a boar, from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE

COURTESY OF A. KLONER AND THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES
AUTHORITY. PHOTO: C. AMIT

Mediterranean (Barrett, 2011). Furthermore, the Delian terracottas include phallic figures that are not common in the Levant and *Coele Syria*. Since Delos was a cosmopolitan island with temples dedicated to almost any god of any origin, it is not surprising that a small percentage of its terracottas are Egyptianising. The case in Cyprus and *Coele Syria* is different: these lands were directly ruled by the Ptolemies, and therefore the presence of Egyptianising types seems to be more prominent and significant.

Ptolemaic Alexandria also influenced *Coele Syria* and Cyprus in types that are not Egyptianising. The popularity of certain types of children may be attributed to Alexandria. For example, boys wearing a *kausia*, the Macedonian beret-like cap, are common among Alexandrian terracottas (Kassab-Tezgör, 2007: 211–213),

and they also appear in Cyprus (Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004: nos. 384, 385, 395), Kharayeb (Chéhab, 1951–1954: pl. xc), Akko (Erlich, 2009a: 46–47), Jaffa (unpublished) and Maresha (Erlich & Kloner, 2008: 36–38, pl. 19 nos. 98–100) (Fig. 26.5). Boys wearing a *kausia* are not an exclusive Ptolemaic type, and they are popular in Asia Minor and northern Greece as well; however, it is reasonable to posit that the main influence on the Cypriot and Levantine terracottas of this type is Ptolemaic.

There are other types in Phoenicia and Palestine whose origin was probably Alexandria, such as pupils holding a writing tablet (Chéhab, 1951–1954: 101–102, pl. LXIII–LXV; Erlich & Kloner, 2008: 37, pl. 19 no. 101), and individuals performing cult; the latter will be discussed below. The Ptolemaic influence in Cyprus is obvious, as the island



FIGURE 26.5 Boy wearing a *kausia*, from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE

COURTESY OF A. KLONER AND THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: P. JACOBS

was ruled by the Ptolemies throughout the period. But the Ptolemaic influence on Phoenician and Palestinian sites, long after they were transferred to Seleucid rule, makes one wonder. Imports to *Coele Syria* came from across the Mediterranean, not from Egypt. For example, amphorae were imported to the southern Levant mainly from Rhodes, Cos, Cnidus, South Italy and North Africa, but rarely from Egypt (Finkielsztejn, 2000: 212). Apparently, Egypt did not export products to the Levant, but rather exploited it, as is evident in the Zenon Papyri. However, ideas and iconography easily disseminated from Egypt northward, and Egypt kept its prominence even when the Levant passed into Seleucid hands. Just as north Syrian terracottas were related to the Seleucid kingdom and to Asia Minor (Jackson, 2006: 215–216; and see Roberta Menegazzi in this volume),

so the terracottas of the southern Levant and Cyprus show a Ptolemaic influence.

Influence on terracottas in the region was not restricted to Egypt. Asia Minor also contributed its part, although to a lesser degree. The main type that occurs in Cyprus and *Coele Syria*, while almost absent in Egypt, is the enthroned Cybele. Not surprisingly, Cybele is popular among assemblages of Hellenistic terracottas from her homeland in Asia Minor (e.g. Troy, see Thompson, 1963: pls. VII–XV; Pergamon, see Töpperwein-Hoffmann, 1976: pls. 30–32; Priene, see Rumscheid, 2006: pl. 3). Her image also appears at Athens (Thompson, Thompson & Rotroff, 1987: 274–279, pls. 17, 18, 55) and Delos (Laumonier, 1956: pl. 39).

However, Cybele's image is rare outside Asia Minor and Greece. Apparently, Cybele appears in Cyprus (Nicolaou, 1979; Queyrel, 1988: 86; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 273, pl. 148, no. 2910, and see Serwint in this volume), in Akko (Messika, 1997: 121–122, fig. 2 no. 1), Tel Dor (Erllich, 2010: 119, 168–169, nos. 4–6) (Fig. 26.6), and Maresha (Erllich, 2009c; 2014b: fig. 6.36) (Fig. 26.7). Nicolaou (1979) and Stern (2006) attributed her appearance in Cyprus and Tel Dor to immigrants, but the growing evidence for Cybele's image suggests that her cult was rooted in the local societies. The goddess' image was borrowed from Asia Minor, but it is probable that her identity as Cybele changed and she merged with local goddesses. In Cyprus, this could have been a process similar to the one attributed to Aphrodite and the Cypriot goddess (Papantoniou, 2011); in *Coele Syria* Cybele's image probably merged with that of Atargatis, or Dea Syria (Erllich, 2009b). Certain attributes of the goddess' image recall other goddesses favoured in the region, such as the turreted crown she shares with Tyche, so popular on coins and sealings (Erllich, 2009a: 96–97), and the throne with sphinxes, popular in Phoenicia and often related to Astarte (Nitchke, 2011: 94). Therefore, what was moving from Asia Minor to Cyprus and *Coele Syria* was neither people (immigrants), nor an authentic original cult (Cybele), but probably a general idea with a specific shape, which suited the cultic requirements of the locals.

Cyprus and *Coele Syria* show preference for terracottas of votaries practising cult, carrying offerings to the gods, dancing and playing musical instruments. These types were not restricted to the Levant and were common elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, but they seem to have been extremely popular in the Hellenistic East, including Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Levant. These terracottas, often found in cult places, represented not the deities but their worshippers and priests, who dedicated their own worshipping image to the gods. Amathousian terracottas



FIGURE 26.6 Cybele from Tel Dor on the Israeli coast, third century BCE

COURTESY OF E. STERN AND THE TEL DOR PROJECT. PHOTO: Z. RADOVAN



FIGURE 26.7 Cybele from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE

COURTESY OF I. STERN AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEMINARS. PHOTO: A. STERN

portray *hydrophoroi*, dancers and musicians, mainly *trigonon* players, who accompanied the rituals (Queyrel, 1988: 95–113, pls. 29, 32–35; Papantoniou, 2012: 255–256). Similar terracottas were found elsewhere in Cyprus, such as *hydrophoroi* from Kourion (Burn & Higgins, 2001: pl. 146, no. 2901) and Paphos (Karageorghis, 1970: 217, no. 49) and *trigonon* players from near Salamis (Burn & Higgins, 2001: pl. 146, nos. 2899–2900). Similar types of dancers and musicians were found at the shrine of Kharayeb (Chéhab, 1951–1954: 98–100, pls. XXVII, XLI, XXXI). A *favissa* in Area L in Akko was extremely rich with terracottas portraying votaries carrying offerings, dancing and playing music

(Erlich, 2009a: 44–46). Surprisingly, Tel Dor yielded no terracottas of votaries, but a few types were discovered at Maresha, in an assumed domestic context (Erlich & Kloner, 2008: 23–26, 34, pls. 10, 17, nos. 88–80; Erlich, 2014b: fig. 6.38).

Another type that may be considered a votary is the *kourotrophos* carrying or nursing a child, who appears in the Cypriot repertoire (Queyrel, 1988: 89–94, pl. 28; Burn & Higgins, 2001: pl. 144 nos. 2888–2889, pl. 145 no. 2891), Kharayeb (Chéhab, 1951–1954: 87–88, pl. XXXIII no. 3), Tel Dor (Erlich, 2010: 122, 171 no. 11) and Maresha (Erlich & Kloner, 2008: 18–21, pl. 7 nos. 30–32, pl. 8) (Fig. 26.8).



FIGURE 26.8 *Kourotrophos* from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE

COURTESY OF A. KLONER AND THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY.
PHOTO: C. AMIT

The images of votaries from Cyprus and the Levant find parallels across the Hellenistic world (for comparanda see Erlich & Kloner, 2008: 18–26). The popularity of worshipper figurines testifies not only to a *koine* in terracotta types, but also to a *koine* in cult customs in the eastern Mediterranean during Hellenistic times. Cults in Iranian



FIGURE 26.9 Dioscuri from Maresha in southern Israel, third to second centuries BCE

COURTESY OF A. KLONER AND THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY. PHOTO: P. JACOBS

Susa, Ptolemaic Alexandria, Cypriot Amathous and Phoenician Kharayeb were probably different, and so were the deities of the cults to which they were directed. Nevertheless, the rituals and ceremonies shared similar features.

The regional *koine* is not limited to types inspired by Ptolemaic Egypt or Asia Minor, or Hellenistic types specifically popular in the Levant. Certain types are known



FIGURE 26.10 Man wearing a pointed cap from Tel Anafa in northern Israel, late second century BCE
COURTESY OF S. HERBERT AND THE TEL ANAFA EXCAVATIONS. PHOTO: J. B. WILCOX

only from the region and are not paralleled elsewhere. For example, the type of Eros and Psyche in a frontal pose with Eros holding a mask is known only at Maresha (Erich & Kloner, 2008: 40–41, pl. 161 nos. 108–109) and Kharayeb (Chéhab, 1951–1954: pl. XIV, no. 3). Furthermore, the type of a standing pupil holding a diptych appears so far at these two sites only (Erich & Kloner, 2008: 36–38, pl. 159 no. 101; Chéhab, 1951–1954: 102, pls. LXIII no. 2, LXIV). These two figures, however, are variations of well-known types. A more original composition is depicted in the Dioscuri figurines standing side by side in a frontal pose, discovered at Maresha (Erich & Kloner, 2008: 5–6, pl. 1) (Fig. 26.9), Amathous (Queyrel, 1988: pls. 25–26) and Beirut (unpublished). The Dioscuri were popular deities in the East, principally in Egypt and Syria, owing to their astral character, protective role, versatile tasks and diverse identifications with local deities. Their image is popular in

Palestine and Phoenicia (Erich & Kloner, 2008: 6; Erlich, 2009a: 113), and their cult was also popular in Cyprus (Barnard, 2003; Papantoniou, 2012: 252–254).

Generally speaking, terracottas depicting Dioscuri are rare in the Hellenistic world. They appear chiefly in southern Italy (Besques, 1986: pls. 21, 111) and in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (Perdrizet, 1921: pls. LII, LXXII; Vogt, 1924: pl. IV; Török, 1995: pl. XXV no. 34). But their depiction as standing figures in a frontal pose, side by side, without their horses, is limited to *Coele Syria* and Cyprus. It seems that certain aspects of their qualities were emphasised in this composition. Perhaps their saviour character, which appears in inscriptions dedicated to them, is reflected in their frontal pose, which allowed direct communication between them and their worshippers. Avi-Yonah (1961: 87–90) has similarly interpreted the frontality of figures in the art of the Roman East. It seems that by choosing a certain composition and specific attributes, people of the Hellenistic Levant adapted the deities to their own needs and gave them specific meaning. They were still the twin gods of the Greek mythology, but their astral and saviour qualities had gained additional importance and they could be identified with local twins, as suggested regarding the so-called Hellenistic pillar figurines from Maresha with double faces (Erich, 2014a).

Sometimes the *koine* indicates a sense of self-identity, which is represented in clothing. The Persian tiara or *kyrbasia* cap, tied with lappets surrounding the face, is portrayed on heads of riders from Cyprus (Burn & Higgins, 2001: 284, pl. 2953 no. 2953, from Salamis; Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004: no. 295) and Phoenicia (Tel Anafa in Israel, Erlich, 2018: 238) (Fig. 26.10). Warriors and hunters wearing the Persian cap are depicted on the Alexander sarcophagus, which was made for the burial of the Sidonian king Abdalonymos in the last quarter of the fourth century BCE (Von Graeve, 1970). The Persian dress of some participants in the scenes on this sarcophagus, including Alexander himself in the hunting scene (Von Graeve, 1970: 95–96), are considered to be a generic oriental characteristic and attributed to the Sidonians (Pollitt, 1986: 40). The pointed cap with face lappets preserved local traditions and was probably depicted to express Phoenician/Cypriot self-identity, just as the *kausia* on children's heads was meant to hint at a Macedonian affinity.

3 Conclusions

To summarise the characteristics of the Levantine and Cypriot assemblages of terracottas, they belong to the

Hellenistic *koine* in general, but at the same time show a certain degree of flexibility and divergence from the Hellenistic canon, which is expressed in a mixture or change of features and compositions so as to adapt the original shape to local taste and to transform the image. Thus, certain types of Aphrodite fit the scheme of the Cypriot goddess; Cybele is transformed into Atargatis; and the Dioscuri are deprived of their horses and depicted in a local manner. Ptolemaic cults and deities became popular for the first time outside their homeland, a predecessor to the dissemination of Egyptian cults in the Roman world. The Egyptian types that are accepted in the Levant are mostly the much Hellenised and refined ones, rather than the vulgar types of phallic figures and grotesques (bar Bes and Baubo). There is a preference for deities of protection and salvation (Erich, 2009a: 114; Papantoniou, 2012: 289–290). The vague iconography that characterised the former period, making us wonder who the Kourion riders are, what the Cypriot goddess meant, and how we can tell a deity from a mortal, no longer prevails. A new system of iconography, names and rites appears, and the old entities seem to be merged into the new ones (Erich, 2009a: 114–115). Images of mortals, mainly votaries, often exceed those of deities. The terracottas keep some ancient local traditions, like the conservative riders in Kourion, large terracottas in Cyprus and the pillar figurines in Maresha.

It seems that the common denominator of these and other characteristics is the adherence to the Hellenistic *koine* together with a great deal of free choice and flexibility. There are several reasons for this: first, the tolerant attitude of the rulers who did not interfere with cultural and religious matters, and therefore left the choice to their subjects (compare this with the exceptional confrontation between Antiochus IV and the Jews).

Second, the subjects of the new regime were also tolerant, and were keen to accept the Hellenistic *koine*. We often examine the Hellenistic culture with dichotomous eyes, and coin strict terms and contrasts such as continuity versus change, syncretism versus co-existence, and, the most erroneous, Hellenistic versus Eastern (as if they were separate, opposing categories). It seems that the ancient view on these matters was more fluid and all-encompassing, as demonstrated in the autobiographic poem by Meleager, who refers to his self-identity as Hellenised Syrian, starting with the words: “Island of Tyre was my nurse, and Gadara, which is Attic, but lies in Syria, gave birth to me” (*Greek Anthology*, 7.417). The flexibility and adaptable attitude of the locals is expressed in the terracotta assemblages, which changed greatly in the Hellenistic period, while also retaining old traditions and distinctive features.

Third, the charm of the art of the Hellenistic *koine*, with its varied forms, aesthetic values and humanistic approach, appealed to the locals. For example, the locals of Maresha, who had a limited range of terracotta types in the Persian period, local in style (Erich, 2006), chose to expand and vary their assemblage extensively in the Hellenistic period, and by enlarging their visual vocabulary, they greatly enhanced their expression.

Fourth, mariners on the shores of Cyprus and *Coele Syria*, especially the Phoenicians, the mediators of goods and culture, had access to all parts of the Mediterranean. They were the first (and sometimes the only) filter for new trends and shapes. Their daily mingling and exposure to different expressions of the Hellenistic *koine* led to an informed and aware process of choice. This kind of process was less available to the inhabitants of more inland places such as Mesopotamia.

Goods were imported to Cyprus and the Levant from different parts of the Hellenistic world. However, the trade routes had little to do with the spread of terracotta types, as there is no correlation between the two. Furthermore, political affiliation played only a minor role in the choice of terracotta types; after the Levantine coast was transferred to the Seleucids, Ptolemaic Egypt still remained the main source of inspiration for the local assemblages. It seems that the terracottas that compose the Levantine *koine* are the result of a cultural choice rather than commerce or political borders. The terracotta figurines are not mere goods but are signs of culture and identity. The process by which certain types were preferred above others marks the cultural borders of the Hellenistic southern Levant.

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The Case of the Persian Riders at Seleucid Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates: The Survival of Syrian Tradition in a Greek Settlement

Heather Jackson

Abstract

Jebel Khalid is a Seleucid site on the Euphrates, established in the third century BCE and abandoned in the 70s BCE. The figurine corpus is largely mould-made, “Greek” in type and locally-made, but there is also a significant number of the traditional Persian riders, handmade but with stamped faces, found in all contexts. This paper briefly discusses their resemblance to the Cypriot horsemen and focuses on the survival of this figure throughout the Hellenistic period at Jebel Khalid, its possible meaning to the inhabitants and its function, taking into account variations in the representation of the rider, such as the child-carrier.

1 Introduction

Cyprus is home to a long tradition of producing small, handmade baked-clay horsemen, which at the end of the sixth century BCE were given moulded faces on their handmade bodies. This well-known corpus influenced my choice of topic for this article: to discuss the Persian riders found at Seleucid Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates in northern Syria. (Fig. 27.1) They too have handmade bodies with stamped faces. They not only survived but flourished during the whole of the Hellenistic period.

The similarity of facial features between some of the Kourion riders and the Syrian Persian ones is striking: there has to be some common ground (Fig. 27.2.a–b). However, it must be said that there is little evidence of contact or trade between Cyprus and Jebel Khalid in the Hellenistic period, in spite of the relative proximity of Cyprus to Antioch, the capital of Seleucid Syria and source of nearly all imports to Jebel Khalid. All that can be traced are two, possibly three stamped amphora fragments and a very small amount of Cypriot Sigillata in the last phase of settlement. (Clarke, 2005b: 183; Tidmarsh, 2011: 367–8) One can only assume that Cyprus’ Ptolemaic sympathies caused an embargo on Cypriot imports to Seleucid Syria. Any cross-connection between the rider figurines

of Cyprus and those of north Syria must have taken place before the Hellenistic period.

Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates, in north Syria, has been excavated by an Australian team since 1987 (Clarke & Connor, 1996–1997; Clarke & Jackson, 2004; Clarke *et al.*, 1999; 2002; 2005; 2008; 2011) (Fig. 27.3). The site belongs entirely to the Seleucid period, and was probably founded in the early third century BCE in the reign of Seleucus Nicator, to supervise and guard river traffic. From the evidence of a long hiatus in the coin series, it appears to have been abandoned sometime in the late 70s of the first century BCE (Nixon, 2002). For once, the Romans did not choose to take it on, although they visited the site and dropped a small number of coins (Nixon, 2002; 2008). It was not until the fourth century CE that a Roman camp was set up just inside the Main Gate – but that was only temporary. So the site presents a relatively undamaged picture of a Hellenistic settlement, founded on bedrock. There is no evidence of earlier structures but undoubtedly the riverine area was populated by locals, who played some role in the settlement, and not a subservient one, since the design of the Jebel Khalid temple, for example, is greatly influenced by Mesopotamian tradition (Clarke, 2005a).

The presence and influence of these Syrian locals is otherwise rather hard to detect, when only fragments of abandoned rubbish survive, most of which represent objects that are overwhelmingly “Greek” in style, e.g. moulded bowls, black-glazed pottery, West Slope-style ware, and the ubiquitous Eastern Sigillata A (Tidmarsh, 2011). The Common Ware pottery made at the site adopted these international shapes and only the cooking pots and some kitchen vessel forms betray an indigenous influence (Jackson, 2011a). Even the one Mesopotamian import, the green-glazed ware, appeared in Greek shapes such as the fishplate and bowl with out-turned rim (Jackson, 2011b). That the artistic taste of the inhabitants was geared to the Hellenistic *koine* is proved by the wall painting fragments in one house: a figured frieze of Erotes driving goat chariots (Jackson, 2009).

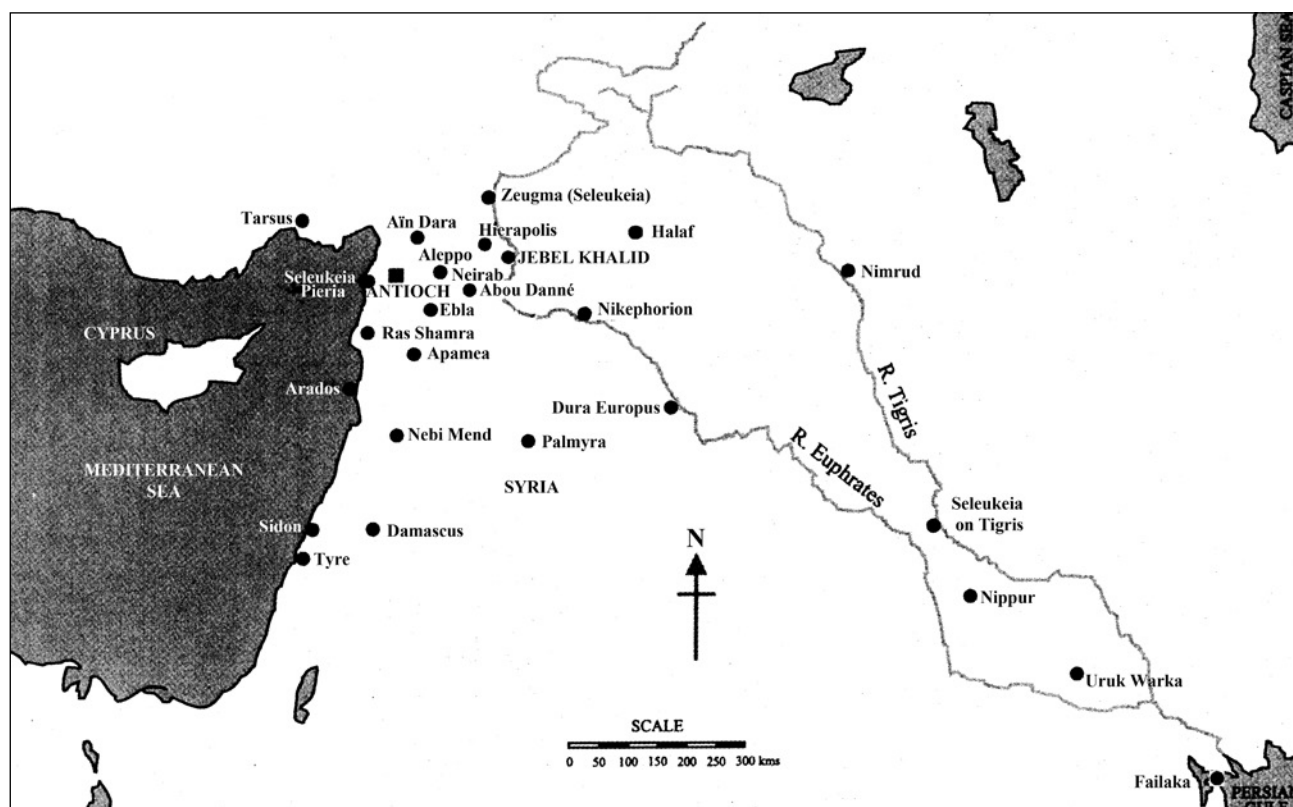


FIGURE 27.1 Map of Syria in the Hellenistic period, showing sites mentioned in the text
ADAPTED FROM A MAP DRAWN BY P. WALKER



FIGURE 27.2 a. Rider's head from Kourion (Young & Young, mould 39), and b. Persian rider head from Jebel Khalid JK 93.176

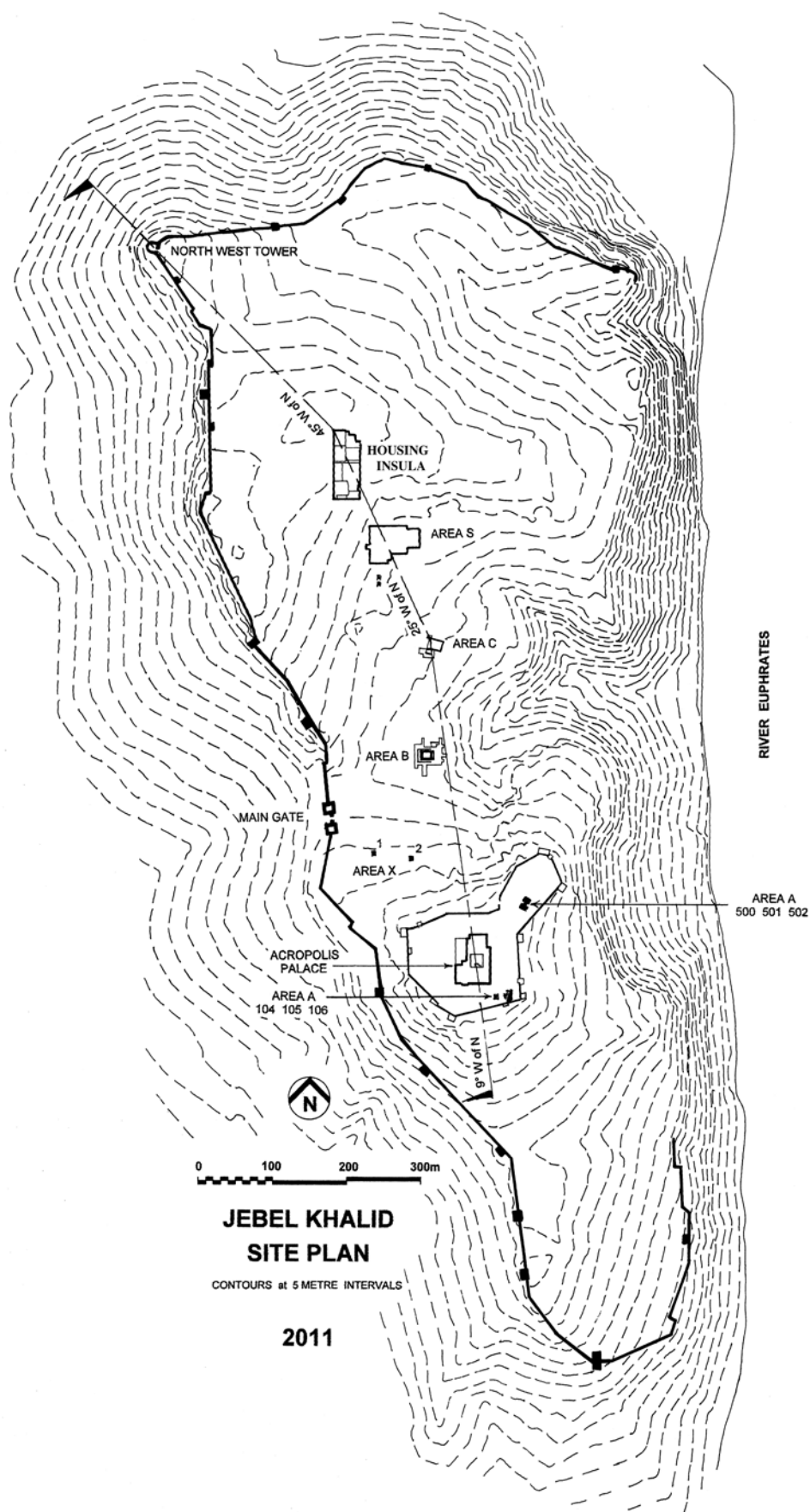


FIGURE 27.3 Contour map of site of Jebel Khalid
DRAWING: B ROWNEY



FIGURE 27.4 Persian rider from Jebel Khalid, JK 90.638

2 The Persian Riders in the Context of the Jebel Khalid Figurine Corpus

Among the mould-made figurines, which are far more numerous than the handmade, one can identify Herakles, Dionysos, Aphrodite, Apollo and dozens of small female figures wearing Greek dress, hairstyles, such as the bow knot and *lampadion*, and head-dresses, such as the *stephane* and wreath (Jackson, 2006; 2016). The Persian rider is in stark contrast to these, in both technique and appearance. The first time one of these figures was excavated at Jebel Khalid, in 1987, it was described in the field book as an “ithyphallic centaur”, on the assumption that the protruding horse head was a phallus. However, the “centaur” concept was not so irrelevant.

Horse-and-rider were hand-modelled in one solid piece, so that the rider merged with his horse and became part of it, in a shape that was never adopted for the Cypriot figurines, where rider and horse are distinct. The whole figure

of the Persian rider is a series of arcs and curves, positively inviting the hand to pick it up (Fig. 27.4). Abel & Barrois (1928: 309) disparagingly described it as “outrageusement schématisé”. Indeed, the body of the rider is barely detailed or distinguishable from the horse. The arms are shallow brackets of clay around the horse’s head, presumably holding the bridle (unless the rider is carrying an object, which I shall discuss later), but giving the impression of embracing the horse. The rider’s legs are usually non-existent, blended into the horse’s body, although we do have two fragments where the leg seems to be summarily applied as a strip of clay (Jackson, 2006: nos. 138–139). The legs of the horse were modelled in two joined pairs, front and back, which only separate at the base into conical stumps. There was no mane and at Jebel Khalid, usually no tail. The horse’s head was also undetailed; a bridle is occasionally preserved but no applied dabs of clay for eyes have survived – perhaps they were painted on (Fig. 27.5). Only a few fragments have traces of red paint.



FIGURE 27.5
Horse's head from Persian rider, JK 95.245



FIGURE 27.6 Head of Persian rider, JK 10.949

In contrast with the smooth, stylised body, the stamped face has sharp detail: the moustache and short beard are rendered hair by hair, the nose is sharp, the eyes large and outlined with ridged eyelids (Figs. 27.6–27.7). The rider wears the Persian soft cap (*kyrbasia* or *bashlik*) that gives the figure its appellation, always folded over to his left. The Jebel Khalid Persian riders never converted to wearing the Macedonian *kausia*, whereas the Kourion riders did, also adopting an immense variety of headgear in the Hellenistic period (e.g. Young & Young, 1955: moulds 39–46).

The Persian riders were not the only riders at horse-loving Jebel Khalid. There were almost equal numbers of mould-made riders, which I shall call “Greek”, not only in technique but also in style. These figurines, like most of the figurine corpus, have unmodelled backs and are designed to be seen from the front only. Horses are realistic portraits of small steppe ponies, energetically moving to the right. Unlike the Persian rider's horse, they have magnificent manes, topknots and tails, detailed eyes, ears and mouth, modelled bridles and saddles (Fig. 27.8). Their riders are variable and interesting. We have one who may be Attis, wearing a soft cap (Jackson, 2006: no. 160), and several showing a naked child rider, who may be Eros, wearing a wreath on his head (Jackson, 2006: nos. 161–169). There is much greater variety here than among the conservative Persian riders.

The two types of rider figurines, “Persian” and “Greek”, were manufactured by different workshops. The results of Neutron Activation Analysis have shown that the Persian

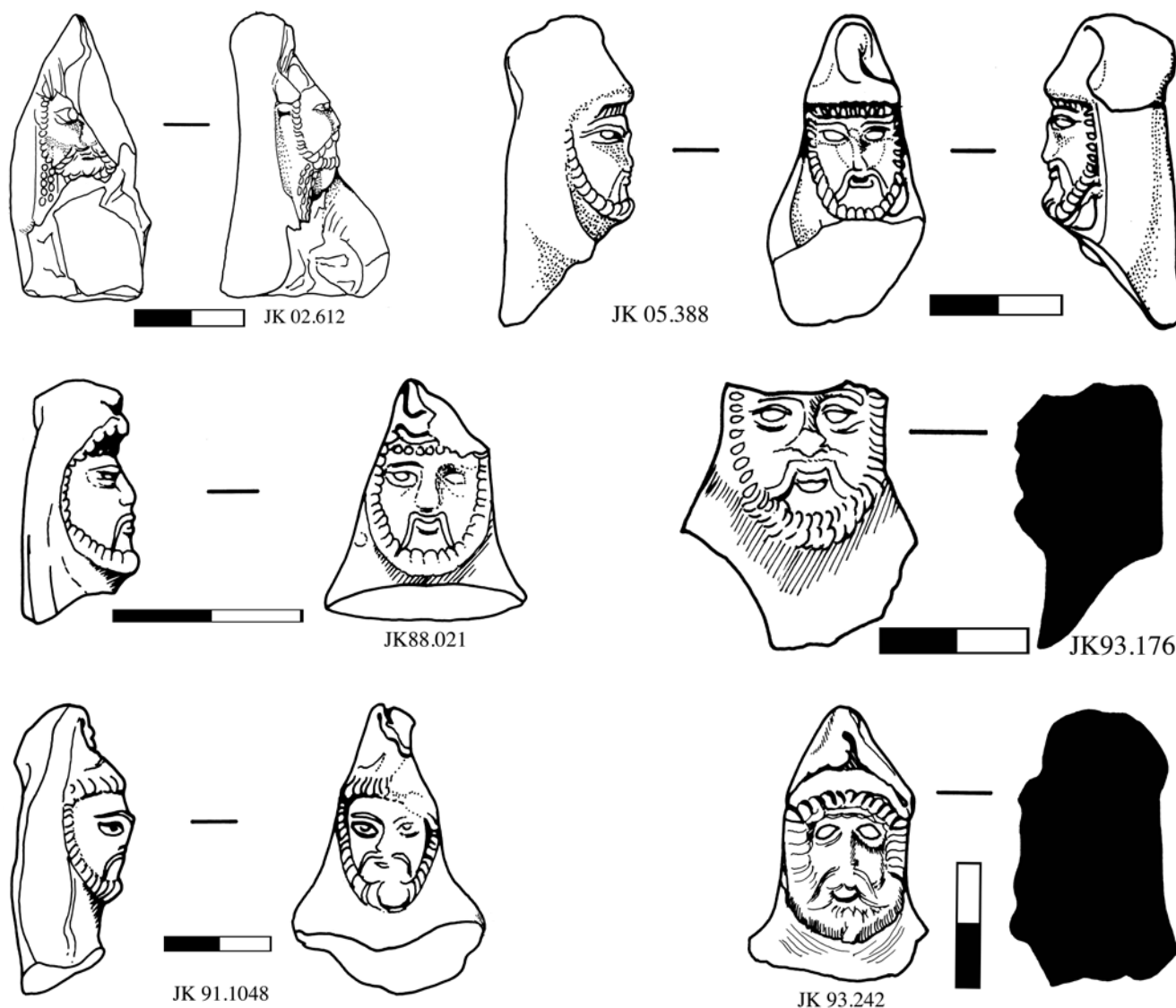


FIGURE 27.7 Heads of Persian riders
DRAWING: J. SELLERS

Riders were fashioned out of the same fabric used for the Jebel Khalid table vessels – fabric quite finely levigated and smooth (Jackson, 2006: 245–255). The fabric of the “Greek” mould-made riders is also local in origin but coarser and full of inclusions, the coroplast obviously relying on an outer layer of slip to even the surface.

Overall, the numbers of Persian rider fragments found slightly exceed those of the “Greek” mould-made riders. If one added them together, the total of rider representations would form by far the biggest category of figurines, even exceeding the ubiquitous standing female figures. Horse-riding was obviously to be aspired to and respected (Fig. 27.9).

So who were the keen customers? Overwhelmingly, the inhabitants of the housing insula. A few Persian riders

were found at the Main Gate and one in the North-West Tower, both places likely to house male guards or soldiers. Five were found in the administrative building on the Acropolis, which was excavated to much the same extent as the housing insula, as opposed to 33 in the houses (and 24 moulded riders). This is a largely domestic phenomenon. Does it mean that the inhabitants of the houses were Syrian? These houses were large and elite, particularly the House of the Painted Frieze. Their tableware consisted of Greek shapes, they imported fine black glaze from the West, they chose Greek iconography for the painted frieze – and all the rest of the figurine corpus, with the exception of a very few Astarte plaques, was Greek in style.

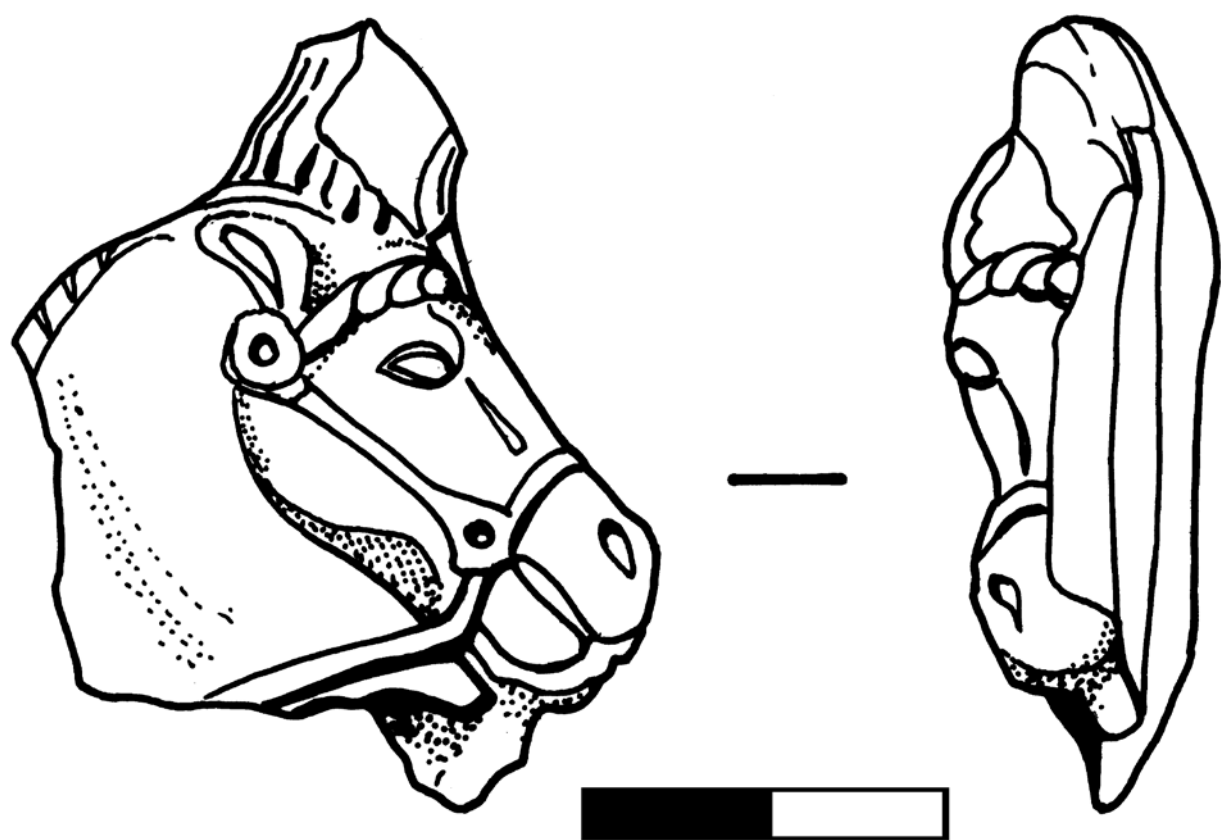


FIGURE 27.8 Head of moulded horse-and-rider JK 05.366
DRAWING: J. SELLERS

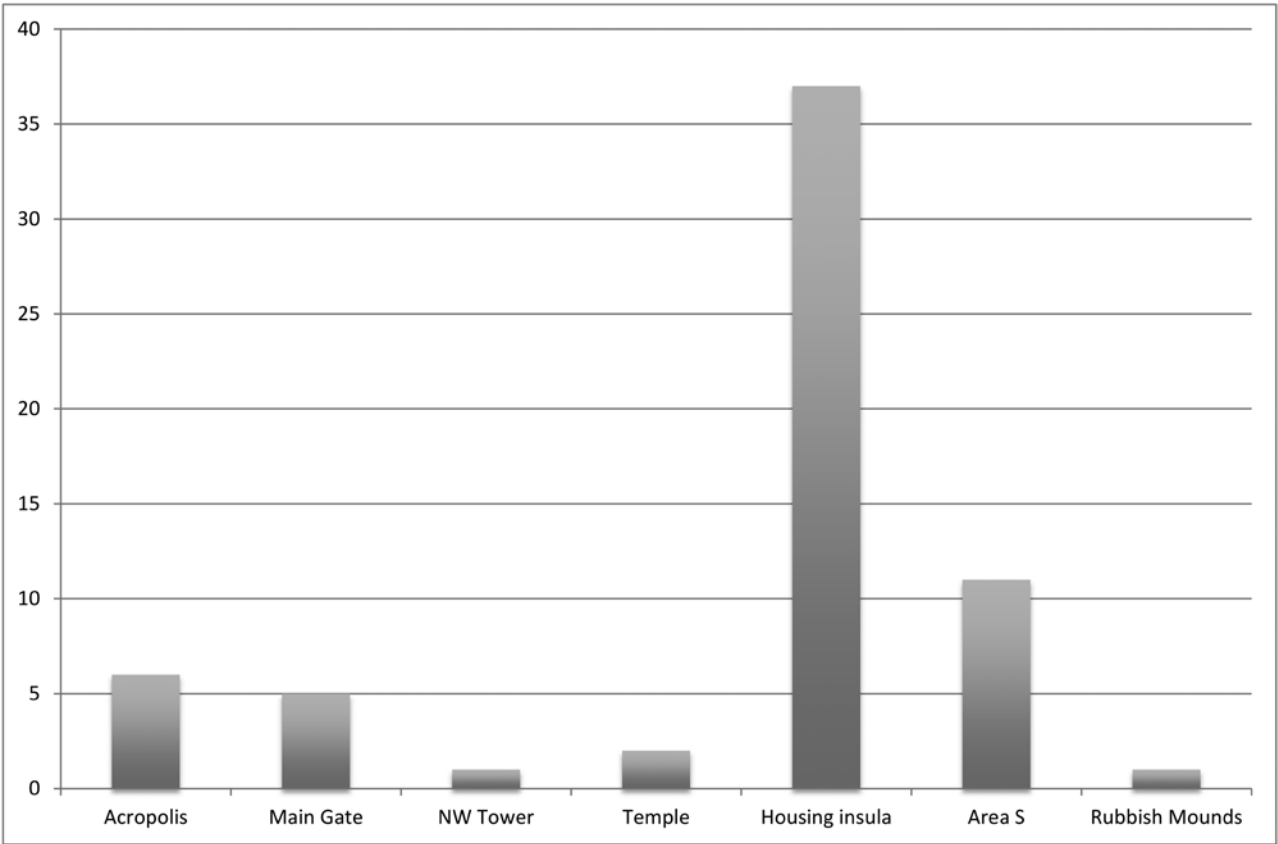


FIGURE 27.9 Graph showing distribution of Persian rider fragments over the Jebel Khalid site

3 Regional Style

The term “Persian rider” is used rather loosely. There were major regional differences in style and pose, for example at Failaka (Mathiesen, 1982: fig. 13), Warka (Ziegler pl. 39: 388), Nippur (Legrain, 1930: 31, pls. 47–48) and Tell Khazneh (Salles, 1986: 159, nos. 235–240). In Syria itself, the finds from Tel Nebi Mend are very similar in the omission of manes, tails, harness etc., but the body is arched differently, almost leaning backwards (Pézard, 1922: figs. 1–2). Closest parallels to the Jebel Khalid figures are from north Syria: Ebla (Davico, 1965: pl. 78: 1–5), Aïn Dara (Assaf & Khayata, 1983: fig. 27) and Neirab (Seirafi & Saouaf, 1951: fig. 9), although without full profiles it is difficult to be certain. Elayi (1991) has studied these north Syrian/north Phoenician figures and argued that the stamped face is the only aspect of the figurine that can be attributed to a workshop, since it needed an “estampoir”. She identified two workshops from the facial types: Type A is narrower, with almond eyes and Type B has a wider face with rounder eyes.

The implication is that Type B is somewhat more “westernised” and therefore later. We can identify both types at Jebel Khalid but it is interesting to examine whether a study of the body shapes and angle might provide an additional criterion for further identification of different regional workshops. Admittedly, the handmade body would be prone to infinite variation, but the overall arch of the body may be a regional preference that can be traced to a workshop. For example, south Syria and Nippur profiles are very different – interestingly more like the Cypriot horsemen, giving more prominence to a realistic shape of the horse, with a separately modelled rider.

A useful publication is that of Pruss who examined the patterns of distribution of figurines in north Syria during the Achaemenid period (Pruss, 2000: 56–57). She mapped the main finds of Persian riders in Syria during the period 500–300 BCE, showing three clusters close together on the big bend of the Euphrates, certainly in the vicinity of Jebel Khalid (unfortunately she does not name the sites). So there was already a strong Persian rider tradition at this very location. Interestingly, she also found clusters of Astarte plaques in much the same area. Very few such plaques have been found at Jebel Khalid and those only in the earlier contexts. Why did the Persian rider continue to flourish unchanged, when the Astarte figures either lost favour or changed their form? Perhaps the answer lies in his appeal to the inhabitants of a military settlement?

4 So Who Was He?

This is bound to be a speculative discussion, already much indulged-in by many scholars. Stern (1989: 27), publishing Persian riders from the Levant, has suggested that they “represent Baal in his aspect as a warrior god”. This would appeal to a military settlement. Some Iron Age riders from Iraq are represented carrying a sword, quiver and/or shield – surely warriors (Moorey, 2000: pls. 1–2). At Kourion also, some of the horsemen were armed with sword and spear, and wore helmets, even though they were votives for Apollo (Young & Young, 1955: pl. 32). But nothing like that is apparent on the horsemen from Jebel Khalid. It is true that the Persian cap was worn by mounted warriors in the Achaemenid army – Moorey (2000: 469) points out that it was borrowed by the Medes and Persians from the Scythians. But such a cap can be worn in other than military contexts and the Jebel Khalid Persian rider has no weapons. It could be suggested that this version of the cap, which flops to the side softly, was not the stiffened version worn by warriors.

Connelly (1990: 95), talking of the horse-and-rider as the most common votive in Iran and Syria in the first millennium, rather surprisingly states that it seemed to “replace the bull as a symbol of potency”. One recalls the descriptive term “ithyphallic” that was the initial reaction to the first discovery of the figure at Jebel Khalid.

Jebel Khalid provides no evidence for either of these interpretations. In fact, rather the opposite is manifested by the few variants on the basic rider form. A striking example is the well-preserved upper torso and head of a rider carrying a squarish object, with rounded corners, which appears to be a musical instrument and which takes the place of the horse’s head (Fig. 27.10). The horse legs are missing from the Jebel Khalid fragment but we know from several other examples from elsewhere in Syria that this was a rider. There were similar figures at Nebi Mend (Pézard, 1922: fig. 1, second from left), Ras Shamra (Elayi, 1991: pls. 8–9), Neirab (Abel & Barrois, 1928: pl. 79: g, h) and Tel Halaf (Hrouda, 1962: 15, pl. 17: 140). The hands are particularly well portrayed, again in contrast to the schematisation of the body, with one holding the instrument underneath and one apparently beating or stroking the front. One’s first thought is “beating” and that this is a drum (which several people have suggested to me), but its rectangular, almost square shape is unusual (a tambourine is circular and so usually is any drum). However, the position of the hands, seen also on female musician figurines from Uruk (Wrede, 1990: pl. 10: 18–19), there



FIGURE 27.10 Head and torso of Persian rider carrying object, JK 87.254

associated with an oval object, seems to confirm its identification as a musical instrument and the point here is that warriors and symbols of male potency are not usually portrayed playing instruments.

Another departure from a warrior interpretation is the rider carrying a child on his left arm, of which we have two examples (Fig. 27.11). Again, the horse's head is sacrificed. His right arm is curved across the body to protect the child better. At both Tel Abou Danné (Tefnin, 1980: pl. 5: 1) and Tel Halaf (Hrouda, 1962: pl. 17: 138), similar child-carriers have the male Persian rider head preserved, which justifies the identification of the carrier as male. Is

this a symbol of fertility or potency? It is rather the image of gentle protection.

Let us look at the rider's face and features again (Figs. 27.6–27.7). Both “types” as identified by Elayi, possess exactly the same defining features of beard and moustache. What significance do these have? In a Greek setting they are associated with the older gods and in the human sphere with maturity and wisdom. We have at Jebel Khalid a few mould-made, Greek-style male heads with beard and moustache, two of which could be identified as gods. The first is wearing a *stephane* and has been tentatively identified as Dionysos, the more archaic type

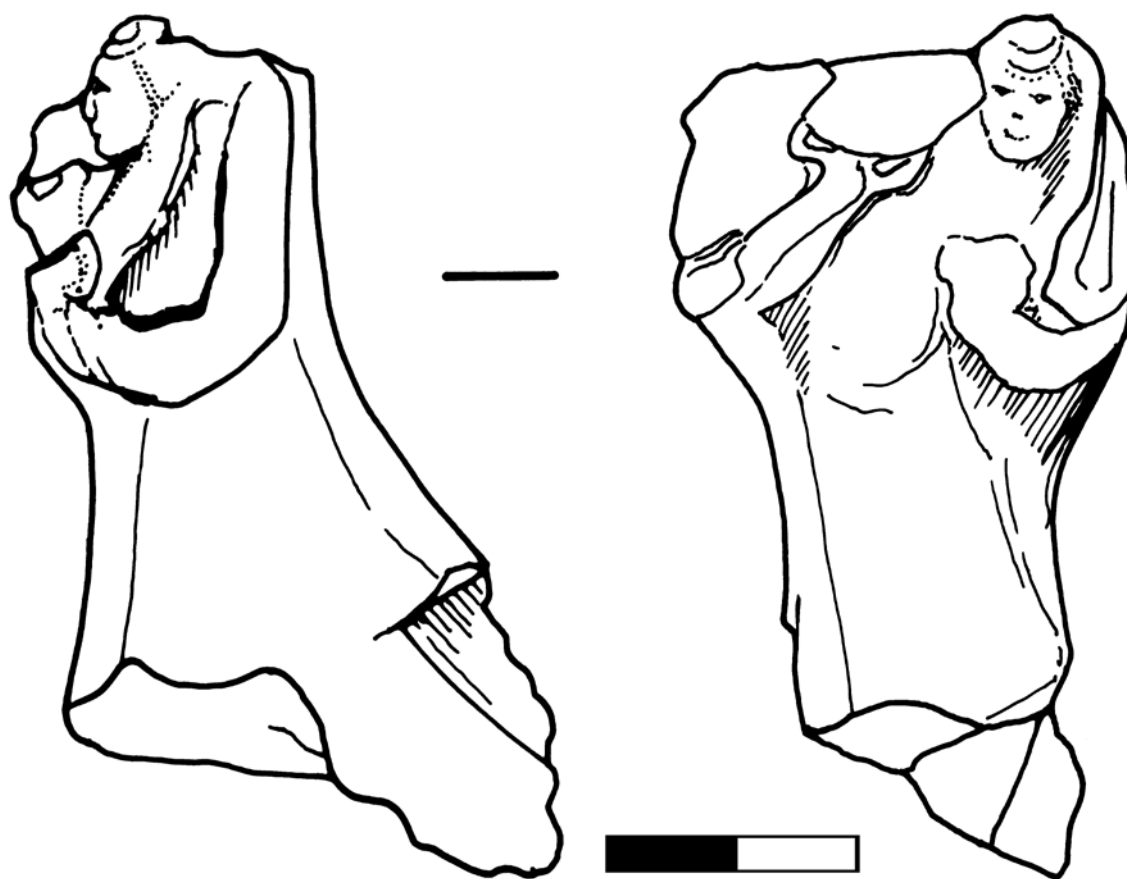


FIGURE 27.11 Persian rider carrying child, JK 87.206
DRAWING: J. SELLERS

with luxuriant beard (Jackson, 2006: no. 75). The second has a moustache and short beard and has been tentatively identified from parallels as Herakles (Jackson, 2006: no. 79). These identifications are not secure but the suggestion that they are divinities or heroes is based on the assumption that bearded faces are more likely to be portraying such in the Hellenistic Greek coroplastic tradition (an assumption that does not apply to sculpture). We cannot apply that premise to the Syrian Persian rider, who comes from another tradition altogether. In fact, as Moorey says, the figure has no identifiable divine attributes, costume or symbols: "At no point in the long history of terracottas in the Near East is there compelling evidence to regard them as anything but representations of human beings" (Moorey, 2000: 481). Moorey is here regarding the figurine as typically being offered as a votive, which is probably the context of many finds in the Near East. Cypriot dedications, he says, show that the dedicator wanted to offer "a likeness not of himself, but of a man of higher status" (Moorey, 2000: 481). There are no such dedications found in Syria but in any case, at Jebel Khalid, we are not dealing with identified votive deposits but mainly with domestic detritus belonging to the inhabitants of the

insula. In this context, the respectably bearded horse rider seems more talismanic, expressing prosperity and aspirations – a "metaphor for the most prestigious role to which men might aspire in their daily lives" (Moorey, 2000: 483).

A talisman needs to be handled and the physical form of the Persian rider is very suitable for this; as I noted earlier, it is tactile, smooth and easy to grip. It does not seem designed for display as the one-sided mould-made riders are, as there is no one standing view that gives the viewer both profile and the all-important face. They may also have been toys for much the same reason, i.e. toys for boys as role models; indeed Woolley (1962: 102) found them in boys' graves at Ur. But the quantity of them in the family houses at Jebel Khalid suggests they were popular on all fronts and had an appeal for all ages and both genders (as suggested by the child-carrier). They cannot be pinned down to a single function.

5 Summary

It is to be hoped that this article will stimulate further research on this figure and encourage further comparisons

between regions. Meanwhile, the following conclusions can be offered:

1. The finds at Jebel Khalid confirm the continuing popularity of this little figure in the Seleucid period. It is not a new finding that the Persian rider lasted into the Seleucid period. Barrelet (1968: 128–130) first suggested that, in Mesopotamia, he lasted from pre-Achaemenid times into the Parthian era, a suggestion endorsed by J. Elayi (1991: 205). At least one was found at Dura-Europos, a site that had no known pre-Hellenistic settlement (Downey, 1993: 140, fig. 8; 2003: 142, figs. 84–85). Pézard (1931: 59), at Tell Nebi Mend, claims they were found in Seleucid levels, which was questioned by Elayi (1991: 189). They occurred in Hellenistic contexts at Abou Dannée (Tefnin, 1980: 46, pl. 7: 1–2) and Harabebezikan (Alp & Tekinalp, 2001: 407) in the Carchemish area. At Tell Mardikh, Aïn Dara and Neirab, contexts are unclear, although the figures tend to be labelled “Achaemenid” (Davico, 1965: pl. 78: 1–5; Assaf & Khayata, 1983: fig. 27). Even Moorey was not convinced that they lasted through the Seleucid period. The Jebel Khalid finds make it quite clear that the Seleucids adopted the Persian rider into their circle of cult figures, just as they respected and adopted the worship of Atargatis, the Syrian goddess, whose temple was at Hierapolis, not far from Jebel Khalid.
2. Unlike the horse-and-riders in Cyprus, some of which adopted Hellenistic features and headgear, the Seleucid-period Persian riders at Jebel Khalid clung tenaciously to their “Persian” cap (perhaps fashionable) and their Iron Age form. Makers and buyers, Syrians and Greeks, did not want change.
3. They were not replaced by mould-made riders but had their own different meaning, form and function.
4. Their context was predominantly domestic. Only two minor fragments were found in the Temple.
5. In two different foundation deposits on the site, fragments of both Persian rider and mould-made rider were found together – perhaps a deliberate declaration of co-operation between Syrian and Greek.

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A Look from the Outside: Mediterranean Influences on the Terracotta Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris

Roberta Menegazzi

Abstract

The excavations conducted during the last century at the site of Seleucia on the Tigris brought to light over 11,000 terracotta figurines that form an extraordinarily rich repertoire, originating from the dialogue between Greek and local traditions. Figurines from Seleucia highlight close contacts with terracottas coming from the eastern Mediterranean area, showing on the other hand an equally intense bond with Mesopotamian production. This paper aims to illustrate how the encounter and exchange between Greek and local culture led to the creation of a new iconographic and formal language, resulting in a dramatic renewal of the old Mesopotamian repertoire and in a deep re-elaboration of western subjects.

1 Introduction

The eastern capital of the Seleucid Empire, Seleucia on the Tigris, was founded at the very end of the fourth century BCE by Seleucus I on the right bank of the Tigris, close to the mouth of the Royal Canal and at the outlet of the Diyala Valley (Fig. 28.1). Thanks to its strategic position – at the crossroads of the routes connecting the western territories of the empire to the Iranian plateau – the city kept flourishing even after the loss of Seleucid control over Mesopotamia. Classical sources such as Strabo (Geogr. XVI, 2.5) and Pliny (Nat.Hist. 6, 122) quote Seleucia among the greatest cities of the ancient world, together with Rome, Alexandria in Egypt and Antioch in Syria.

During the last century, the site of Seleucia was investigated by American and Italian expeditions. Twenty archaeological campaigns carried out by the University of Michigan and by the Centro Scavi di Torino only affected a very small portion of the city, which still encompasses a surface of about 550 hectares. The archaeologists concentrated their efforts in three main areas (Fig. 28.2): the northern agora, where, in Parthian times, dwelling-houses and handicraft activities rose on the remains of Seleucid public buildings (Messina, 2007); the dwelling block G6, fully investigated in its Parthian levels by the American archaeological mission (Hopkins, 1972); the so-called “South

Square”, a vast open space not foreseen in the original urban layout and situated on the southern limit of the city, close to a large commercial street (Graziosi, 1968–1969; Negro Ponzi, 1970–1971; 1972).

The excavations brought to light a large amount of terracotta figurines: over 11,000 fragments that form the largest coroplastic repertoire of the Seleucid and Parthian Near East (for the complete catalogue of the terracottas from Seleucia, see Menegazzi, 2014). Their importance is not merely related to their huge number: as a product of a Greek metropolis in the heart of Mesopotamia, they effectively illustrate the complex processes of encounter and exchange between Greek and Mesopotamian culture. Moreover, because of the pre-eminent political, economic and cultural position of Seleucia within the Hellenised Near East, they played an important role in the diffusion of western subjects and iconographies, deeply influencing the coroplastic production of central and southern Mesopotamia.

2 The Terracotta Figurines

The weight of Greek culture in the formation of the coroplastic repertoire of Seleucia on the Tigris cannot be overestimated: if we look at the whole body of figurines, we are struck by the pervasive western influences, which are manifest from every point of view. In the field of iconography, the impact of Greek culture on the local coroplastic production leads to a significant enlargement of the represented subjects in comparison to the pre-Hellenistic Mesopotamian figurines. Greek Gods, women in Greek dress, nude men, reclining figures, children, grotesque figures and theatrical masks become part of the civic repertoire, whose iconographical variety is comparable to contemporary western production. In particular, Seleucian figurines highlight close contacts with eastern Mediterranean production, namely from Asia Minor. Many of our terracottas, representing the most varied subjects, such as draped women, men, children, animals, models of objects of everyday use, – find timely parallels in the coroplastic repertoires of Smyrna, Myrina



FIGURE 28.1 Map of Mesopotamia

COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVE CENTRO SCAVI TORINO

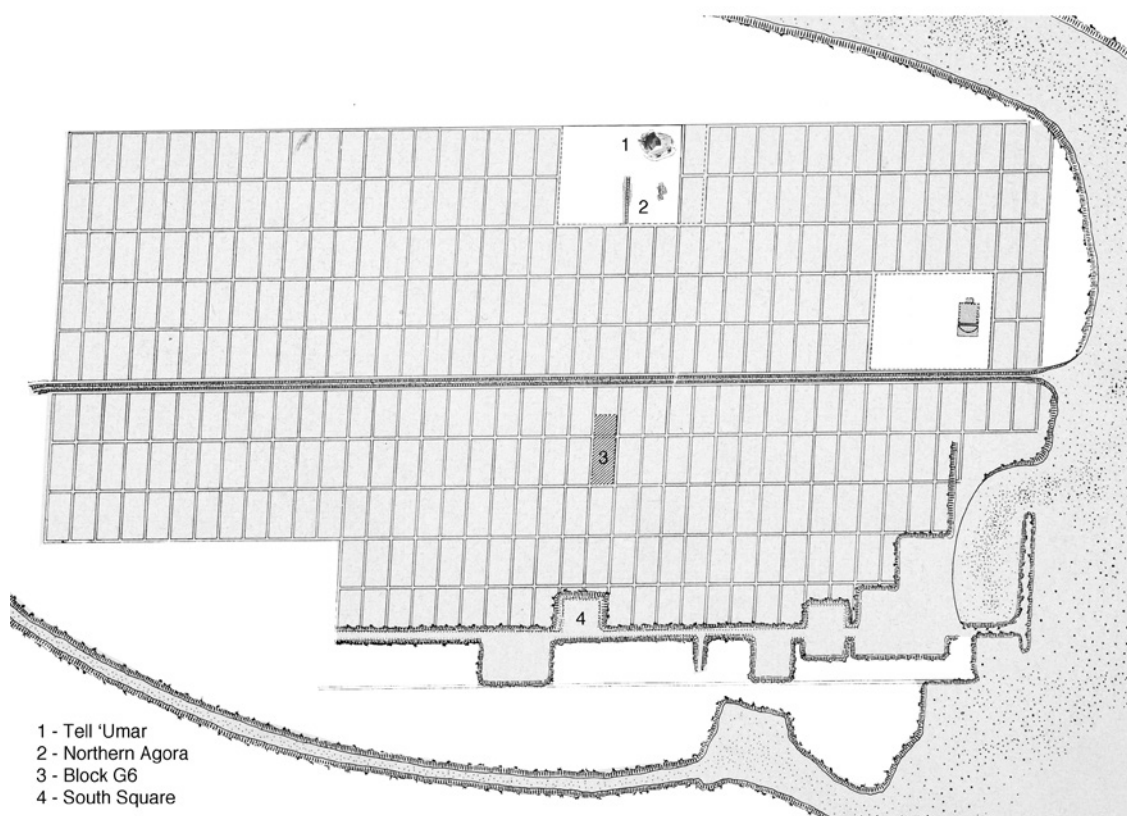


FIGURE 28.2 Seleucia on the Tigris, schematic plan of the city

COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVE CENTRO SCAVI TORINO



FIGURE 28.3 Seleucia on the Tigris, resting Herakles (H: 11.3 cm. inv. no. S11, 434), terracotta
COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVE CENTRO SCAVI
TORINO

and Priene. In addition, some erotic scenes portrayed on terracotta plaques correspond precisely with the motifs decorating the relief-pottery from Pergamon (Invernizzi, 1993). Moulds, figurines and vessels travelling through the territories of the empire could have served as models for Seleucian artisans, and, besides, we cannot exclude the presence of craftsmen amongst the Greek settlers of Seleucia. It is worth noting that contact and exchange with the Mediterranean region go far beyond the chronological

limits of the Seleucid rule of Asia. This is clearly shown in the relief-pottery from Pergamon, which was produced from the second half of the second century to the first half of the first century BCE (Schäfer, 1968: 93). At that time, the Seleucids had already lost control not only of Asia Minor, but also of Mesopotamia. Similarly, some of the above-mentioned terracottas from Asia Minor, – the potential models for our figurines, – are dated to the second and first centuries BCE, or even to the first century CE.

Greek sculpture could have represented another source of inspiration for the Seleucian coroplasts. Figurines reproducing statuary types, – like the resting Herakles, the Herakles Epitrapezios, the crouching Aphrodite or the so called Frankfurt Ourania, – might have been directly inspired by bronze or marble statues displayed, and maybe even produced, at Seleucia. In effect, it has been stated that a rich terracotta production such as the Seleucian one implies the presence of a local sculptors' school (Invernizzi, 1990: 22). Moreover, the numerous terracottas depicting a resting Herakles leaning on his club (Fig. 28.3) have been used by some scholars as an argument for the attribution to a local workshop of the well-known bronze statuette of Herakles brought from Mesene to Seleucia as part of a war chest by the Parthian king Vologases IV (Invernizzi, 1989: 97–98, 105–106).

Western influence is equally strong if we look at the technological aspects of the terracotta production. From a manufacturing perspective, the use of double moulds represents the most relevant innovation in the coroplastic craft since the introduction of the single mould between the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennium BCE. At Seleucia, the new technique becomes largely prevalent – (88% of the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines are cast in double moulds) – even if it does not completely replace the traditional practices of single moulding and hand modelling. Not surprisingly, the proportion between new and traditional techniques is reversed in the other Mesopotamian sites, such as Babylon, Uruk and Nippur, where the weight of local tradition is stronger.

Important innovations also affect the finishing of the figurines. The use of colour was not unknown in pre-Hellenistic Mesopotamian coroplastic craft: from the Ubaid period onward, touches of black or red could enrich the surface of the terracottas, forming decorative patterns like dots or stripes or depicting details such as personal ornaments or the coats of animals. This practice is still in evidence at Seleucia: stripes of red, directly applied on the surface, decorate the petals of the rosettes. Some of the figurines representing animals, parts of the body and models of objects of everyday use are entirely or partially



FIGURE 28.4 Seleucia on the Tigris, incense burner (H: 20 cm. inv. no. S11, 301), terracotta

COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVE CENTRO SCAVI
TORINO

covered by a tiny layer of red. In some cases, the colour indicates details such as a horse's trappings or architectural decorations on the incense burners (Fig. 28.4). Nonetheless, a greater number of terracottas show traces of a different kind of finish, which was not documented in Mesopotamia prior to Seleucid times: a polychrome decoration applied over a white ground. Both technique, and the palette of colours – (red, pink, blue, yellow, green and black) – perfectly match the Hellenistic Mediterranean production (on the polychromy of Hellenistic figurines, see Jeammet, Knecht & Pagès-Camagna, 2010; Pagès-Camagna, 2010). The analyses performed on pigment samples by the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research of the British Museum also prove that the pigments employed for the Seleucian colours were basically the same as the western ones: madder or a mixture of ochre and gypsum for pink, hematite and vermillion for red, Egyptian blue for blue, goethite for yellow and green earth for green (Passmore, 2014). Only the composition of the white ground is different: at Seleucia, it is always made of gypsum, a material that is rarely used

for the preparation layer of the figurines coming from the Mediterranean area (on the composition of the white ground of the Hellenistic figurines, see Middleton, 2001).

As the above-mentioned examples demonstrate, both the iconography and the techniques of manufacturing and finishing highlight the deep western influence on the terracotta production of Seleucia on the Tigris. Nonetheless, a presentation aimed only at recognising the aspects borrowed from the Mediterranean world would be misleading. At Seleucia, the profound knowledge of the Mediterranean coroplastic production did not result in a mere imitation of western models. As I demonstrated in a previous paper (Menegazzi, 2012), Seleucian coroplasts made specific choices: only some of the Greek subjects, – like draped women with the right arm at the chest, reclining figures and seated children, – were fully welcomed in the local production and enjoyed large popularity, together with traditional Mesopotamian subjects like nude standing women, musicians and riders. In fact, figurines from Seleucia are the result of a sustained process of interaction and synthesis between Greek and Mesopotamian culture.

Traditional subjects were renewed thanks to contact with western iconographies, stylistic tendencies and technologies. A good example of this process is provided by nude standing women, one of the oldest subjects in Mesopotamian coroplastic art, which was continuously produced from prehistoric times onwards. As the figurine illustrated here shows (Fig. 28.5), they are often double moulded, wear western headdresses and/or accessories like the *stephane*, and highlight a more naturalistic sensitivity in the elaboration of anatomical details, as shown by the treatment of the abdomen. Greek dress and accessories appear also on other traditional subjects such as nursing women and musicians. In the case of the rider figurines, the process of renovation appears to be more substantial and leads to the introduction of a new figure, the child riding a horse or, less frequently, other animals.

The most popular western subjects were thoroughly re-elaborated by local craftsmen as well. One of the most significant examples is provided by the reclining figures (Fig. 28.6): if the reclining types from the Mediterranean world usually portray male figures, the ones from Seleucia show almost exclusively nude or draped women. The gender shift is fully consistent with the outlines of the Seleucian repertoire, where the female figures are highly predominant. In the case of representations of children, local influence is manifested primarily on the formal level in the simplification and frontalisation of the vivid and naturalistic attitudes of the Hellenistic figurines (Fig. 28.7). Again, the choice fits well with the general



FIGURE 28.5
Seleucia on the Tigris, nude woman (H: 9 cm. inv. no. S9, 739), terracotta

COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVE CENTRO SCAVI TORINO



FIGURE 28.6 Seleucia on the Tigris, semi-nude reclining woman (H: 8.4 cm. inv. no. S9, 737), terracotta

COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVE CENTRO SCAVI TORINO



FIGURE 28.7 Seleucia on the Tigris, seated child
(H: 11.2 cm. inv. no. S6, 107), terracotta
COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVE CENTRO
SCAVI TORINO

trends of the Seleucian figurines, which are mostly portrayed in presentation poses (Menegazzi, 2012: 95–96).

Unfortunately, we know very little about the initial phases of this complex intercultural dialogue. As the Seleucid levels were only reached in some of the excavated areas, figurines related to the Seleucid period are very scarce. By contrast, we are well aware of its pervasiveness, which goes far beyond the span of Seleucid domination. Terracottas coming from late Parthian levels show that naked and draped women, children and reclining

figurines were still very popular in the second century CE. At that time, they were certainly not perceived anymore as Greek rather than local. They had been part of the city's production for centuries and had become a distinguishing feature of it.

To sum up, at Seleucia contacts with Greek artistic and material culture led to a dramatic renewal of the traditional coroplastic repertoire and resulted in the creation of a new iconographic and formal language, a language that was perfectly understandable for people living in a mixed cultural environment. On the basis of the available archaeological data we cannot recognise the ethnic origin of the owners of our figurines. In spite of the extensive investigations of the last century, the site of Seleucia still lies largely unexplored and we do not know anything about the pattern of distribution of the different ethnic groups within the city. Nonetheless, the results of the excavations can shed some light on the subject. We know for sure that local people were living within the dwelling areas that have been investigated, due to the presence of several burial chambers under the floors of inhabited houses, in accordance with a very ancient Mesopotamian practice. This fact does not necessarily mean that there were no Greeks amongst their inhabitants: examples from Susa and Failaka prove that already in the Seleucid period Greeks and non-Greeks did not live in isolation from each other (Kuhrt & Sherwin-White, 1993: 168).

Rather, it seems interesting that people retaining old Mesopotamian traditions were using terracottas with strong Greek features as reclining figures were found in intramural burials, together with traditional subjects such as riders. Similarly, figurines of western origin such as semi-draped women, female and male figures in Greek dress and children were found within a small temple of Mesopotamian plan built against the western front of the civic theatre, whose remains form the vast artificial mound of Tell 'Umar. The findings from the temple include a large terracotta figurine depicting a half-naked child seated on a separately modelled base, which can be interpreted as a cultic statuette (Menegazzi & Messina, 2011: 129–133). These examples suggest that our terracottas, so deeply imbued with Greek influence, were perfectly suitable for expressing the religious feeling of the local population. The Mesopotamian religious context may provide a key to the interpretation of some of the most popular figures in the Seleucian repertoire, reproduced in hundreds of examples – nude standing women, draped women with right arm at the chest and reclining women. These may represent protective supernatural beings with similar functions to the interceding lama-goddesses and the protective spirits of the old Mesopotamian tradition,

offering new forms to very ancient beliefs (on the topic, see Invernizzi, 1998; 2003; Menegazzi, 2005).

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The Plaster Figurines of Khirbet es-Samrā Cemetery in Jordan

Abdalla Nabulsi

Abstract

A substantial number of plaster objects, mainly figurines, were retrieved during excavations in the Byzantine cemetery of Khirbet es-Samrā, in northern Jordan. Most objects were plaques classified in three main types: geometric, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic. The report provides a general description of each type and an overview of parallel finds elsewhere, including those made of other materials. The report deals with problems related to the restoration of the largely fragmentary objects and their dating, which, based on archaeological evidence and radiocarbon dating, was roughly estimated to be between the fifth and seventh century AD. The objects were suggested to have reached the area through trade routes, but the iconographic evidence was not sufficient and local production remains possible. Though some were objects of daily use, the available evidence tends to associate them with local funerary customs in which mirrors were particularly prevalent. The diversity of the plaster objects seems not strictly religiously motivated but rather market oriented. Further studies in different directions are needed to answer still open questions.¹

1 Introduction

Figurines have a long history in Jordan and were documented at many sites dating from the Neolithic to the Nabataean periods (eighth millennium BC to the second century AD), as presented by El-Khoury (2001), Moorey

(2005: 15–16), and Tuttle (2009). They were exclusively clay or terracotta figurines sometimes found within funerary contexts (El-Khoury, 2001; Riedl, 2003). A recent study of Iron Age female terracotta from Jordan showed that presumably only 5% of them were found in burials (Hunziker-Rodewald, November 2013, personal communication). The terracotta figurines were suggested to reveal regional as well as local distinctions and diversity. This changed to relatively homogenous forms influenced by the introduction of widely distributed mass products of the Greco-Roman world (Moorey, 2005: 236). Terracotta figurine production in the Near East probably ceased during the fourth and fifth centuries AD (Higgins, 1969: 27).

With the conclusion of excavations in 2013 at the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery in Jordan about 53 plaster (gypsum) objects were retrieved from 724 excavated tombs. The ancient Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery is located about 50 m to the East of the related ancient site *Haditha* (Palestine grid 2598/1767) that probably developed from a Nabataean trade station to a small settlement of an estimated 400 inhabitants (Nabulsi *et al.*, 2007: 280) between the sixth and eighth centuries AD, i.e. from the Byzantine to Islamic Omayyad periods, before being abandoned at the turn of the ninth century AD (Humbert, 1998: 55–56; 2010: 7–11). The primarily shaft-tomb cemetery, now located within a modern village (Fig. 29.1), was the subject of systematic excavations since 1995. It revealed diversity in the structure of its tombs and an epigraphic richness. The plaster figurines became another feature that distinguished this cemetery from other similarly dated ones in and around Jordan as they were documented in about 7% of all excavated tombs. This abundance stands in contrast to singular findings reported from Byzantine burials in the North and South of Jordan. Regionally, more or less similar objects of different materials were also reported from Palestine, Syria, Cyprus and Egypt as detailed below.

This report presents a short overview of the different types of plaster figurines found in the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery. A detailed description of each object is beyond the scope of this study which is intended to stress the problems associated with them. It outlines the main subjects of the on-going studies and analyses regarding the dating, restoration and the purpose(s) and function of these figurines in the burial customs of the then local

¹ The subject of the plaster figurines would not have emerged without the restoration work of H.-G. Bunger, Göttingen, Germany. The author and his team appreciate the information, critiques, discussions and suggestions from numerous participating colleagues in the conference dedicated to Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas, particularly the organizing committee, as positively reflected in this revised contribution. My thanks extend to A. Abu-Shmais, Jordan, and to G. Bishe, the former General Director of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, for his comments on the draft version and for his support since the start of our privately financed project at the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery in 1995. I also appreciate the extensive support of the Department of Human Biology of the University of Hamburg in Germany to the project as a whole. All pictures and drawings were taken or made by the author and P. Schönrock-Nabulsi, and graphics by A. Kroll of the University of Hamburg.

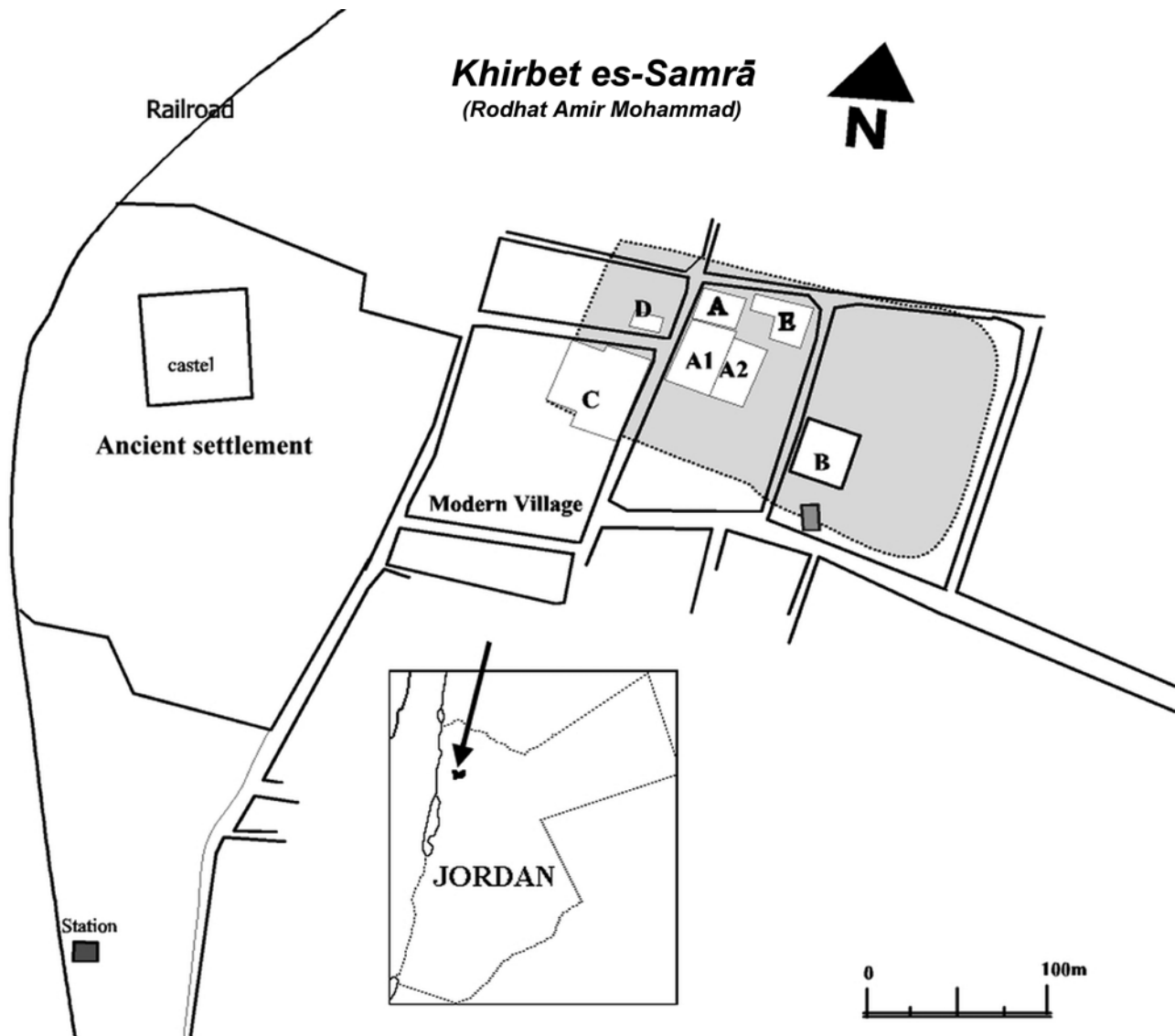


FIGURE 29.1 Khirbet es-Samrā site map. The ancient cemetery and the excavated Site-A to Site-E

Christian community with an update of the earlier published information and suggestions.

2 General Description

The plaster objects from the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery are mostly flat, one-side not-standalone moulded plaques. They were painted or at least reveal traces of colouration, primarily in the form of black lines to decorate or emphasise features and reliefs on their white surfaces. Many figurines have geometric depressions (10–30 mm sockets) in which 1 mm thin glass mirrors were fitted. These were often missing and few of the surviving ones appear to be convex. Some of the plaster objects reveal one or two suspension holes and a roughly flat reverse side. Though mostly fragmentary and incomplete, their original form or motif was recognisable. Based on their general form,

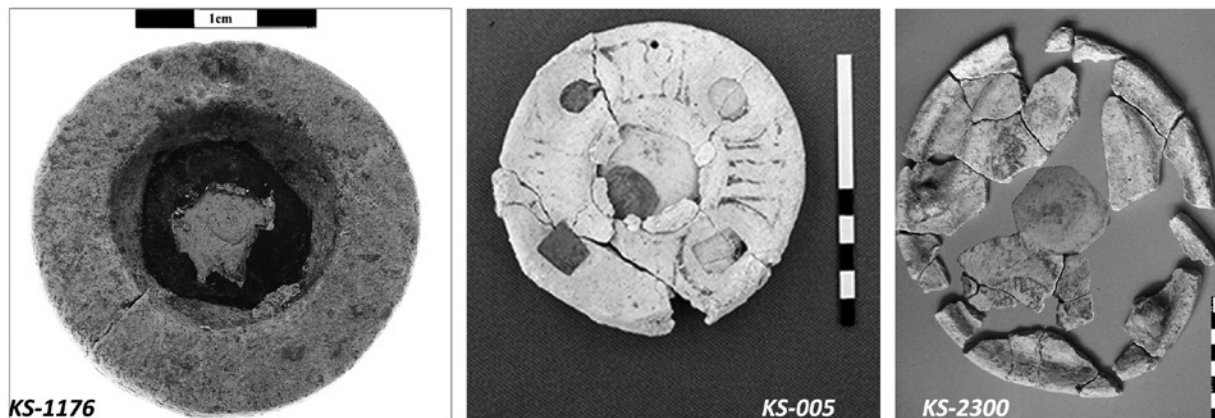
a simplified classification (Nabulsi, 2000: 111; 2012: 9) differentiates between three main types: geometric, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic (Fig. 29.2).

2.1 Geometric Type

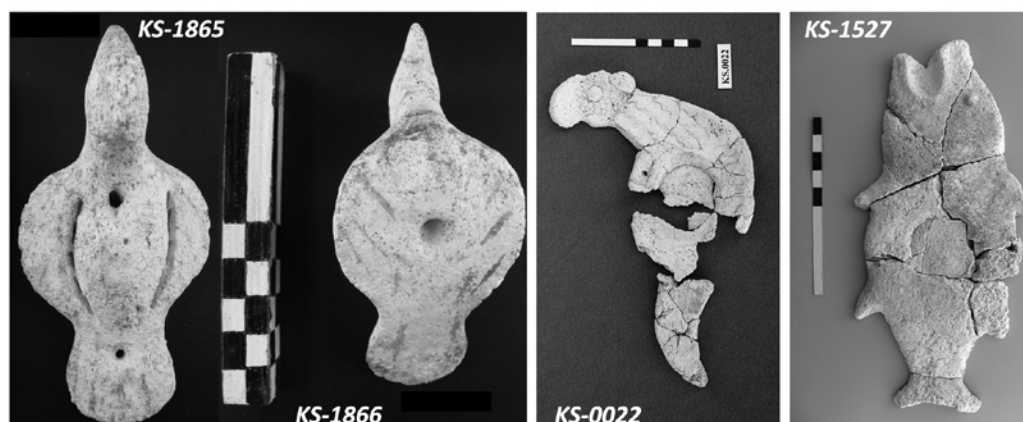
The great majority of objects of this type are rounded, flat discs, 75–120 mm in diameter, with a centrally inserted glass mirror, 20–30 mm in size, and sometimes surrounded by four to five rounded, flat, glass mirrors, c. 10 mm in diameter. All have a top-central suspension perforation. Some reveal simple, black-painted ornaments and a couple had mirrors on both sides. This type also includes a rectangular object² from the cemetery, and two platters, of c. 200 and 300 mm diameter respectively. The centrally

² In August 2015, J.-B. Humbert of the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem provided a drawing of this object. No further records of this object.

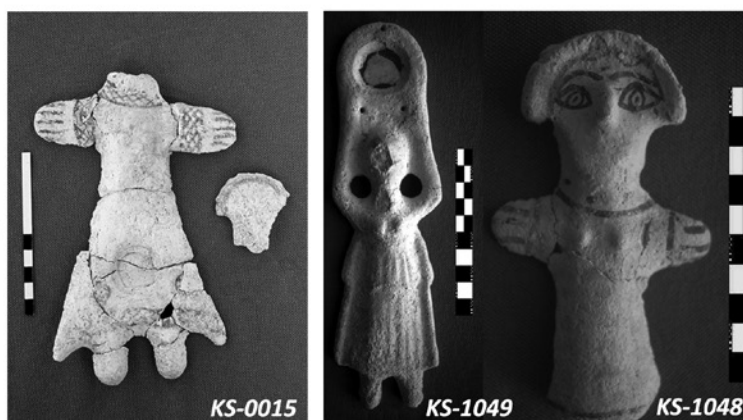
Geometric



Zoo- morphic



Anthropomorphic female



male



FIGURE 29.2 The different types of plaster objects (scaled in cm units)

located mirror insets are surrounded by various black-painted motifs and reliefs.

In Jordan, plaster disks of this type were found in tombs from Humayma (Schick, 1995: 328), Umm-Jimal (Brashler, 1995: 464) and Wadi Fynan (Findlater *et al.*, 1998: 77–79). Regionally, a number of similar plaster objects, not found within their archaeological context, were reported from Palestine and the Jordan Valley (Moulton, 1920: 70–74, figs. 1–3 and 5) as well as from Syria (Ronzevalle, 1921: pl. 1, nos. 1 to 3). There are different mirror plaques that can be classified as belonging to this type (Moulton, 1920: 73, fig. 4; Dunscombe Colt, 1962: 61). Plaster mirror disks were also reported from excavations in Egypt, two of which come from tombs (Petrie, 1927: 31, pl. XXIX, nos. 40–45 NB discrepancy between the numbering in the text and the graphics). From excavations as well as private collections in Palestine and Syria there were reports of terracotta (Macalister, 1911: 387–388, fig. 201; Saller, 1957: 323, Dunscombe Colt, 1962: 61, pl. XXVI, nos. 9–11; Rahmani, 1964: 55, pl. 16A) and limestone disks (Ronzevalle, 1921: pl. 1, no. 4; Iliffe, 1934: 90, pl. XXIV). Not included are the fragmentary ivory and alabaster mirror disks found in the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery.

2.2 Zoomorphic Type

There are 12–13 figurines of animal representations as plaques or solid objects. All are depictions of vertebrate animals.

2.2.1 Plaque Figurines

There are at least ten flat, largely fragmentary plaques of about 200 × 100 × 10 mm with a central inlay-mirror and a top suspension perforation. There are two main forms of this type. The first includes depictions of marine animals, fish and dolphins, e.g. KS-1527 (Fig. 29.2) that have many features similar to the terracotta plaque from Palestine (Rahmani, 1964: pl. 16b). The second includes an animal with a camel's head and neck. The oval “legless” trunk ends with a half crescent tail thus bearing some similarity to a sea horse. The camel figurines reveal some form similarities with the bird pottery (compare Cré, 1894: 287) and plaster objects (Moulton, 1920: 75, fig. 6) from Palestine and the Hauran region, now in southern Syria and north Jordan, respectively.

2.2.2 Solid Figurines

This includes only two intact figurines representing a sitting bird and no mirrors. The bird is recognised by the four black rings below the beak to represent the local hoopoe, *Upupa epops*, with folded wings and upright tail. The larger figurine, KS-1865 (Fig. 29.2), has two suspension holes,

while the smaller has a “fixing” depression on its base. This figurine type was only observed in the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery.

2.3 Anthropomorphic Type

These represent humans of both sexes and comprise more than 60% of all plaster objects found. They are very diverse and often have an inlay-mirror.

2.3.1 Female Figurines

All figurines are flat plaques, 8–10 mm thick, and originally varied in size between 130 mm to an estimated 300 mm. The figurines earlier described as “Samra dolls” (Nabulsi, 2000) are the most common and diverse group of all types. The presence of multiple examples allowed for the determination of the original shape and form of many fragmentary and incomplete ones. The features on the plaques are recognisable as reliefs and black painted lines, whereas other colours were used in at least two figurines to indicate facial “makeup”. The figurines are depictions of standing adult women wearing long flowing or folded gowns, with uncovered and variably dressed hair. The faces have large painted eyes, and a more or less pointed nose, with or without a painted mouth. Two figurines have small perforations near the ear and a few have one or two larger suspension perforation(s). When available, the chest reveals slightly accentuated breasts. The arms are often reduced and vertically stretched or bent towards the head. Some figurines reveal stubby feet that appear below the long gown. Two figurines have inserted glass mirrors, one, KS-1049, placed above the head; the other, KS-0015, inserted in the dress at knee level (Fig. 29.2). Two figurines deviate from this general form as will be seen later. Most female figurines were found together with at least one mirror plaque.

Elsewhere in Jordan, three plaster female figurines were found in excavated burials. These include the “lady of Pella” (Smith, 1969: 10) and the two plaster “dolls” from Humayma (Schick, 1995: 328). Previously, a number of acquired female plaster figurines, similar to or slightly different from those of the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery, were reported from Syria, Palestine and the Jordan Valley³ (Moulton, 1920: 79–84; Ronzevalle, 1921: pl. 11; Giesler, 1935: 10, 18; Avi-Yonah, 1944: pl. XXVII, no. 7). Many of the reported figurines were later suggested to be from Tell Nimrin in the Jordan Valley (Avi-Yonah, 1944: 126). This might suggest that their source could also be the Khirbet es-Samrā

3 A female figurine at the Louvre Museum in Paris was allegedly found in Cyprus as cited by Ronzevalle (1921: 173). This information could not be verified.

cemetery, which at that time was reported to have suffered massive tomb robbery (Savignac, 1925: 417–418). Another example was suggested to be from Cyprus (Riviere, 1920: pl. 74). Interestingly, two terracotta figurines very similar to KS-1048 (Fig. 29.2) were reported from residential layers in Karanis, Egypt (Wilfong, 1997: 74, 77; Weiss, in this volume, Fig. 24.1). Also from Egypt are five excavated, mostly incomplete, female “doll” figurines (Petrie, 1927: 61–62, pl. LII, nos. 603–607). Though all were cited to be terracottas, the photographs of some suggest that they are made of plaster.

2.3.2 Male Figurines

Only three half-spherical figurines, of 70–100 mm, were found. The convex side depicts a human male face or bust, while the flat reverse is occupied by a central glass mirror of about 25 mm diameter. The reverse of figurine KS-1867 has a fish-form. Figurine KS-1875 was made of two separate parts: a face and a rounded disk with an inlay-mirror joined by an irregularly broad plaster ring (Fig. 29.2). Male head figurines are so far restricted to the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery, though possible parallels were reported from elsewhere (Avi-Yonah, 1944: 126, pl. XXVII, no. 13).

The plaster figurines and disks of Khirbet es-Samrā reveal some common features, e.g. mirrors, paint and motifs, thus allowing classifying all in one single category as plaster objects excluding all other objects of different materials. These will only be considered when relevant. Also, it became evident that plaster objects, from the Byzantine period, are regionally more frequent than earlier supposed (Nabulsi, 2012). Beside the above cited comparative material, there were claims of numerous plaster objects put on display in shops in Syria and Palestine (e.g. Moulton, 1920: 70; Ronzevalle, 1921: 173), as well as other unverifiable objects in museums in different countries. Yet, their abundance and variation in the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery remains a singular case that should be thoroughly considered.

3 Restoration and Preservation

As already mentioned, most of the plaster figurines from the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery were fragmentary and incomplete. This is more the result of tomb disturbance rather than their fragility. Fragmentation and different humidity levels within the tombs contributed to material loss, deformation along breakage lines and loss of the mainly black colouration. Some appear as if washed. It was possible to brush-clean and restore a few of the

objects in the field laboratory using the acetone soluble Mecosan® as glue and Polaroid B72® as hardener in a time and effort consuming process (Nabulsi, 2000). It was not possible to do any restorations or analyses on any of the available glass mirrors. At least 30 of the plaster objects could be restored to near original form. Finding qualified local personnel is a major challenge. Any effort to restore the material abroad would imply the loss of some figurines in exchange. Presently, waiting for a suitable solution seems the only choice available.

4 Analyses

Concentrating on the plaster objects, the following section presents the direction of research which aims to determine when they were used, who made them, what for and why they were deposited in the tombs, particularly those of the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery.

4.1 Chronology

Some of the plaster objects found in burials other than those of Khirbet es-Samrā were dated to the seventh century AD (Brashler, 1995: 464; Schick, 1995: 328). The two disks from Wadi Fynan were preferably dated to the fifth century AD, based on the accompanying glassware (Findlater *et al.*, 1998: 77), though a later date would have been safer. This is also true for the Pella figurine that was unjustifiably dated to 510 AD (Smith, 1969: 10). All the remaining comparative plaster objects (Moulton, 1920; Ronzevalle, 1921; Giesler, 1935) were purchased and of unsecure contexts so any suggestion concerning their dating remains doubtful if not irrelevant. Objects of other material, particularly the disks, are unspecific as they were in use since the Roman period. More relevant are the painted terracotta female figurines from Karanis (Wilfong, 1997: 74, 77) dated to the fourth and fifth centuries AD that are very similar to the “Samra dolls”. Other dolls from Egypt were suggested to be mostly Byzantine while the plaster disk mirrors were assigned to the third and fourth centuries AD (Petrie, 1927: 32, 61–62).

Between the probable spread of glass mirrors during the third century AD and the very possible termination of burials at the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery sometime in the eighth century AD there is a general time span during which the plaster objects were deposited in the tombs. All excavations in this cemetery were restricted to the Christian Byzantine section, suggestive of the sixth to eighth centuries AD (Humbert, 1998: 55–56). It should also be mentioned that the dating of the cemetery is a debatable subject and that any two neighbouring or adjacent

tombs could be separated by more than a century (Nabulsi *et al.*, 2007).

Nearly half of the plaster objects were found in tombs from Site-B, where archaeological evidence revealed a nearly homogenous seventh century AD material (Nabulsi *et al.*, 2007: 273). The radiocarbon dating from the skeletal material in Tomb-429, which also contained fragments of plaster objects belonging to the three main types, provided an age of 1376 ± 25 years before present. The calibrated dating was 616–676 cal AD with 95.4% probability. In contrast, the solid bird figurines (Fig. 29.2) were found in situ in a side niche of Tomb-583 together with two glass vessels, one of which is possibly of the third century AD. The tomb's burial chamber also contained fragments of a metal cross, thus suggesting a later dating, of the fifth and sixth centuries AD at the earliest (Nabulsi *et al.*, 2012: 20–21). Observations from Khirbet es-Samrā and elsewhere indicate the possibility that the plaster objects were in use during a wider time period and that some types could have been restricted to narrower periods. Presently, one can only suggest dating the objects in this cemetery between the late fifth and seventh centuries AD. Selective and differential radiocarbon dating of burials containing different figurine types could provide differentiated chronology for the figurines, which in turn could later be used as dating markers.

4.2 Production Origin

In the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery, the different forms of the three major types of plaster objects described above are often represented by more than one example with clear similarities in size, shape and even painted décor. Though some might be simple there are other pieces that reveal artistic quality, e.g. KS-1048 and KS-2300, as well as technical skills, e.g. the position of the suspension perforation allowed the camel figurines to hang in a balanced horizontal plane. These observations indicate the presence of specialised craftsmen to produce these moulded products. The plaster and pottery zoomorphic figurines with mirror insets are found east and west of the Jordan River. These could be local products. Generally speaking, plaster objects tend to be concentrated if not restricted to Byzantine *Provincia Arabia*. Stone plaques with “Jewish” motifs (Mayer & Reifenberg, 1937) might be precursors to the “Christian” ones but the inlay-mirrors were universal in the ancient world. In the Khirbet es-Samrā ancient settlement itself, where none of the plaster objects was found, there is still no evidence of any such industry. The conversion of Church 82 to a plaster workshop during the eighth AD century (Humbert, 2010: 11) post-dated the period in which these objects were deposited in the tombs.

It is thus possible that these objects were introduced or imported from elsewhere.

Khirbet es-Samrā is located near the ancient trade route, the *via Nova* (Humbert, 1998: 29). The figurines could have reached the area, as well as other sites, through these routes. The discoid mirror frames are less helpful on this point because of the suggested wide regional distribution in Egypt and the Near East since the Roman period (Rahmani, 1964: 59). Examining the imagery of the figurines might provide a clue as to their cultural and geographic origin. The Khirbet es-Samrā plaster figurines display a change in form and style from those of earlier periods (El-Khoury, 2001; Moorey, 2005; Tuttle, 2009). The standing female figurines with stretched arms are a reminder of the fifth BC century Boeotian plaster figurines (Amiet *et al.*, 1994: 439, no. 516). Their diverse long and sometimes folded gowns could be a residual Persian influence, as suggested for earlier terracottas (Moorey, 2005: 222, 227), or even Phoenician and Mesopotamian influences (Avi-Yonah, 1944: 126).

This could also be the case for male figurines with the “Phrygian” pointed cap or more like the Phoenician “*léb-badé*” (Badre *et al.* 1994: 274), KS-1867, a motif that appears in different Mediterranean as well as Mesopotamian cultures thousands of years earlier (e.g. Thalmann, 1978: 81, Fig. 21-F; Badre, *et al.*, 1994: 294, Fig. 26; Oggiano, 2012: 6, fig. 1; Christofi, in this volume; and Jackson, in this volume). The similarity between the white painted terracotta female figurines from the Karanis houses (Wilfong, 1997: 74, 77) and the relatively common KS-1048 is very obvious. These and the other figurines (Petrie, 1927: 61–62) indicate a possible Egyptian influence and production origin, considering Egypt's longstanding tradition as a glass (Degryse & Schneider, 2008; 1994) and painted plaster (Petrie, 1909: 119–125 and 142–146; Riggs, 2013: 115) production centre. In Khirbet es-Samrā, it is suggested that religious influence, in the form of floral ornaments in church mosaics (Humbert, 1998: 31), and the presence of “Egyptian” objects in some tombs (Nabulsi *et al.*, 2008: 205; 2011: 30), could support such a suggestion, at least partially.

It appears that the plaster objects under study originated from different regional production centres. A detailed study on the imagery could be informative on some aspects but not on their geographic origin. One has to consider that as a result of cultural diffusion in the Mediterranean region during the Hellenistic and Roman periods; the producers might have imitated or used “popular” motifs irrespective to their original cultural background. Finer analytical methods of the glass mirrors, e.g. Sr-Nd isotopes (Degryse & Schneider, 2008), and the examination of the plaster's chemical characteristics

using new techniques, like pXRF (e.g. Papantoniou *et al.*, in this volume) might help determine the manufacturing source(s) of these figurines.

4.3 Function

The function of any object is better determined when found within its archaeological context, but findings in residential areas can be more informative. All archaeologically documented plaster objects and their like of different materials were found in human burials, except for some Egyptian mirrors and figurines. Though most objects from the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery were found displaced in disturbed tombs, some were still in situ. In two burials the disk mirror was placed near the deceased's head, while in Tomb-322 (Fig. 29.3) the disk was found immersed in the mud sealing of the last, eastern, covering slab. Figurine KS-1048 was found in Tomb-99 beside the right arm of the buried female child (Fig. 29.3), nearly in a similar position to the Wadi Fynan disks (Findlater *et al.*, 1998: 75, 78). Tomb-583 (Fig. 29.3) had a small niche dug near its South-West wall corner at covering slabs level. Figurines KS-1865, 1866 and 1867 were found deposited in that niche.

Contrary to previous suggestions implying an association between plaster objects and young female burials (Schick, 1995: 328; Findlater *et al.*, 1998: 74–78; Nabulsi, 1998: 278, Table 2A), Tomb-583 was a juvenile male burial. Also, the female figurine KS-1049 and a gold earring were found in the adult male burial of Tomb-128. Tombs 128, 322 and 583 might have been cases of the often-observed reused tombs in this cemetery but their archaeological evidence was not conclusive. Nonetheless, these observations indicate an intention behind the deposition of the plaster objects in tombs. Generally, objects found in tombs could either be personal belongings of the deceased, e.g. earrings, or placed by their kinsmen, such as coins and metal finger rings, or even funerary like the small vessels. When first discovered, disks with inlay-mirrors were suggested to be Eucharistic receptacles or *pyxes* (Cré, 1894: 19; Moulton, 1920: 78; Macalister, 1911: 378) or even bread stamps (Iliffe, 1934: 70).

Ronzevalle (1921: 173) rejected this suggestion and considered all mirrors to be non-functional and all such *bibels*, of all materials including the female figurines, were mere “children's toys” – an opinion that found the approval of many scholars (Avi-Yonah, 1944: 136). Rahmani (1964: 60) went further and proposed that plain mirrors and zoomorphic figurines were put in Christian burials, those with Jewish motifs in tombs of Jews while female figurines were used in “pagan” burials. Another study concluded that mirror inset-plaques found in Christian burials were

made “specifically for a funerary use” (Findlater *et al.*, 1998: 79).

There are many indications that mirror objects have functioned as such in antiquity. In terms of optics, convex mirrors reflect a reduced image and disperse light rays. In their original state and placed at a convenient distance, the mirrors under study can provide the observer with a facial overview. In fact these mirrors do not differ much from modern cosmetic mirrors used by young women and can be found in any modern accessories shop. Disk mirrors with additional smaller mirrors could have been cosmetic palettes (Brashler, 1995: 467). Light has a significant role since early Christianity, particularly in the Eastern Church, as a radiating sign of sanctification (Dell'Acqua, 2006: 300; de Lee, 2011: 47) and attained an important role in early funerary rites (Kotoula, 2013). By the sixth century AD, mirrors were in use as reflectors in churches (Dell'Acqua, 2006: 303). Used in small rooms, such as chapels, behind a light source the convex mirror would radiate light in every direction. Female figurines with inserted mirrors, e.g. KS-1049, with a shrine as Moulton (1920: 83) reported, might have been used for such a purpose. As to the female plaster figurines, earlier suggestions describing them as “dolls” (Nabulsi *et al.*, 1998: 618) appear to be less probable. Compared with the more robust Karanis terracotta “dolls” as detailed by Weiss (in this volume), the plaster figurines are relatively thin and fragile. They were painted with unstable colours and thus unsuitable to be put in the hands of playing children. The presence of a central top perforation indicates that the plaster objects hung somewhere or were worn as amulets. Some of the Khirbet es-Samrā material examined using light magnification revealed traces of a possible hanging thread on the surface of the suspension perforation while others showed no friction traces. This is also true in the few of the better preserved objects that appear to have maintained their original rough reverse side.

The Khirbet es-Samrā plaster objects were roughly dated between the fifth and seventh centuries AD. The 13 excavated churches in the ancient settlement (Humbert, 2010: 10) testify to the strong religious affiliation of the local community at that time. The deposition of some objects, such as amulets and figurines, contradicted with the Church's stand at that time towards what it considered “non-Christian” practices (see e.g. Macalister, 1912: 455; Trombley, 1978: 3; Dickie, 1995). Yet, many communities had no difficulty in combining religion with their long standing burial customs (Tritsaroli & Valentin, 2008: 96; Poulou-Papadimitriou *et al.*, 2012: 379–380; Bollók, 2013) particularly in distant rural areas (Russell, 1995: 50). In the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery, as well as in Humayma

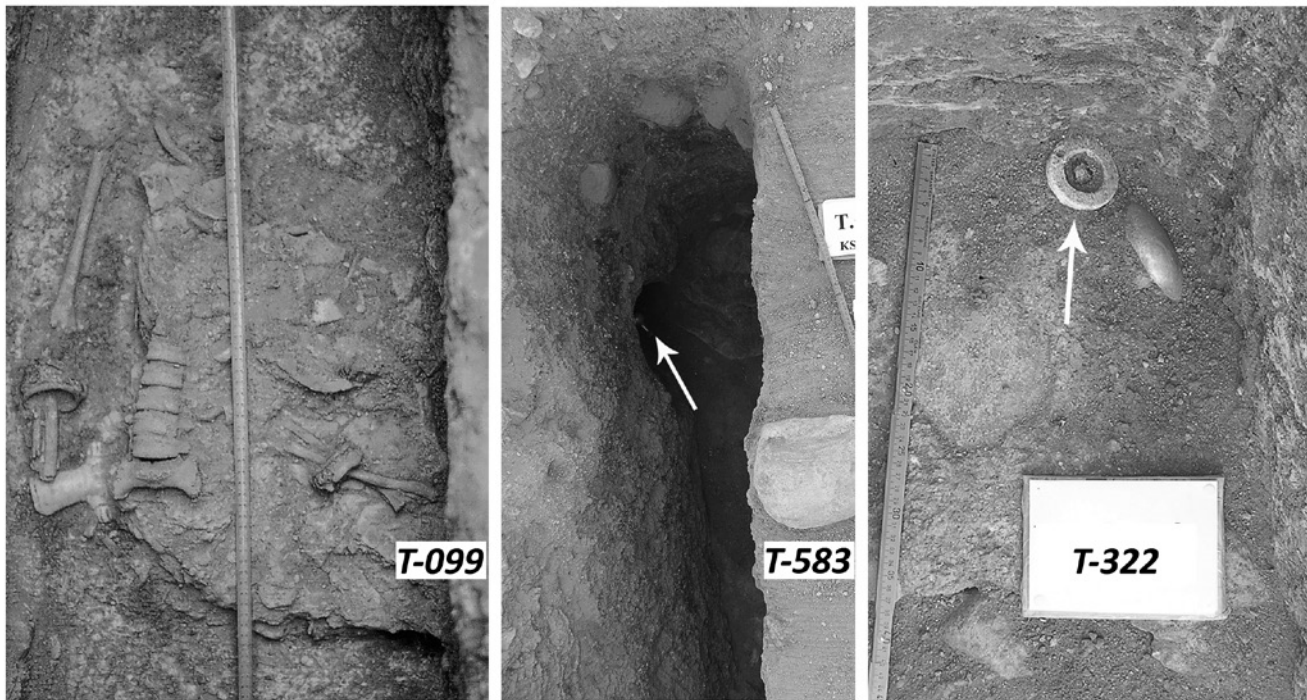


FIGURE 29.3 Examples of plaster objects found in situ inside and outside the burial chamber (cist)

(Schick, 1995: 328), plaster figurines were retrieved from tombs containing different objects carrying a cross, thus indicating a possible connection with the funerary practices of the local Christian communities.

Voigt (1983: 188) suggested symbolism as the primary purpose, and function as secondary, behind deposited figurines. Though her study was on Neolithic material, the suggestion is logical and summarises two major aspects in this study. In the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery most plaster figurines were found with mirror disks in supposedly Christian tombs. Hence, the symbolic interpretation of all plaster objects has to be sought within this religious context, disregarding reports that doubted or even denied such objects any significance (Ronzevalle, 1921: 173; Saller, 1957: 323; Findlater *et al.*, 1998: 79). Since first discovered, the Byzantine plaster objects as well as similar ones of different material were suggested to have a Christian background, particularly the zoomorphic bird and fish figurines (Cré, 1894; Moulton, 1920: 78; Rahmani, 1964: 59; Nabulsi, 2010: 218).

Mirrors found in Roman tombs of young unmarried women were regarded as tributes to Venus, while dolls, as female figurines, symbolised virginity in Christianity (Martin-Kilcher, 2000: 65, 72). The connection between Venus and virginity was represented in figurines of the goddess Astarte, which in Christianity came to symbolise Mary (Riedl, 2003: 238–239). Female plaster figurines were thought to derive from the Near Eastern goddess Astarte and to represent the Christian mother goddess

(Moulton, 1920: 80; Ronzevalle, 1921: 173; Avi-Yonah, 1944: 136). Similarly, the Karanis terracotta dolls were argued to be abstract images of the fertility goddess in the form of a standing orant figurine (Wilfong, 1997: 73–74). Religious interpretations suggested for young female burials shifted from pagan to Christian ideals in the respective periods (Martin-Kilcher, 2000: 64; Riedl, 2003: 238–239).

To link female figurines with fertility and a mother goddess is a common prejudice that ignored iconographic variation (Lesure, 2002: 587). The reappearance of figurines in Byzantine burials in Jordan and elsewhere in the Near East after a long disappearance from burials, possibly with the exception of Nabataean tombs, tends not to agree with the supposed “goddess” imagery of the female figurines and it is less likely that the idea reached the area through religion. Besides, the figurines were not restricted to young female burials. Furthermore, male head figurines and the platter KS-2300 with cornucopia reliefs are apparently not Christian motifs. Toys in Byzantine child burials in Greece were thought to indicate affection and the protection of parents (Tritsaroli & Valentin, 2008: 96).

The discovery of a second “dancer” figurine (Nabulsi *et al.*, 1998: 618) during the 2013 excavation in the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery provided new perspectives as it became possible to obtain details of its features. The plaque figurines, 140 × 70 × 10 mm in size, represent a standing woman with parallel pressed legs and feet (Fig. 29.4). The arms are stretched to reach the braided hair on either side. The painted rounded mouth and eyes are wide



FIGURE 29.4 The lamenting woman figurines

open, and there is the usual beak nose. The woman wears a short sleeved gown that reaches to her ankles. The gown is transparent revealing her navel and the pubic hair area represented with black dots. The shape and apparent physiognomy suggest a distressed woman: shouting, lamenting or mourning. Hence, these are “lamenting” woman figurines. Terracotta figurines of mourning women were often deposited in tombs as part of an ancient Greek burial (Georgoulaki, 1996: 101–102, pl. 3). Contrary to the Khirbet es-Samrā figurines, the Greek ones show a woman tearing her free flowing, upbraided hair. Yet, there are some similarities with the mourning women depicted on the Phoenician “Ahiram sarcophagus” (see Fleisher, 1983; Rehm, 2004).

The KS-2275 figurine also reveals a kind of manipulation in the form of small plaster pellets that were applied using a flat instrument on the mouth and nose, both hands, elbows, across the waist and on the front and reverse side of the feet. Small light yellow spots were also observed indicating that a liquid was sprinkled on the front side of the figurine. The figurine was once broken across the waist and plaster was applied to mend it or for another unknown reason. These “manipulations” were obviously carried out a short time before depositing the figurine in the tomb for reasons that are clearly not Christian related and, presently, beyond comprehension. The KS-2275 figurine recalls observed repairs on the face of another one similar to KS-1048 (Nabulsi, 2000: no. 3).

Both cases might indicate that the plaster objects were local products, made in Haditha.

Estimations show that all plaster objects were found in 7% of the nearly 15% sample of all tombs within the suggested “Christian”-Byzantine section of the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery. It is very likely that hundreds of them will remain undiscovered. In this cemetery and elsewhere the plaster objects were obtained from burials rich in tomb-goods (Schick, 1995: 328; Findlater *et al.*, 1998: 78) suggesting that the burials were of the better situated section of the community and that the plaster objects were not affordable for all. As already stated, plaster figurines without mirrors were always accompanied by plaques with inlay-mirrors. It appears that these functional mirrors were more relevant than the shape of their frame or figurines and that the variation in shape and form was only an option offered by the craftsmen to satisfy the whims of the purchaser.

A consideration of the significance of light during Byzantine funerary proceedings (Kotoula, 2013) leads to speculation that mirror objects were used as light reflectors during funerals. Those with suspension perforations were hung while others without were fixed to a stand, e.g. KS-1866 and KS-2300, and were later deposited in the tombs with other utensils used during the funeral, e.g. glass or pottery ointment unguentaria. Yet, this is only a speculation and we cannot rule out the possibility that mirrored objects, particularly the simple disks, were also

part of the personal cosmetic utensils, such as small tubular vessels containing spatulas, found sometimes together, as for example in Tomb-81, 137 and 345.

The large number of plaster objects found in the Khirbet es-Samrā cemetery might be seen as a local tradition or attributed to the extent of excavation at this particular cemetery compared with the size of the excavated cemeteries elsewhere in this region. In any case, the multitude of observations from this cemetery contradicts previous suggestions that doubted or denied these objects any significance.

In conclusion, the aim of this report was to present questions rather than answers to the subject of the plaster objects. It also reveals interpretive difficulties despite detailed archaeological documentation. Restoration of these objects, studies of the imagery and burial customs, as well as technical analyses concerning more exact dating and the chemical structure of material and colours could offer new insights into this long ignored type of objects or figurines.

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General Index

- Achna 48, 68
Acropolis (Athens) 207, 212, 218
actor 19, 35, 53, 93, 94, 96, 99, 125–126, 272, 277, 278, 279, 331, 332
 see also comic actor; mask (theatrical); theatre
Adonis 126, 226, 231
adornment 223–224, 268
 see also diadem; hair dress; headdress; necklace; tiara; veil/veiled
 figurines
adults 112, 122, 207, 211, 218, 219, 335, 338, 340
aediculae (domestic shrines) 37, 81
 see also context, domestic; house; shrine
Aegean islands 360
Aegina 230, 231
Afghanistan 360
Africa/North Africa 2, 88, 98, 217, 321, 329–340, 342–355, 376
Africa Proconsularis 329–340
African, figurine of an 24, 35, 281, 281 n.3, 282, 366–367
 see also Nubians
Africans 332, 366–367
afterlife 124, 125, 126, 127, 128
agency 353–355
agora
 of Amathous 234
 of Arsinoe 99
 of Athens 121, 211, 246
 of Metapontian 293
 of Seleucia 395
Agorakritos 92
Ahiram sarcophagus 410
Ake 360, 368
Akko 373, 375, 376, 377
Akraiphia 224
alabastron 267, 268
Alassa 16
Alexander (the Great) 71, 94, 95, 96, 367, 368
 sarcophagus 379
Alexandria, Egypt 16, 35, 74, 83, 109–110, 121, 122, 127, 128, 156, 157, 228,
 280, 359, 360, 362, 363, 364, 366, 367, 375, 378, 395
 see also Egypt
Alexandrian (coroplastic art) 84, 106, 114, 124, 359–369, 375
 see also Egyptianising character/influence; Tyche of Alexandria;
 workshops, Egyptian/Alexandrian
Amargetti 154–156, 160
Amarynthos 203–212
Amathous 8, 13, 44, 46, 47, 48–49, 51, 94, 101–110, 112, 121, 124, 126, 127,
 128, 131, 132, 136, 142, 143, 153, 155, 156–157, 158, 175, 234, 372, 373,
 376–379
 acropolis of 101, 102, 104, 110, 121–123, 126, 144, 171, 175
 deposit MX 318 101–104, 106, 108, 109, 110, 121–123
 Eastern Necropolis 112–128, 173–174
 palace of 101, 104–106, 108, 109, 110, 175
 sanctuary/ies of 8, 101, 104, 106–108, 110, 121, 126, 144, 171, 234
 tunnel (subterranean cult place) 121, 123, 125, 126, 142, 234
 see also Aphrodite, sanctuary at Amathous
Amazon with her horse 11
Amor/Amores 331, 334, 336, 338, 340
 see also Venus with an Amor
amulet 110, 114, 344, 345, 348, 350, 408
Anafa (Tel) 373, 374, 379
Anafe 360
androgynous 126
animal(s) 28, 30, 34, 35–36, 37, 79–80, 167–171, 175, 176, 210, 211, 247,
 330, 332, 347, 362–363
 bone 276, 344, 345
 figurines 28, 29, 30, 34, 35–36, 92, 150–151, 153, 154, 186, 187, 330,
 332, 395–398, 405
 see also sacred animals; zoomorphic figurines; zoomorphic masker
 statuettes
Antioch 16, 383, 395
Anubis 114, 337
Aphrodite 2, 13–16, 17, 18, 28, 30, 32, 33–34, 36, 38, 47–48, 56, 62,
 63–67, 69, 72, 74, 79, 81, 94, 98, 101–110, 118, 120, 121–123, 125–126,
 133, 142–143, 153, 156–158, 160, 175, 176, 210, 232–233, 234, 248,
 251–257, 259–269, 272, 275, 277, 281, 284, 376, 380, 386, 397
 Anadyomene 47, 106, 109
 Ariadne 104, 109, 110
 at her toilet (Toilet of Venus) 16
 birth of 259–269
 fastening her *strophion* 13–16, 24, 31
 sanctuary at Amathous 74, 101–110, 121, 142, 144, 171
 sanctuary at Soloi 46
 with Eros 16, 17, 18, 30, 33, 34, 47, 74, 79, 94–95, 101–110, 231, 248
 see also Astarte; Eros; Erotes; Isis Aphrodite
Apis 38, 362, 373, 374
Apollo 74, 79, 81–82, 84–86, 126, 155, 156, 158, 212, 237, 329, 330, 331,
 332, 333, 336, 339, 386, 390
 Hylates, sanctuary at Kourion 45, 150, 154, 156, 160, 171, 174
 kitharodos 74, 75, 81, 123
 sanctuary at Amargetti 154–155
 sanctuary at Pyla-Vikla 158
Apollonia Pontica 231, 232
Apostolina 196, 197, 200
appliqué (technique) 31, 32, 308, 310, 312, 313
Apuleius 336
Arados 368
Arcadia 82, 165–177
Archaic 2, 44, 49, 62, 71, 82, 84, 88, 89, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 144, 146, 149,
 150, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 165, 175, 176, 180, 203, 207,
 211, 215, 220, 247, 248, 251, 252, 253, 257, 262, 312, 314, 360
archetype 109, 362
architectural decoration 360, 368, 398
Argos 110, 210, 210 n3
Ariadne 231, 281, 282
 see also Aphrodite-Ariadne
army 368, 390
Arsinoe (city) 71–86, 88–99, 146–149
 see also Marion
Arsinoe II (Philadelphos) 2, 71, 88, 109, 146
Arsinoe III 109, 110
Arsos 44, 46, 109, 132, 153
Artemis 46, 47, 48, 79, 81, 82, 84, 101, 126, 136, 142–143, 158, 165, 168,
 171, 203, 211–212, 218, 226, 229, 233, 234, 251–257, 259–260, 261,
 267, 269, 272, 295, 300, 301, 302, 336
 Amarysia, sanctuary at Amarynthos 203–212
 dadophoros 74, 77, 79, 142
 holding a stag (or deer) 45, 48, 56, 229
 Hymnia 82
 Kynegetis 79, 80

- Artemis (cont.)
 Paralia, sanctuary at Kition 44, 45, 48–49, 53, 60–69
 sanctuaries 234, 251–257, 259–261
 sanctuary at Brauron 212, 218
see also initiation; Kore-Persephone; puberty; rites of passage
- Artemision 211, 253, 254, 255, 257, 259, 260
 articulated/movable limbs 215, 217, 219, 220, 221
 Asia Minor 1, 2, 19, 35, 74, 88, 104, 120, 124, 160, 189, 200, 209, 210, 217, 226, 228, 229, 254, 360, 373, 375, 376, 378, 395, 397
Asklepieion 275, 277, 282, 283
 assimilation 251, 368
 Astarte 30, 62–63, 68, 69, 94, 95, 104, 125, 153, 158, 376, 388, 390, 409
astragaloi 122
 Atargatis 376, 380, 393
atef crown 359
 Athena 143, 165, 176, 207, 210, 224, 231–232, 266–267
 Athens 30, 55, 60, 66, 79, 81, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 121, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 212, 217, 224, 231, 234, 248, 284, 364, 367, 376
see also Acropolis (Athens); agora; Praxiteles of Athens
- Athienou-Malloura 48, 171, 173
 Attic 52, 68, 69, 150, 228, 232, 233, 247, 256, 268, 380
 Attica 69, 210, 211, 212, 217, 226, 360
 Attis 101, 126, 330, 331, 337, 338, 340, 387
 attribute(s) 7, 8, 12, 15, 24, 47, 63, 125, 142, 143, 168, 211, 223, 229, 238, 251–257, 259–269, 362, 376, 379, 392
 Augustine, Saint 336
 Ayia Irini 144, 173
 Ayios Iacovos-Dhima 144
 Ayios Philemon 73
- banqueter(s) 146–148, 252, 295–298, 301–302
see also male figurine, reclining
- base 13, 15, 16, 24, 32, 33–34, 66, 73, 74, 79, 82, 104, 106, 112, 114, 117, 118, 123, 132, 133, 136, 154, 156, 160, 261, 295, 300, 313, 315, 350, 352, 362, 386, 400, 405
 bath(s) 9, 11, 12, 16, 38, 142, 249, 260, 267–268, 274, 315, 334, 338
 bathing 47, 142, 267
see also Nuptial bath/*nymphikon loutron*
- Baubo 2, 362, 364, 371, 373, 375, 380
 Beersheba 68, 372–373
 Begram 360
 Beirut 360, 368
 Bendis 300
 Benghazi 52, 53
 Berenice II 109
 Bes 154, 329, 330, 331, 332, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 344, 345, 359, 362, 364, 373, 380
bibelots 408
 birth of Aphrodite: *see* Aphrodite
- body 13, 15, 16, 18, 31, 32, 34, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 56, 74–75, 79, 104, 105–106, 108–109, 112, 118, 122, 123, 124, 127, 133, 136, 152, 154, 157, 187, 191, 195, 203–204, 207, 224, 238, 247, 256, 259, 260, 261–262, 265–269, 276, 278, 315, 316, 322, 324, 348, 351, 362, 364, 386, 387, 390, 391, 398–399
 Boeotia 51, 79, 96, 204, 205, 208, 210, 210 n.3, 224, 226, 230, 231, 237–249, 360, 367
 Boeotian 53, 237–249, 407
Bothros 88, 98, 133, 173
 Botrys 368
 boy, seated 49, 52–53, 125, 159–160, 203–204, 209–211
 bread stamp 349, 352, 408
- breast(s) 48, 63, 94, 95, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 114, 122, 142, 155, 158, 176, 233, 256, 260, 336, 359, 362, 364, 405
see also Aphrodite fastening her *strophion*
- bride(s) 2, 218, 231, 233–234, 251–257, 259, 260, 268
see also *nymphē/nymphai*
- bronze/metal figurine/statue 13, 14, 15, 165–166, 176, 183, 226, 229, 237, 246, 365–366, 368, 373, 397
see also tin foil
- Bronze Age 1, 143–144, 146, 153, 200
 bull masker figurines 171–175, 176
see also zoomorphic masker statuettes
- bullā* 363
 bull-deity 362
 burial(s) 1, 7, 8, 46, 114, 124–127, 144–145, 150, 153, 215, 267, 289, 290, 301, 321, 324, 329–340, 360, 379, 400, 402–411
see also child/children's burials; context, funerary; funerary; grave(s); necropolis/necropoleis; offerings; rites; tomb(s)
- Byblos 16, 368
 Byzantine 73, 274, 406, 407, 409, 411
 cemetery 402–411
- camel(s) 154, 405, 407
 captive(s) 360
 Capua 49, 310
 caricatures 19, 35, 187, 210, 316
 ceramic fabric 2, 25–31, 44, 47, 68, 96, 101, 123, 149, 301–302, 359, 360–362, 388
see also petrographic analysis
- Chaironeia 246, 247
 chamber 359
 chamber, burial/tomb 112, 149, 150, 400, 407, 409
 chariot 23–24, 229, 359, 383
 charioteer (chariot rider) 33, 34, 35, 94
see also horse; horse-and-rider; Persian Rider
- child/children 11, 15, 36, 47, 52–53, 56, 74, 93–94, 96, 99, 101–111, 120, 122, 124, 150, 152, 153, 154, 183, 203–212, 218, 232, 233, 234, 252, 256–257, 268, 272, 295, 296, 297, 298, 310, 329–340, 343, 344, 345, 347, 354, 355, 362, 363–364, 375, 377–378, 379, 383, 387, 391–392, 395, 398, 400, 408
 child/children's burials 46, 127, 150, 153, 218, 267, 329–340, 409
 childbirth 79, 104, 153, 211, 212, 268, 269
 chiton 34, 48, 56, 63, 74, 79, 83, 92, 95, 105, 106, 107, 108, 114, 118, 122, 133, 136, 142, 168, 204, 215, 256, 310, 362
chitoniskos 300
chlamys 364
 choes, Attic 52
 Christian 106, 354, 403, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410
 chronology 2, 8, 12, 13, 24, 28, 44, 132, 171, 180, 186, 189, 246–247, 259, 272–284, 291, 406–407
- chthonic 124, 125, 142
 Chytroi 46
 cistern 79, 126, 274, 276, 280
 civilisation 171, 175, 369
 Classical 1, 2, 36, 44, 45, 46, 48, 51, 60, 62, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 81, 82, 84, 88, 89, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 106, 109, 114, 124, 126, 146, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 171, 176, 180, 209, 215, 234, 237 n.1, 248, 249, 274, 395
- Cleopatra II 110
 Cleopatra III 110
 coast 68, 88, 124, 131, 155, 211, 278, 289, 332, 339, 360, 361, 362, 368, 371, 372, 373, 377, 380
Coele Syria 360, 371–380

- coexistence 180, 368
 coiffure 53, 118, 156, 157, 277, 281, 282, 362
 see also hair; hairdo; hairstyle
 coin 68, 112 n.1, 114, 124, 127, 143, 226, 275, 277, 321, 322, 349, 351, 359, 368, 376, 383, 408
 collar 363
 colour (decoration) 3, 16, 20, 24, 33–34, 47, 51, 55, 96–97, 99, 102, 114, 116, 120, 123–124, 127, 133, 149, 150, 191–200, 203, 207, 212, 219, 224, 238, 248, 278, 312–313, 315, 321, 342, 344, 345, 386, 388, 397–398, 403, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410–411
 see also ochre; pigment; polychromy; tin foil
 comic actor 94, 96
 see also actor; mask (theatrical); theatre
 comic mask heads 46
 communication theory 215, 218–221
 compromise 368
 connection 62, 68, 84, 124, 125, 144, 145, 146, 154, 165, 171, 175, 203, 218, 278, 280, 283, 322, 353, 359, 360, 383, 409
 connectivity 176, 368
 conquest 367, 368
 Constantine, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, colossal head 55
 context, domestic 1, 2, 3, 7–38, 46, 47, 81, 91–92, 94, 96, 97, 125–126, 156, 158, 160, 215–221, 224–225, 272–274, 289–302, 305–314, 315, 317, 319, 322, 342, 342–355, 360, 377, 388, 389, 392, 393
 see also *aediculae* (domestic shrines); cult, domestic/household; farmhouse; house
 context, funerary 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 35, 47, 112–128, 156, 158, 215–221, 224–225, 247–248, 315, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321–324, 329–340, 360, 402–411
 see also burial(s); funerary; grave(s); necropolis/necropoleis; offerings; tomb(s)
 context, sacred (religious/ritual) 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 13, 35, 44–57, 60–69, 71–86, 88–99, 106, 124, 125, 153, 156, 158, 160, 165–177, 189, 191, 203–212, 215–221, 224–225, 272–274, 289–302, 305–314, 313, 319, 322, 329–340, 359, 360, 368, 389, 400–401, 409
 see also cult(s); offerings; ritual deposit; sanctuary/sanctuaries; shrine(s); votive deposit; votive terracottas
 contextualisation 2, 12–13, 38, 180, 186, 252, 259, 275
 Corinth 217, 218, 226, 228, 229, 231, 246, 261, 272, 280, 283–284, 364
 cornucopia 18, 34, 298–299, 363–365, 409
 coroplastic 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 24, 35, 36, 44, 45, 46, 49, 88, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104, 112, 114, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 133, 146, 165, 186, 203, 204, 232, 237, 246, 247, 248, 249, 252, 257, 259, 261, 267, 275, 277, 278, 280, 284, 305–314, 359 n.1, 372, 373, 392, 395, 397, 398, 400
 coroplastic production 24–34, 46, 68–69, 88, 89, 96–99, 122, 124, 126, 127, 128, 180–200, 207–209, 210, 246, 272, 275, 281, 283, 284, 289–302, 310, 312, 342, 359, 360, 371, 395, 398
 see also kiln; manufacture; moulds; production; raw materials; workshop(s)
 coroplasts 3, 24, 30, 98, 99, 123, 154, 175, 183, 189, 246, 290, 297, 298, 301, 368, 372, 397, 398
 cosmetic palettes 408
 cosmetics (make up) 265–266, 405
 courtyard 11, 37, 68, 79, 89, 91, 218, 346, 359
 Cozzo Presepe 299
 craftsmanship 96, 182, 361
 cremation 127, 335, 339
 Crete 94
 cross-torch 291–295, 298, 300, 301, 302
 crotch 362
 Crucinia 295
 cubacula 11, 38
 cult(s) 35, 36, 47, 62, 63, 66, 69, 71, 72, 74, 79, 81–86, 92, 94, 101, 110, 121, 123, 124, 126, 143, 144, 153, 154, 165–177, 189, 203, 215, 218, 226, 228–229, 234, 248, 251, 310, 312, 329, 364, 368–369, 375, 376–380, 393
 domestic/household 18, 36–38, 81, 92, 322
 of the dead 123
 rural 177
 see also *aediculae* (domestic shrines); context, sacred; Dionysos, cult of; religion; rites; sacred; sanctuary/sanctuaries; shrine(s)
 cult attendant 364
 cult images 177
 cultic 18, 35, 60, 62, 69, 71, 72, 79, 81, 82, 112, 145, 168, 368, 376, 400
 cultural diffusion 407
 Cybele 92–93, 96, 99, 226, 228–229, 234, 272, 331, 337, 340, 376–377, 380
 Cypro-Archaic 88, 104, 112, 114, 125, 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 371
 Cypro-Classical 88, 132, 143, 144, 146, 171
 Cypro-Phoenician 176
 Cyprus Exploration Fund (CEF) 146, 149, 154, 156
 Cyrenaica 52–53, 104, 154, 209, 210, 210 n.3, 217, 365
 Cyrene 145, 217, 233–234
 Damophon cult statue group 166–170
 dancer/dancing figures 2, 82–84, 101, 122, 165–166, 168–169, 171, 175, 212, 226–234, 248, 298–300, 302, 364–366, 376–377, 409–410
 database 12, 186, 342 n.2, 345–347, 350–353, 359, 360
De civitate Dei 336
dea Tyria gravida (or *dea gravida*) 94, 153
 deer 19, 22, 30, 33, 36, 37, 45, 48
 see also Artemis holding a stag; stag
 deity/deities 13, 30, 36, 37, 46, 47, 48, 62, 63, 71, 74, 79, 81, 82, 83, 94, 95, 84, 86, 101, 110, 122, 124, 125, 142, 143, 154, 158, 165, 167, 168, 171, 173, 175, 176, 210, 211, 218, 226, 229, 232, 233, 234, 248, 251, 253, 290, 310, 312, 315, 321, 329, 332, 336, 337, 339, 340, 359, 362, 368, 373, 376, 378, 379, 380
 see also visiting gods
 Delos 19, 35, 106, 142, 360, 362, 364, 367, 368, 373–375, 376
 Demeter 45, 47, 53, 62, 68, 81, 124, 125, 142, 143, 145, 154, 168, 171, 218, 226, 229, 231, 232, 234, 251, 261, 291–293
 and Kore, sanctuary at Corinth 214, 226, 261
 and Persephone, sanctuary at Cyrene 145
 sanctuary at Poseidonia 53
 Despoina, sanctuary at Lykosoura 165–171, 177
 diadem 16, 47, 102, 187, 265
 see also adornment; hair dress; headdress; tiara; veil/veiled figurines
Diadochoi 96
 diaspora 362
 digital humanities 1, 3, 38
 digitisation 3
 Diodorus Siculus 88, 149
 Dionysiac (characteristics, imagery, world) 121, 125–126, 274–275
 Dionysos 16, 19, 30, 31, 33, 36, 120–121, 122, 124–126, 210, 226, 231, 248, 272, 281, 386, 391–392
 cult of 125–126, 226, 274
 see also House of Dionysos
 Dioscuri 74, 78, 79, 101, 378, 379–380
 Diphilos 94, 275, 277
 diptych/*diptychon* 52, 53, 125, 203–212, 379
 documentary papyri 360

- dog(s) 16, 19–20, 22, 24, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35–36, 38, 154, 169, 171, 238, 332, 337, 362–363
- doll(s) 122, 187, 212, 216–221, 277, 344–346, 348, 405–406, 408, 409
- dolphin(s) 334, 404–405
- domestic: *see* context, domestic
see also cult, domestic/household; farmhouse; house
- Dor (Tel) 371, 372, 373, 376, 377
- Doros 368
- dove 45, 104, 153, 253, 262, 330, 332, 333
- dromos 112, 148, 150
- drum 390–391
- drum player 359
- Dura Europos 47, 393
- dumps/rubbish 104, 289, 305, 329, 342, 344, 353, 383
- dwarf 362
- Dyrrhachion 260, 261, 269
see also Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion
- economy 146, 359
- Egypt 19, 35, 36, 37, 47, 50, 71, 88, 104, 109–110, 142, 154, 156, 157, 160, 209, 210, 210 n.3, 220, 231, 342, 347, 354, 355, 360, 362, 363, 365, 367, 372, 373, 376, 378, 379, 380, 395, 402, 405, 406, 307
see also Alexandria, Egypt
- Egyptian 114, 123, 143, 272, 337, 342, 363, 366, 367–369, 372, 373, 380, 407, 408
- Egyptian blue 196–197, 198, 200, 398
- Egyptianising character/influence 16, 18, 19, 35, 359–369, 373–376, 407
see also Alexandrian (coroplastic art)
- El Kenissia 329, 330
- Eleusis 231, 365
- elite(s) 35, 84, 175, 177, 368, 369, 388
- Eloro, Sicily, Santuario nuovo 45
- Enkomi 53, 144
- entertainment 367
- ephebes 204, 210, 212, 248–249
- Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion 251–254, 257
- Episkopi 131, 174
- Eretria 203–212, 231, 257
 Amarynthos 203, 204
- Erimi
 Bamboula 131–145
 Kafkalla 144
 Pitharka 144
- Eros 15, 16, 17, 18, 30, 33, 34, 37, 47, 74, 76, 79, 94, 95, 101–110, 123, 124, 126, 154, 159–160, 210, 231, 255–257, 261–266, 267, 268, 272, 275–276, 280–281, 284, 308, 310, 372, 379, 387
 holding a lowered torch 16, 24, 28, 110
see also Aphrodite with Eros
- Erotes 47, 104, 120, 126, 154, 160, 248, 265, 267, 280, 383
- Ethiopia 360
- Ethiopians 366
- ethnic name 360
- Etruria 369
- Euandria, relief of 55
- Euboea 203–213, 231
- Eucharistic 403
- Eutresis 231, 246, 247, 365
- experimental work 25, 30
- ex-votos 104, 106, 110, 310, 312
- eyes 19, 49, 54, 55, 120, 152–153, 199, 200, 223, 226, 277, 281, 282–283, 316, 322, 343, 364, 386, 387, 390, 405, 409–410
- fabric: *see* ceramic fabric
- fabric (clothing) 106, 107, 109, 223–224, 228, 231, 233
- face 16, 19, 30, 33, 35, 49–50, 51, 68, 74, 79, 96, 101, 114, 126, 136, 146, 150, 152, 153, 154, 155, 160, 187, 196, 199, 203–204, 207, 210, 223–224, 226, 228–229, 233–234, 237, 238, 265, 281, 282, 284, 310, 315, 316, 319, 362, 364, 379, 383, 387, 390, 391–392, 405, 406, 410
- farmhouse 289, 291, 294, 297, 299–300
- Favale 294, 295, 298, 300, 301
- favissa* 104, 152, 359, 362, 364, 371–373, 377
- Fayum 342
- female figurine, reclining 18, 399, 398–401
- female figurine, pregnant 48–49, 153, 359
see also pregnant woman
- fertility 62, 71, 78, 81, 83–84, 223, 233, 234, 261, 268, 347, 355, 369, 391, 409
 deity/goddess 47, 69, 81, 84, 94, 98, 153, 233, 336, 409
- festival 211–212, 233, 364
- fish 154, 404–405, 406, 409
- fish bone 195, 199
- fishing 223
- frog 332
- funerary
 funerary portraits 47, 54–56, 324
 funerary practices 124–128, 148, 247–248, 324, 329–340, 371, 402–411
see also burial(s); context, funerary; grave(s); necropolis/necropoleis; offerings; rites; tomb(s)
- Garigliano River 312
- garment 15, 56, 95, 97, 101, 104, 105, 106, 109, 154, 156, 158, 167, 168, 175, 211, 224, 233, 260, 261, 262, 265, 343, 362, 366
- gate 101, 383, 388
- Genetrix* 336
- genius* 315, 322–324
- Genius Terrae Africae* 337, 340
- Geometric 180, 203, 247
- geometric (plaster figurines) 402, 403–405
- gesture 13, 16, 63, 95, 108, 114, 118, 122, 153, 155, 204, 224, 231, 234, 251, 256, 257, 259, 329, 334, 336, 338, 364
see also ritual gesture
- gingerbread-man type 342–343
- girl, seated 52–53, 204, 209, 339
- glass 91, 99, 196, 200, 203, 322, 344, 345, 346, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 359, 360, 403, 405–406, 407, 410
- goddess with uplifted arms 94, 95
- Golgoi 44, 105, 106, 108–109, 149, 171, 172, 175
 Agios Photios 53
- goose 332, 364, 365
- grapes 16, 121, 124, 126, 298, 338
- grave(s) 51–52, 54, 56, 127, 173, 215, 218, 246–248, 253, 259, 260, 261, 267–268, 275, 276–280, 321, 323, 329–340, 392
see also burial(s); context, funerary; funerary; necropolis/necropoleis; offerings; rites; tomb(s)
- Greek islands 95, 217
- Greek (language) 368
- grotesque figurine/grotesques 19, 21, 33, 35, 53, 160, 171, 187, 248, 272, 275, 281, 322, 331, 332, 367, 373, 380, 395
- guild-seat 315, 322
- Gurza 337, 339
- gymnasium 212
- gyne* 223–234, 257, 269

- habits 44–57, 69, 203, 229, 368
Haditha 402, 410
 Hadra 127
Hadrumetum (Sousse) 332, 334–335, 337, 338, 339, 340
 hair 13, 16, 33, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 83, 91, 96, 101, 102, 105, 108, 109, 110, 114, 118, 120, 123, 136, 142, 148, 149, 152, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 192, 193, 199, 200, 204, 207, 211, 218, 226, 229, 230, 231, 233, 237, 238, 246, 254, 256, 266, 267, 310, 316, 343, 347, 364, 366, 387, 405, 409, 410
 hair dress 46, 53
 see also diadem; headdress; tiara; veil/veiled figurines
 hairdo 92, 158
 hairstyle 51–52, 96, 106, 109, 114, 124, 187, 231, 233, 238, 254, 283–284, 308, 310, 311, 319, 320, 386
 see also coiffure
 Halai 240, 241, 243, 246–248, 365
 hand 15, 16, 19, 30, 33, 34, 47, 48, 52, 56, 63, 74, 79, 82, 92, 94, 95, 101, 105, 106, 109, 114, 118, 120, 122, 123, 126, 133, 136, 142, 155, 156, 158, 168, 175, 176, 203, 204, 207, 209, 210, 224, 229, 231, 256, 261, 262, 265, 268, 291, 294, 295, 298, 300, 308, 312, 315, 316, 322, 339, 362, 363, 364, 390–391, 410
 handmade (hand-modelled) 50, 82, 148, 150, 153, 154, 183, 312, 342, 383, 386, 390, 342, 359, 397
 harbour 70, 315–324, 360
 Harpies 277, 282
 Harpocrates 15, 35, 37, 154, 362–365, 373
 Hathoric iconography 362
 Hauran 405
 headdress 52, 63, 92, 96, 229–231, 238, 253–254, 373, 398
 see also diadem; hair dress; tiara; veil/veiled figurines
 healing 215, 218, 369
hegemon therapon 120
 Hegeso and Kalliston, Athens, stele 54
 Hekate 142, 143
 Hellenisation 38, 368
 Henchir el-Hami 339
 Hera 49, 143
 Herakleia 267, 294, 298, 300
 Herakles 47, 49–50, 224, 272, 281, 386, 392, 397
 Epitrapezios 94, 397
 fighting the Lion of Nemea 11
 holding a club 50
 strangling the snakes 49
 herm 120–121, 122, 125, 300
 Hermes 16, 37, 210, 231, 237, 248
 Hesiod 259, 265, 266
 himation 63, 66, 79, 92, 95, 97, 106, 114, 118, 124, 133, 136, 204, 207, 228, 256, 261, 310, 362, 364
 hinterland 73, 154, 359, 360, 361
 Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite 268
 horse 11, 94, 95, 150, 151, 152, 153–154, 169, 171, 187, 210, 247, 295, 296, 297, 331, 332, 336, 347, 359, 364–365, 379, 380, 386, 387, 390, 391, 398
 horse-and-rider 30, 94, 150–152, 153–154, 156, 160, 359, 372, 379, 380, 383, 384, 387–389, 390, 392, 393, 398, 400
 see also charioteer (chariot rider); Persian rider
 Horus 114
 house 1, 8, 9, 11, 15, 18, 34, 35–38, 79, 81, 99, 131, 132, 180, 189, 191, 199, 215, 274, 275, 289, 299, 314, 324, 344–346, 347, 348–349, 354, 355, 360, 383, 388, 392, 395, 400, 407
 see also context, domestic; cult, domestic/household; farmhouse
 House of Dionysos 9–10, 14–15, 16, 19–20, 31, 35, 36, 38
 House of Marcus Fabius Rufus 305–314
 House of Orpheus 7–38, 46
 human representations 330, 331, 340
 Humayma 405, 408–409
 hybridisation 362
 hydria/hydriae 47, 50, 114, 127, 210, 231, 232, 255, 268
hydrophoroi 47, 50–51, 126, 247, 377
Hymnia 82
 hypocaust 11, 12
 iconography 1, 2, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 24, 33, 34–37, 44, 47, 60, 62, 63–66, 68, 71, 74, 79, 82, 83–84, 92, 109, 112, 124, 126, 133, 143, 146–160, 165, 167, 176, 177, 209, 216, 219, 246, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 257, 260, 261, 267, 315, 322, 345, 348, 353, 359, 362, 363–364, 368, 376, 380, 388, 395, 398
 Idalion 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 105, 106–107, 109
 idol(s) 132
 Idumaeen 372, 373
 Ilion (Troy): *see* Troy (Ilion)
 immigrants 60, 376
 imperial ideologies 37
 indigenous 165, 361–362, 368, 383
 Indus River 360
 infant(s) 153, 267, 268, 295, 308, 310, 312, 373
infantes 339, 340
 influence 3, 38, 71, 81, 82, 83, 84, 94, 101, 106, 109–110, 121, 124, 126, 128, 146, 160, 175, 176, 180, 189, 209, 215, 217, 237, 248, 249, 280, 329, 337, 359, 360, 367, 368, 371, 372, 373, 375, 376, 383, 395–401, 402, 407
 inhumation 321, 322
 initiation 125, 211, 212, 232, 233–234, 260
 inland 155, 289, 360, 371, 372, 380
 inscription 12, 13, 14–15, 16, 24, 37, 47, 62, 66, 72, 81, 110, 149, 154–155, 211, 228, 229, 233–234, 248, 251, 253, 267, 274, 330, 331, 332, 333, 336, 360, 368, 373, 379
Insula Occidentalis 305, 314
 intaglio 31, 229
 interaction(s) 38, 189, 362, 367, 398
 intercultural dialogue 400
 interdisciplinary approaches 2–3
 intramural 400
 Ioppe 368
 Iron Age 68, 165, 172, 175, 390, 393, 402
 Isiac characteristics 16
 figure(s) 374
 knot 362, 364, 366
 Isis 18, 35, 36, 37, 48–49, 79, 83–84, 101, 110, 126, 143, 156–157, 228, 362, 364, 373
 lactans 104, 362, 363, 373
 “Isis Aphrodite” 126, 373–374
 Islamic 402
 Isola Sacra necropolis 318
 ivy (leaves, crown, plant) 104, 110, 114, 123, 125, 126
 Jebel Khalid 37, 383–393
 jewellery 12, 15, 54, 63, 106, 146, 152, 153, 207, 219, 224, 231, 233, 256, 266, 268
 see also necklace
 jewel(s) 187, 262, 265, 268
 Jewish 407, 408
 Jews 360, 371, 380, 408
 Jordan 402–411

- Jordan Valley 405
 Judea 360, 373
 Juret al-Khawatim 359
- Kabirion (Kabirot sanctuary) 53, 237 n.1, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248
 Kabirot 248
kalathos 52, 53, 63, 64
 Karanis 342–355, 406, 407, 408, 409
kausia 375, 376, 379, 387
 Kazaphani 55
 Kerameikos 81, 246
 Kharayeb 74, 83, 210, 359–369, 372, 373, 375, 377, 378, 379
 Khirbet es-Samrā 402–411
 kiln 11, 30, 32, 91, 96, 97, 99, 180, 181, 182, 183, 246, 289–291, 294, 302
 Kition 44, 45, 48, 53, 60, 62, 68, 69, 82, 133, 143, 156, 372, 373
 Bamboula 45
 Batsalos 44
 Kathari 175
 see also Artemis Paralia, sanctuary at Kition; Larnaca
kline 18, 56, 275, 295, 297
 kneeling woman 142, 259–269
 Knidos 51
 knucklebone (game, player) 118–119, 122
koine 35, 38, 44, 69, 121, 124, 128, 146, 371–380, 383
 see also Levantine *koine*
Kopienkritik 237
kore/korai 104, 132, 233, 252, 253, 262, 266, 359
 Kore (Demeter and) 68, 81, 226, 232
 see also Demeter and Kore, sanctuary at Corinth
 Kore-Persephone 251
 Kouklia
 Skales 144
 Palaepaphos 154
 Kourion 19, 24, 30, 38, 46, 47, 74, 83, 97, 131, 143, 159, 372, 377, 380, 383,
 384, 387, 390
 see also Apollo Hylates, sanctuary at Kourion
kourotrophos 101, 211–212, 310
 kourotrophos/kourotrophoi figurines 101–110, 150, 152–153, 158,
 377–378
 Kyme 226
 Kyrenia 47, 83
 Kythrea 45, 47
- Lagids 359
 lamenting 410
 see also mourning
 lamps 37, 79, 91, 99, 114, 153, 181, 189, 203, 322, 348, 349, 350, 355
 Larnaca 45, 49, 53, 60–69, 104, 153, 154, 157, 158, 372
 see also Kition
 Lebanon 74, 210, 364
 see also Kharayeb
Lébbadé 407
Lebes gamikos 256, 267
 Ledroi 30
 Lefkoniko 44
 leg 15, 16, 18, 33, 47, 48, 50, 56, 79, 105, 106, 114, 118, 133, 136, 142, 150,
 156, 158, 187, 203, 228, 238, 256, 261, 297, 343, 351, 362, 386, 390,
 405, 409
 legend 175–176, 368
lekanis 233
lekythos/lekythoi 126, 210, 231, 232, 238, 256, 257, 305
Leptiminius (Lamta) 334, 335, 337
- Levantine *koine* 371–380
 levigation of clay 96, 97
 limestone sculpture 11, 37, 44–57, 74, 83, 101–110, 146, 148, 149, 153, 154,
 155, 156, 159, 160, 171, 172, 175, 342, 344, 405
 Limnitis 54
 Lindos 142
 lion/lioness 91–92, 229, 300, 337
 see also Herakles fighting the Lion of Nemea
 Lipari 19
 lips 19, 123, 200, 281, 322, 343, 366
 Livadeia 224, 231
 Locri 254
 Locris 267, 365
louterion 267, 305, 307
loutrophoros/loutrophoroi 256, 268
 Lucania 254, 290, 294, 300, 301
 Lusoi 165
 lycanthropy 165
Lykios 81
 Lykosoura 165–170, 171, 176–177
 Lysippos 94
- Macedonia 189, 253, 360, 365
 Macedonian 189, 199, 375, 379, 387
 Macedonians 247
 maenads 122, 169, 171
 magic 37, 342, 346–347
 male figurine, reclining/reclining banqueter 47, 53, 56, 146, 292, 293,
 295–298, 301, 302, 363
 Maltese spitz (or terrier type) 19, 22, 38, 362–363
 mantle 16, 47, 48, 52, 56, 74, 79, 105, 155, 364
 dancer(s) 2, 226–231, 364–366
 manufacture 3, 11, 28, 31, 68, 79, 91, 99, 181–186, 191–200, 204, 207,
 289–302, 342, 360, 369, 387–388
 manufacturing process/techniques 24–34, 123–124, 359–369,
 397–398, 407–408
 see also coroplastic production; kiln; moulds; pottery kiln;
 production; workshop(s)
 Maratheri: *see* Polis-Maratheri; sanctuaries at Peristeries and
 Maratheri
 marble 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 44, 66, 82, 101, 106, 110, 121, 136, 142, 183, 199,
 207, 237, 246, 251, 254, 257, 320, 322, 339, 344, 345, 368, 397
 Maresha 154, 360, 361, 372–380
 Marica, goddess 312
 marine 168, 310, 405
 mariners 380
 Marion 47, 71, 105, 155, 160
 Arsinoe 30, 71–86, 88–99, 146–149
 Peristeries 94
 see also Arsinoe; Polis (Chrysochous)
 Maroni 144
 Vournes 46
 marriage 81, 84, 153, 211, 212, 218, 232, 233–234, 252, 253, 254, 256–257,
 259–269
 Mary 409
 mask 21, 94, 122, 125, 165–177, 226–228, 233, 247, 272, 281, 338, 379
 see also bull masker figurines; zoomorphic masker statuettes; veil/
 veiled figurines
 mask (theatrical) 18–19, 21, 33, 35, 38, 46, 53, 112, 114, 118, 120, 124,
 125–126, 228, 223, 277–278, 278 n.2, 279, 281, 395
 see also actor; comic actor; comic mask head
 maturity 84, 212, 254, 260, 268, 391

- Mauretania Caesariensis 329–340
 Mefite, goddess 312
Meisterforschung 237
 Meleager 380
 Memphis 362
 Mercury 331, 336, 337, 340
 Mersinaki 46, 74, 81, 155
 Mesopotamia 1, 357, 376, 380, 395–411
 Mesopotamian 200, 372, 383, 395, 397, 398, 400, 407
 Metapontion 289–302
 Metroön 92
 Middle Comedy 94
 Miletus 109, 228, 229
 Milkashtart 368
 Minoan 1
 mirror 16, 48, 109, 114, 153, 224, 231, 256, 257, 261–262, 264, 267, 268, 333, 339, 402–411
 Mispē-Yamim 360
mitra 253–255
 Morgantina 125, 142, 277
 mother 15, 92, 101, 104, 105, 110, 124, 150, 211, 212, 223–234, 248, 252
 mother goddess 109, 229, 336, 340, 409
 Mother of the Gods 229, 272, 275
 moulds
 moulded/mould-made 3, 24, 30, 74, 79, 82, 83, 95, 104, 114, 123, 148, 152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 159, 167, 182, 189–207, 289, 290, 342, 362, 366, 383, 384, 386, 387, 388, 389, 391, 392, 393, 398, 403, 407
 moulds and mould impressions 11, 14, 16, 18, 20, 25–26, 30–32, 35–36, 47, 60, 69, 89, 91, 92, 94, 97–98, 99, 101, 118, 121, 142, 150, 152, 181–187, 189, 191, 204, 207, 208, 231, 246, 249, 274, 278, 280, 281, 284, 291, 292, 293, 295, 298, 300, 301, 302, 310, 315, 359, 360, 362, 373, 384, 387, 397
 mould series 291–302
 see also plaster moulds
 mourning 148, 226, 410
 mouth 19, 49, 53, 54, 55, 120, 231, 233, 234, 277, 281, 283, 316, 321, 322, 364, 366, 387, 405, 409, 410
 Munsell 25, 96, 96 n.1
 Muses 120, 122, 123
 music 82, 83–84, 123, 171, 175, 209, 211, 275, 336, 348–349, 364, 367, 376, 377, 390
 musician(s) 74, 82–83, 118, 123, 226, 228, 364, 377, 390–391, 398
 see also tambourine player
 Mycenaean 1, 180, 180 n.1, 192, 199
 Myrina 13–14, 52–53, 104, 109, 121, 122, 210, 210 n.3, 226, 229, 272, 275, 276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 284, 360, 362, 364, 395
 mysteries 125–126, 177
 myth/mythology 47, 49, 74, 79, 165–177, 210, 223, 232, 257, 266–267, 330–332, 336–340, 379
 Nabataean 402, 409
 Nahr el-Qasimiye 359, 361
 Nea Paphos 7, 8–9, 19, 30, 66, 149, 371
 see also House of Dionysos; House of Orpheus; Villa of Theseus
 Near East 1, 3, 98, 152, 153, 392, 395, 402, 407, 409
 necropolis/necropoleis 62, 112–128, 146, 148, 150, 156, 157, 158, 189, 224, 231, 247, 260, 262, 267, 300, 318, 320–322, 329–340
 see also Amathous, Eastern Necropolis; Byzantine cemetery; burial(s); context, funerary; funerary; grave(s); Isola Sacra necropolis; offerings; tomb(s)
 necklace 63, 64, 105, 107, 108, 132, 192, 199, 261, 265, 267, 343, 344
 see also jewellery
 Neolithic 146, 180, 402, 409
 Nereid riding a hippocampus 308, 310, 312
 Nero 336, 349
 networks 3, 37, 88, 112, 302, 360, 371
 Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) 25–29, 387–388
 New Comedy 94, 120, 316
 Nicholas Rodios, potter at Skopelos 183, 186
 Nike 122, 123, 234, 261, 268, 280
 non-elite 144, 369
 nose 19, 55, 120, 275, 281, 308, 312, 316, 343, 364, 366, 387, 405, 410
 Nubians 94, 95, 366
 Numidia 329–340
 Numitorius Hilarus, Rome, monument of 53
 Nuptial bath/*nymphikon loutron* 142, 260, 267–268
 Nutrix 331, 336–337, 340
 Nymph(s) 122, 215, 298–300, 302
nymphē/nymphai 223–234, 251–257, 259–269
 see also bride; rites of passage
 ochre 33–34, 97, 196, 199, 344, 345, 346, 398
 see also colour (decoration); pigment; tin foil
 Odysseus 223, 231–232
 offering(s) 44, 46, 68, 73, 81, 82, 95, 104, 107, 125, 127, 132, 143, 144, 211–212, 228, 232, 251, 257, 260, 310, 312, 329–331, 339, 344, 348, 366, 376, 377
 funerary offerings (burial gifts) 112, 124–128, 153, 158, 189, 218, 219, 246, 247–248, 320, 321, 323–324, 329–332, 334–340, 402–411
 see also context, funerary
 votive offerings 44–57, 74, 82, 88, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 104, 110, 125, 150, 158, 160, 203, 212, 219, 247–248, 253, 261, 290, 294, 295, 302, 305, 314, 348, 392
 see also votive terracottas
 Olynthos 37, 81, 121, 217
 Omayyad 402
 Orpheus charming the Beasts 9
 Osiris 126
 Ostia 315–324
 pagan 73, 336, 408, 409
 Palestine 360, 368, 371, 372–373, 375, 379, 402, 405
 Palmyra 52
 Pan 16, 126, 165, 171, 299, 234, 248, 298–300, 302
 Panathenaic 105
 Pandora 266–267
 Pantanello 297, 299, 302
 panther 300
 Pantikapaion 360, 364
 Paphos 13, 14, 15, 28, 30, 38, 62, 79, 83, 127, 149, 154, 175, 176, 371, 377
 see also Nea Paphos
parthenos 251, 257, 265, 266–267
 Parthian 372, 393, 395, 397, 400
 paste 339, 359, 361
Patake 362
 patera 308, 312–313
 patrix 97, 99
 Pausanias 166–169, 171, 175, 176–177, 211, 212, 224, 228, 234, 248
 peasant, head of a 254, 282–283
 Pella 405, 406
 Pergamon 175, 226, 272–284, 397
 Perge 229
periskelis 13, 14

- Peristeries: see Marion; Polis-Peristeries; sanctuaries at Peristeries and Maratheri
- Persephone 53, 124, 125, 126, 142, 143, 145, 210
see also Demeter and Persephone, sanctuary at Cyrene;
 Kore-Persephone
- Persia/Persian Empire 152, 360
- Persian 82, 371, 372, 379, 390, 407
- Persian cap (*kyrbasia*) 379, 387, 390, 393
- Persian period 359, 371, 380
- Persian rider 150, 152, 383–393
see also charioteer (chariot rider); horse; horse-and-rider
- petrographic analysis 24–31, 301, 302, 359, 360, 361
see also ceramic fabric
- Petrovouni 165, 166
- Peyia-Maa 173
- Pherai 180–189, 191–200
- phiale* 63, 92, 133, 142, 238, 261, 262, 268, 295, 298
- Phigalia 165, 168, 171
- Phlamoudi-Vounari 144
- Phoenicia 360, 367, 368, 371, 372, 373, 375, 376, 379
- Phoenician 62, 69, 94, 337, 359, 360, 361, 362, 368, 371, 374, 376, 378, 379, 380, 390, 407, 410
see also Cypro-Phoenician
- Phoenician (language) 368
- phormiskos* 122
- Photius 126, 218
- Phrygian 229, 407
- pig/piglet 46, 47, 53, 142, 169, 171, 332
- pigment 2, 3, 97, 99, 102, 133, 191–200, 344, 346, 398
see also colour (decoration); ochre; polychromy; raw materials; tin foil
- plaque/plaquette 30, 118, 125, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157–158, 160, 186, 187, 289–302, 388, 390, 397, 402–411
- plaster (figurines/objects) 402–411, 218
- plaster moulds 31, 274, 278
see also moulds
- Plautus 259
- Pliny 196, 237, 395
- Plutarch 336
- Pluto 329, 330, 331
- Polemon 229
- Polis (Chrysochous) 46, 52, 56, 71–86, 73, 88–99, 149
 Kaparka 47, 56
 Maratheri 71, 88–99, 94, 95, 98
see also Marion/Arsinoe; sanctuaries at Peristeries and Maratheri
 Peristeries 71, 88–99
see also sanctuaries at Peristeries and Maratheri
 Petrerades 89–99
 Sphageion 52, 56
- polos* 51, 63, 84, 92, 210, 308, 310
- polychromy 2, 3–34, 96, 97, 106, 191–200, 281, 362, 398
see also colour (decoration); pigment
- Pompeii 15, 37, 305–314, 315–324
- Popluna, goddess 312
- portable X-ray Fluorescence (pXRF) 24–30, 191–200, 408
- pottery 9, 10, 12, 30, 32, 34, 73, 92, 104, 131, 132, 146, 149, 150, 153, 180, 180 n.1, 181, 182, 183, 186, 203, 209, 246–247, 274, 275, 276, 289, 305, 312, 344, 349, 355, 359, 371, 383, 397, 405, 407, 410
- pottery kiln 182
see also kiln; workshop(s)
- Praxiteles of Athens 237–249
- Praxiteles' Cnidian Aphrodite 16
- pregnancy 211, 233, 268
see also female figurine, pregnant
- Pre-Tanagran 249
- Priene 35, 37, 106, 226, 276, 277, 280, 360, 365, 376, 397
- production: see coroplastic production
- production area(s)/centres 3, 182, 291, 407
- propaganda 364
- protection 37, 79, 175, 251, 257, 268, 336, 337, 344, 355, 369, 380, 391, 409
- protelia* 268
- protome* 187, 248, 251, 253–254, 281
- prototype 20, 24, 30, 31, 35, 74, 82, 97, 121, 150, 183, 257, 291, 297, 362, 367
- Provincia Arabia* 407
- Pschent* 364
- Pseudo-Scylax 368
- Psyche 122, 379
- Ptah-Pataikos* 362
- Ptolemaic ruler 368, 373
- Ptolemies 124, 126, 128, 360, 371, 375, 376
- Ptolemy I (Soter) 71, 88, 96, 98, 143, 149, 360
- Ptolemy II (Philadelphos) 71, 88, 149, 353
- Ptolemy III 46
- Ptolemy VIII (Euergetes II) 110, 114, 124, 127
- puberty 211, 268
see also rites of passage
- public awareness 11–12
- public engagement 3, 11–12
- pueri* 339
- Pupput* (Hammamet) 334, 335, 337, 338, 339, 340
- Pupput* sanctuary 329, 330, 333
- pXRF: see portable X-ray Fluorescence
- Pyla 48, 79, 158
- Pyla-Vikla 157–158, 160
- pyxis/pyxides 13, 16, 231, 255, 256, 266, 268, 408
- radiocarbon dating 144, 402, 407
- raw materials 24, 25, 27, 180
see also ceramic fabric; ochre; pigment; tin foil; workshop(s)
- re-elaboration 362, 368, 395
- regeneration 369
- rejection (of waste materials) 180
- relief bowls 181
- religion 36, 37, 82, 126, 143, 145, 165, 167, 168, 171, 176–177, 272, 337, 342, 342 n.1, 347, 353–354, 369, 408, 409
see also context, sacred; cult(s); rites; ritual; sanctuary/sanctuaries
- repertoire 94, 125, 126, 247, 251, 261, 267, 359, 373, 377, 395, 398, 400
- replicas 11–12
- residential 94, 98, 143, 226, 272–284, 406, 408
- restoration 11, 62, 112, 177, 281 n.3, 402, 402 n.1, 406, 411
- Rhitsona 246–247
- Rhodes 217, 254, 365, 376
- rider: see charioteer (chariot rider); horse-and-rider; Persian rider
- rites (religious) 37, 168–171, 177, 179, 302, 380
see also funerary practices
- rites of passage 2, 84, 125, 203–212, 215–221, 223–234
see also initiation; puberty; ritual(s)
- ritual(s) 18, 37, 69, 82, 84, 125, 126, 128, 142, 143, 165–177, 187, 203, 211–212, 218–221, 229, 233–234, 248, 251, 260, 268–269, 276, 290, 305, 322, 324, 329, 335, 340, 342, 344, 349, 359, 362, 364, 368, 377, 378
- dances/dancer 82, 84, 364, 377

- see also* mantle dancer(s)
 gesture 329, 334, 336–339
see also gesture
 deposit 37, 290
see also votive deposit
see also context, sacred; cult(s); funerary practices; offerings;
 religion; rites; sanctuary/sanctuaries
 rituality 368
 Rizokarpaso 47, 56
 Tsambres 150–154
 Rome 53, 55, 136, 175, 316, 336, 359, 395
 rooster 45, 154, 238, 239, 242, 244, 332, 347
 ruler 114, 368, 373, 380
 rural 143, 144, 145, 155, 177, 289, 299, 408
 shrine at Kharayeb 359–369
 see also cults, rural; sanctuary/sanctuaries, rural; workshop(s),
 rural
 Russia 215, 217, 365
- sacred 73, 167, 211, 223, 226, 228, 248, 322, 329, 354
 animals 153
 basket 168
 grove 71, 166
 inventory 228
 landscape/place 71, 72, 79, 305–314
 law 168, 229, 233–234
 prostitution 260
 road 211
 treasury 211
 trees 94
 see also context, sacred; cult(s); offerings; religion; rites; ritual(s);
 sanctuary/sanctuaries; votive terracottas
 Sacred Band 247
sacrum 336
 Sagalassos 31
 Salamis 45, 46, 48, 49, 53, 63, 68, 83, 153, 154, 156–157, 160, 173, 377, 379
 Toumba 53
 Salt Lake, Larnaca 60–86, 372
 salvation 37, 125, 369, 380
 San Biagio 294, 299, 300
 San Chirico Nuovo 300
 sanctuary/sanctuaries 1, 8, 35, 44–57, 60–69, 71–86, 88–99, 101–110,
 121, 122, 125, 126, 142–145, 150, 153, 154–155, 156, 158, 160, 165, 171,
 172, 173, 177, 189, 191, 203–212, 217–218, 219, 220, 221, 226, 228, 229,
 233, 234, 251–257, 259–261, 269, 272, 274, 276, 289, 290, 291,
 293–294, 295, 297, 298–299, 300, 301, 302, 312, 329–333, 337,
 339–340, 359, 360
 rural 82–84, 97, 142–143, 171, 173, 212, 254, 297, 299, 302
 sanctuaries at Peristeries and Maratheri 71, 88–99
 urban 83, 84, 177, 293, 300, 301
 further sanctuaries are listed under: Amathous; Aphrodite; Apollo;
 Artemis; Demeter; Despoina; Dionysos; Eloro, Sicily, Santuario
 nuovo; *Pupput* sanctuary; *Thysdrus* sanctuary; Zeus
 see also context, sacred; cult(s); religion; ritual deposit; rites;
 shrine(s); votive deposit
 Sant'Angelo Vecchio 289–302
 Santa Maria D'Anglona 300
 Sarepta 368
 satyr 47, 187, 189, 210, 237, 267, 331
 Satyrion 294
 scribe(s) 47, 53, 207
 scribe, sitting at desk 53
- scroll 52, 210
 see also *togatus/togati*
 s-curve 237–238
 sea horse 405
 seashell 37, 259–269, 344, 345
 Tonna galea shells 104
 Seleucia on the Tigris 395–401
 Seleucid period 383, 393, 400
 Seleucid Syria 376, 383–393, 395–411
 see also Syria
 Seleucids 371, 380, 393, 397
 SEM-EDS (scanning electron microscope-energy dispersive
 spectrometer) 191–200
 Serapis 37, 110, 126, 329, 344, 346, 374
 serial production 246, 255, 310, 373
 serpent: *see* snake
 shaft-tomb 402
 ship owners 360
 shoulder 15, 47, 50, 52, 63, 79, 83, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 114,
 118, 122, 123, 133, 136, 142, 210, 238, 253, 256, 262, 300, 310, 316,
 364
 shrine(s) 37, 73–79, 81, 97, 101, 199, 276, 298, 299, 322, 329, 336,
 359–369, 371–373, 377, 408
 see also *aediculae* (domestic shrines); context, sacred; cult(s);
 sanctuary/sanctuaries; workshop shrine
Siagu (Bir Bou Rekba) 336, 337, 340
 Sicily 45, 246, 312–313, 365
 Sidi el Hani 337
 Sidon 360, 368, 373
 Silenos 125, 210, 278, 298, 299, 300
 Siren 49, 277, 282, 283
sistrum 48–49
Sitifis (Sétif) 332
 slave, head of a 282–283
 Smyrna 50, 52, 94, 200, 272, 277, 280, 281–283, 281 n.3, 282 n.4, 284,
 362, 367, 395
 snake (serpent) 13, 15, 37, 49, 187, 297, 362
 see also Herakles strangling the snakes
 society 34, 84, 131, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 175, 176, 223, 228, 237, 260,
 267, 268, 359, 367
 soft youth 237–249
 Soliman 329, 330
 Soloi 45, 46, 79, 81
 Cholades 110
 Sothic dog 362–363
 Sothis (Sirius) 35, 363
 southern Levant 371–380
 see also *Coele Syria*
 spatial analysis 37–38, 329, 339–340
 spectacle 367
 Spina 254
 spinning movement 364
 Sr-Nd isotopes 407
 Stackelberg group 66–67, 69
 stag 48, 56, 172, 229
 see also Artemis holding a stag; deer
stamnos 232
 Stamouli 194, 196, 197, 200
 stelae 55, 56, 60, 112, 148, 159, 253, 262
stephane 13, 96, 101, 109, 114, 118, 123, 238, 386, 391, 398
 stone 45, 46, 56, 79, 82, 104, 112, 121, 127, 131–132, 133–134, 149, 154, 168,
 171, 180, 203, 211, 289, 290, 305, 342, 347, 368, 371, 407

- stone (cont.)
 mudstone 25
 stone robbing 11, 12
see also limestone sculpture
- strophion*: *see* Aphrodite fastening her *strophion*
- subterranean cult place: *see* Amathous, tunnel
- Suetonius 336
- supernatural 400
- surmoulage* 69, 360, 362
- Swedish Cyprus Expedition 46, 71, 127, 149, 159
- symbolism 34, 82, 125, 126, 127, 409
- syncretism 110, 128, 368, 369, 380
- synnaoi theoi* (temple-sharing gods) 110 126
- Syria 37, 360, 362, 376, 379, 380, 383, 384, 390, 392, 395, 402, 405, 406
see also Coele Syria; Jebel Khalid; Seleucid Syria
- tambourine 47, 123, 364, 390
- tambourine player 47, 56, 364, 366
see also musician(s)
- Tanagra (city) 52, 60, 210 n.3, 228, 231, 246, 247, 249
 terracottas 46, 79, 80, 81, 89, 96, 114, 122, 125, 149, 156, 157, 160, 209,
 248–249, 272, 275, 280, 284, 310, 362, 371, 372
- Tanit 329–333, 336–337, 339, 340
see also *Thysdrus* sanctuary
- Taranto 125, 261, 262, 267, 312, 316
- Taras 294, 298, 300, 301
- Tarsos 53, 277, 278 n.2, 360, 362, 364, 367
- Taweret/Thoueris 104, 110
- technology 1, 2–3, 7 n.1, 11, 24, 25, 33, 133, 182, 199, 290, 291, 301, 302,
 342, 362, 371
- Tegea 165, 176
- Tel Anafa 373, 374, 379
- Tel Dor 371, 372, 373, 376, 377
- Tell Nimrin 405
- temple boy figures 47, 49, 52, 56, 159, 160, 371
- temples 46, 68, 88, 92, 97, 108, 110, 166–167, 199, 211, 212, 215, 226, 228,
 229, 251, 277, 293, 295, 298, 300, 310, 315, 329, 332, 342, 368, 375,
 383, 393, 400
- templum* 336
- terracotta dolls 215–221, 348, 409
- Thaenae* (Thina) 332, 335
- Thamugadi* (Timgad) 329, 330
- Thasos 251–257
- theatre 35, 46, 94, 125, 166, 293, 294, 295, 298, 300, 371, 400
- theatre mask: *see* mask (theatrical)
- theatrical iconography 35, 38, 53, 120, 125–126
see also actor; comic actor; Silenos
- Thebes, Boeotia 125, 207, 231, 239, 240, 241, 243, 246
- theriomorphic figures 165–177
- Theseus 210
see also Villa of Theseus
- Thesmophorion 210, 251
- Thespieae 246, 247
- Thinissut* 329, 330, 332, 337
- Thisbè 231
- Thrace 360
- three-dimensional (3D) models 11–12
- throne/enthroned figure 53, 63, 82, 83, 92–93, 99, 168, 192, 199, 248,
 267, 337, 362, 276
- Thysdrus* (El Jem) 332, 336, 337
- Thysdrus* sanctuary 329–333, 337, 340
see also Tanit
- tiara 82, 150, 308, 310, 379
see also diadem, hair dress; headdress; veil/veiled figurines
- Timmari 294, 300, 301
- tin foil 191–195, 199
see also colour (decoration); ochre; pigment; polychromy
- Titeux Dancer: *see* mantle dancer
- Titus (Roman emperor) 155
- togatus/togati* 315–324
- toilet 267–268, 347
see also bath(s); bathing; Nuptial bath/*nymphikon loutron*
- Toilet of Venus: *see* Aphrodite at her toilet
- tomb(s) 35, 45–47, 49, 52–53, 112–128, 143–144, 148–154, 159–160, 165,
 171, 191, 217–220, 224, 228, 247–249, 260–261, 267–268, 269, 280,
 289–290, 297, 312, 320–324, 329, 334–340, 402, 405–411
see also burial(s); context, funerary; funerary; grave(s); necropolis/
 necropoleis; offerings
- toy bird 52
- toy(s) 36, 52, 212, 215, 218–221, 344, 346, 347, 348, 353, 354, 392, 408,
 409
- Trachypedoula 30
- trade/commerce 3, 69, 150, 189, 208, 280, 315, 316, 322, 323, 371, 373,
 380, 383, 402, 407
- transmission 2, 121, 176, 177, 368
- trigono* (harp) 47, 123, 377
- Trikomo 46
- Tripolis 210, 210 n.3
- Troy 123, 215, 226, 228, 229, 365, 376
 Ilion 280, 284
- tumulus 127
- tunic 74, 105, 106, 108, 109, 153, 154, 156, 266, 315–324, 364
- Tyche 16, 18, 20, 30, 31, 32, 33, 109, 110, 329, 330, 331, 376
 of Alexandria 18, 20, 33
- typology 24, 44, 73, 83, 89, 94–96, 98, 297, 298
- Tyros 359, 360, 367, 368
- Umm el-'Amed 360, 368
- Umm-Jimal 405
- underworld 124, 126, 321
- unguentaria 73, 114, 127, 150, 410
- valley of Ansanto 312
- variant(s) 13, 16, 121, 291, 293, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302,
 362, 364, 390
- vase painting 122, 209, 233, 237, 251, 267, 364
- veil/veiled figurines 47, 54–55, 63–68, 92, 102, 104, 122, 124, 126,
 146–148, 149, 152, 153, 155, 168–170, 171, 177, 223–234, 253, 256–257,
 265, 295–296, 298, 308, 310–311, 339, 364–366
see also diadem; hair dress; headdress; tiara
- vent hole 31, 32, 123, 156, 159, 362
- Venus 322, 331–340, 409
 Felix 16
 Pudica 16, 17, 25
 with an Amor 334, 338
see also Aphrodite at her toilet (Toilet of Venus)
- via Nova* 407
- Villa of Theseus 9, 15, 19, 38, 66
- visiting gods 110, 251–257
- Voni 44, 45, 46, 48, 56
- votaries 154–155, 156–157, 376, 377, 378, 380
- votive deposit 68, 98, 153, 155, 156, 158, 215, 272, 274, 293, 294, 295,
 298, 300, 305–314, 392

- see also* context, sacred; ritual deposit; sanctuary/sanctuaries;
shrine(s)
- votive offering(s): *see* offerings
- terraccottas (figure, figurine) 44–57, 60 n.1, 62, 88, 89, 92, 94, 95,
96, 97, 98, 149, 150, 155, 212, 218, 219, 220, 247–248, 290, 298, 300,
329–333, 390, 392
- Wadi Fynan 405, 406, 408
- wall painting 35, 278, 368, 383
- warehouse-keepers 360
- wasters 30, 97, 99
- wedding 218, 233–234, 252, 257, 261, 265, 266, 268
- wheel-made 153, 154, 155, 181
- wolf 165, 171
see also lycanthropy
- Women Kneeling in a Shell 259–269
- workers 73, 315, 322–324, 344, 360
- workshop(s) 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 38, 60, 68, 69, 81, 91, 94, 97–99, 110, 127,
189, 191–200, 203–209, 220, 246, 272, 27, 278, 280, 282, 283, 284,
289–302, 310, 342, 360, 361, 387, 390, 397
- ceramic 180–186, 189, 196, 199, 329
- Coroplathe des Eros et des Victoires, workshop of the 275–276,
280
- Diphiolos 275, 277
- Egyptian/Alexandrian 360
- lead 197, 200
- Pergamene 281
- plaster 407
- rural 291
- shrine 71, 72–79
see also coroplastic production; kiln; manufacture; moulds; pottery
kiln; production
- worshipper(s) 45, 81, 101, 121, 165, 168, 169, 175, 210, 315, 362, 368, 369,
376, 378, 379
- wreath(s) 47, 49, 53, 83, 114, 123, 125, 136, 146, 187, 210, 231, 364, 386,
387
- writing devices 52–53, 56
- Yialia 73, 82, 83, 84, 97
- Photies 73, 74, 82–85
- Ypsonas-Vounaros 143
- Zeus 1–72, 94, 98, 175, 189, 199, 298, 299, 336
- Agoraios 298
- Thaulios and Ennodia, sanctuary at Pherai 189, 199
- zoomorphic figurines 12, 19–20, 22, 397, 402, 403, 404, 405–406, 407,
408, 409
see also animals; zoomorphic masker statuettes
- zoomorphic masker statuettes 165–177